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AMERICAN GENERALS.

HISTORY
OF
THE WARS OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION,

**FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR, IN 1792, TO THE
RESTORATION OF A GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815 ;**

COMPREHENDING
THE CIVIL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY EDWARD BAINES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

***WITH NOTES, AND AN ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.***

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS
OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS OF THE AGE, AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND CHARTS.

VOL. IV.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY M'CARTY & DAVIS,
South East corner of Ninth and Race streets.

1819.

vol. 4

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tors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the
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and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,

Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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1814.

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CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE (*continued*): *Liberation of Ferdinand VII.*---*Operations in the South of France*—*Battle of Orthes*—*Counter-Revolution at Bourdeaux*—*Movements of the hostile Armies in the Departments of the Seine and the Marne*—*Battle of Arcis-sir-Aube*—*Retreat of Napoleon*—*Stratagem to draw the Allied Armies from Paris*—*The Allies resolve to advance upon the Capital*—*Disastrous Attempt upon Bergen-op-Zoom*—*Inactivity of the Prince Royal of Sweden*—*Operations in Italy*—*Junction of the Armies of Prince Schwartzemberg and Marshal Blucher*—*Advance on Paris*—*Preparations made by Marshals Marmont and Mortier to defend the Capital*—*Battle of Paris*—*Armistice*—*Capitulation*—*Advance of Napoleon with a Detachment of Guards into the Neighbourhood of Paris*—*State of Parties*—*Exertions of the Royalists to induce the People to demand the Restoration of the Bourbons*—*Triumphal Entry of the Allies into the French Capital*—*Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander explanatory of the Views of the Allies towards France*—*The Senate convoked by Prince Talleyrand*—*They abjure the Imperial Sway, and create a Provisional Government*—*The French Prisoners of War in Russia liberated without Ransom*—*Napoleon collects an Army at Fontainebleau*—*Establishment of a Regency Government at Blois under the Empress Maria Louisa*—*Abdication of the Emperor Napoleon*—*Battle of Toulouse*—*Cessation of Hostilities in the South of France*—*Entry of the Count d'Artois into Paris as Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom*—*Dissolution of the Imperial Government, and the Regency at Blois*—*Napoleon's Farewell to his Guards*—*His Departure for the Isle of Elba*—*Constitutional Charter*—*Entry of Louis XVIII. into Paris*—*Adhesion of the French Marshals*—*Definitive Treaty of Peace.*

IN the great struggle to curb the ambition, and limit the aggrandizement, of the Ruler of France, no country had acted so conspicuous and persevering a part as Great Britain ; for many years, indeed, her co-operation had been confined

principally to her own element, and to the supply of the sinews of war; or if she did send troops to the continent, their courage was rendered unavailing by defects either in the plan or the execution of the purpose for which they were despatched, at length, however, the war in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal commenced, and the British soldier found a theatre on which he could shew how much he was capable of effecting when led on by a general worthy to command him, and taught the nations of Europe that the character of invincible was no longer due to the soldiers of France. It was not to be imagined that Lord Wellington, who had accomplished so much against the power of Napoleon, would be inactive now, that the contest was approaching to its crisis, or that he would fail to co-operate with the allies in their endeavours to secure the independence, and restore peace to the nations of Europe.

During the whole of the month of January, and a considerable portion of the following month, the state of the weather in the vicinity of the Pyrenees prevented Lord Wellington from commencing offensive operations; and this period of inaction was employed by the French government in an endeavour to separate Spain from the cause of the allies. Towards the close of the year 1813, Napoleon, actuated by that tortuous policy which had exhibited itself in every part of his conduct towards Spain, and convinced that Ferdinand VII. who had so long been a captive in France, would subscribe to any conditions which secured to him liberty, and the complete re-establishment in his sovereignty, summoned to Paris the Duke de San Carlos, Ferdinand's ex-minister. When this nobleman arrived, he was informed that a disposition existed in the French government to restore the throne of Spain to its sovereign, and Count Laforet, the plenipotentiary of Bonaparte, was despatched along with the duke to the residence of the unfortunate Ferdinand at Valencay, for the purpose of negotiating the conditions of his restoration. Little difficulty existed in prevailing upon the Spanish Monarch to afford the sanction of his name to the documents already provided; the treaty was ratified without delay, and by this instrument the captive monarch engaged to pay the deposed king, his father, a pension of four millions of rials; to liberate, without loss of time, the French prisoners of war at that time in Spain; to restore the property, revenue, dignity, employment, and pensions, of every Spaniard who had declared in favour of the Napoleon dynasty in Spain; and finally, to cause the evacuation of that country by the troops of his Britannic Majesty. This treaty, which was signed at Valencay, on the 11th of

December, 1813, was rendered nugatory by a decree of the cortes, dated on the 1st of January, 1811, which declared null and void all the acts and conventions signed by the king during his captivity either in Spain or elsewhere. But it was supposed that royal influence would remove every difficulty, and Ferdinand, some time afterwards, entered upon his journey to his own dominions, where he was received with extatic demonstrations of joy.

The negotiations between the French Emperor and the King of Spain had no influence whatever upon the operations of the English army in the south of France. No sooner had the weather become favourable for military movements, than Lord Wellington resolved to pass the Adour, and to penetrate to the Garonne; and on the 24th of February, Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope, in concert with Rear-admiral Penrose, crossed the Adour below Bayonne, and took possession of both banks of that river where it empties itself into the ocean.

At this time Marshal Soult had concentrated his army on a strong commanding ground, of very difficult access, in front of the town of Orthes; and on the 26th, Sir Thomas Picton, who commanded the 3d division of the British army, having forded the Gave de Pau, drove in the advanced posts of the enemy, and took up a position within four miles of their main army. On the morning of the following day, the 4th, 6th, and 7th divisions passed the river; but in consequence of the wretched state of the roads, it was nearly one o'clock before all the corps had taken up their appointed positions.

The army of Marshal Soult, which consisted of from thirty-five to forty thousand troops, was, on this occasion, collected at a point as favourable as the most skilful commander could have chosen, for the purpose of arresting the progress of an invading army. His right, commanded by General Count Reille, occupied the village of St. Bois, and the heights near Orthes; the left, commanded by General Clausel, rested on Orthes, and the adjoining heights, for the purpose of opposing the passage of the river by General Hill; from the direction of the heights on which the French army was ranged, the centre, commanded by Count d'Erlon, was thrown back, while the strength of the position afforded the flanks extraordinary advantages. Lord Wellington, being unwilling longer to delay the attack, ordered Marshal Beresford to turn the enemy's right; while the left and centre were vigorously assailed by the troops of General Picton, who occupied the road from Peyrehorade to Orthes; and at the same time General Hill was to effect a passage of the river, in order to attack the left of the enemy's position.

Marshal Beresford obtained possession of the village of St. Bois after an obstinate resistance ; but the ground in front was found to be so circumscribed that the columns could not deploy to obtain the heights. At this point the French troops displayed great intrepidity and *sang froid*; the action became sanguinary, and the result appeared dubious. Perceiving that it was impossible to turn the French army on the right without an undue extension of his line, Lord Wellington, with his characteristic promptitude, instantly changed his plan, and caused the third and sixth divisions to advance with a brigade of light infantry, ordering them to make an impetuous attack on the left of the heights, where Marshal Soult's right wing was stationed. This attack, led by the 52d regiment, and supported by General Brisbane and Colonel Kean's brigade, placed the centre of the French army in a perilous situation ; and so decisive was the result, that Lord Wellington, being strongly supported by simultaneous attacks, on the right by Sir Thomas Picton, and on the left by General Anson, obtained a decisive victory. Lieut. general Hill, having in the mean time forced the passage of the defile below Orthes, and compelled General Clausel to fall back on the heights, made a rapid movement on the high road from Orthes to St. Sever with the tenth division of infantry, and General Fane's infantry threatened to cut off the retreat of the left of the French army. Marshal Soult, finding himself thus assailed and turned in every quarter, was obliged to order a retreat. For some time the discomfited army, being supported by solid masses of infantry in succession, and favoured by the numerous advantageous positions with which the country abounds, fell back in good order ; but the repeated attacks of a numerous and determined enemy, combined with the dangers threatened by the movement of General Hill, obliged the French marshal to accelerate his march, and his retreat, towards evening, degenerated into an absolute flight. The French army, being thus driven from the high road by the columns of General Hill, and vigorously charged by Lieutenant-general Sir Stapleton Cotton and Lord Edward Somerset's brigade, retired over the heights towards St. Sever ; but numbers of the conscripts threw down their arms and fled, and six pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of baggage, and a considerable number of prisoners, fell into the hands of the victors. The loss of the allies in the sanguinary battle of Orthes amounted in killed and wounded to about two thousand. Lord Wellington, with his usual caution on this subject, professes his inability to estimate the enemy's loss, but it may, without exaggeration, be stated at ten thousand men, independent of the void caused in his ranks by the desertion of a large

portion of the newly raised levies. The French marshal, in directing his retreat upon St. Sever, manifested an intention to cover Bourdeaux, but he soon after fell back upon Tarbes, leaving the direct road to that city, where a new scene was now opening, entirely exposed.

The operations of the allied armies in the south, had produced, in succession, the defeat of the French army, and the capture of its magazines, the investment of Bayonne, Navarrens, and St. Jean Pied-de-Port, the passage of the Adour, and the possession of all the great communications upon that river. Though reduced by so many disasters to twenty-five thousand men, the troops of Marshal Soult seemed still to flatter themselves that they could preserve to Napoleon the southern provinces, and, at least, they were determined to dispute the possession of them with tenacity. To excite this spirit to the highest degree, and to check the disposition which had already exhibited itself among the inhabitants to favour the English army, Marshal Soult addressed a proclamation to his army on the 8th of March, in which he says :—

“Soldiers! let us devote to opprobrium and execration every Frenchman, who shall favour, in any manner, the insidious projects of our enemies. For ourselves, our duty is clearly pointed out. Let us fight to the last for our august emperor and our dear country. Let us respect the persons and the property of our loyal countrymen; but let our hatred to traitors, who are inimical to France, be implacable. War, even to extermination, be waged against those who would attempt to divide us, in order to effect our destruction. Let us contemplate the prodigious efforts of our great emperor; let us be always worthy of him; let us be Frenchmen, and rather die, with arms in our hands, than survive our dishonour.”

Thus was announced, on the part of the southern army and its leader, a devotion which appeared even to brave reverses. Nothing but still more decisive events, and the avowal of public opinion, could convince men who had been accustomed to live in camps, that the cause which they defended with so much valour, was incompatible with the interests of the country. But this lesson was now to be inculcated; and the arrival of the nephew of Louis XVIII. in the south of France, favoured a revolution which had been some time contemplated.

Lord Wellington, having made himself master of the whole extent of the French coast from Bayonne to Bourdeaux, invited his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angouleme to his head-quarters at St. Sever; and soon afterwards a deputation from the royalists repaired to the British camp. His lordship, however well inclined to the restoration of the Bourbons, found himself embarrassed by the negotiations at Chatillon, which at that time still existed; but at length, yielding to the

solicitations of the mayor, and other inhabitants of Bourdeaux, Marshal Beresford was authorised to move from Mont-de-Marsan upon that city, with a body of fifteen thousand men. At the report of the approach of Marshal Beresford, who was now rapidly advancing, the Senator Cornudet, the extraordinary commissary of Napoleon in this quarter, left the city, along with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and his example was soon after followed by General Lhuillier, at the head of two thousand soldiers. The royalists, thus released from all restraint, awaited with confidence the arrival of the English army. M. Lynch, the Mayor of Bourdeaux, and an ardent friend of the Bourbon family, had made every arrangement to receive the allies in a manner that should exhibit the most unequivocal proof of devotion to the exiled monarch; couriers were despatched to meet Marshal Beresford; and deputies hastened to lay at the feet of his Royal Highness the Duke d'Angouleme the homage of the city.

On the arrival of Marshal Beresford at the bridge of La Maye, in the morning of the 12th of March, Colonel Vivian was despatched to the mayor, to announce that the British general hoped to enter a city favourably disposed to the cause in which he was engaged. The mayor returned the most solemn assurances of his friendship, and confirmed his declaration by repairing, at the head of a large body of municipal officers, to hail the arrival of the advancing army. The king's commissary, with a train of more than ten thousand inhabitants of every rank and description, accompanied the chief magistrate, and the rear of the procession was brought up by the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, the brother of the unfortunate Vendean chief of that name. Advancing to the staff of the British army, the mayor addressed Marshal Beresford:—

“General,” said he, “the generous nation which has given distinguished proofs of its magnanimity by succouring its oppressed allies with unshaken perseverance, presents itself this day at the gates of Bourdeaux. If you come as conquerors, you can possess yourselves of the keys without being presented with them; but if you come as the ally of our august sovereign Louis XVIII. I offer you the keys of this interesting city, where you will soon witness the proofs of affection exhibited on all sides in favour of our legitimate king. To these testimonies will be united the sentiments of lively gratitude towards our liberators.”

Marshal Beresford, in the most impressive manner, assured M. Lynch that he considered the city which he was about to enter as the city of an ally, inhabited by the subjects of Louis XVIII. Scarcely had he uttered these words, when the mayor exclaimed—“*Vive le Roi!*” The shout was instantly repeated with enthusiasm, both by the military and the inha-

bitants ; while the mayor cast away his scarf, and resumed the ancient emblem of the French nation. At this moment the white flag was displayed from the steeple of St. Michael, and the white cockade was generally adopted with a spontaneous sentiment of satisfaction and joy. Shouts of "*Long live the Bourbons*"—"Honour to the English nation"—"*Long live the Mayor,*" succeeded each other and resounded through every quarter of the city.

The people now became clamorous to see the illustrious descendant of Henry IV. the nephew of the king, and the husband of the daughter of Louis XVI. in the person of the Duke d'Angouleme, who was advancing from the headquarters of Lord Wellington, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas, the Duke de Guiche, and Count d'Escars. When the duke entered the city the cries of *Vive le Roi* were renewed, and the transport exhibited by the inhabitants became unbounded. The crowd was so immense that two hours were scarcely sufficient to reach the cathedral, where the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, at the head of his clergy, awaited the arrival of his royal highness, and on his entrance thus addressed him :—

"MONSEIGNEUR—Afflicted for a long time by calamities of every kind, we have, while groaning under their oppression, addressed our prayers to heaven for deliverance, looking towards the issue with alternate hope and fear. These painful emotions are at length calmed by the arrival of your royal highness. We shall be happy. I venture, in the name of the faithful clergy connected with this diocese, to intreat that your royal highness will transmit to our august sovereign Louis XVIII. the assurances that he will not find in his dominions more faithful and devoted subjects. Long live our legitimate king !"

As soon as silence could be obtained, for even the sanctuary could not restrain the acclamations of the populace, *Te Deum* was chaunted ; and at the conclusion of the service the duke returned to the Palais Royal, where he took up his residence. The presence of the nephew of Louis XVIII. served to convert into allies irritated nations, bearing the character of enemies till they reached the gates of Bourdeaux ; the friendly ensigns of England, Spain, and Portugal, were now united with the *oriflamb*—the signal for the restoration was given, and the short, but comprehensive sentences—"No more tyranny—no more war—no more conscription—no more vexatious taxes," uttered by the Duke d'Angouleme, and reiterated by the mayor of Bourdeaux,* gave a currency to the counter revolution, which, like an electric shock, instantly extended its influence through the southern departments of France.

* See the Proclamation of M. Lynch, Mayor of Bourdeaux, dated March 12, 1814.

Important as were the events on the shores of the Gironde, the fate of the campaign was to be decided in the departments of the Marne and the Seine, and it was to the issue of the operations in that quarter that the attention of all Europe was at this moment directed. On the 15th of March, Napoleon reviewed his army at the gates of Rheims, and on the same evening Marshal Ney re-entered Chalons without striking a blow. The inhabitants of Chalons, misled by false accounts of important victories obtained by the French arms, spontaneously illuminated the town, and the municipal body repaired without delay to Rheims, to compliment the emperor on the deliverance he had wrought for his country !

At length the grand Austro-Russian army, which had remained ever since the 4th of March in a state of mysterious inaction, commenced a general movement of attack upon the corps of Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, which were posted between Melun and the Aube, to cover the capital. The Emperor of Austria re-entered Troyes about the 13th of March ; and on that day the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia repaired to the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzemberg at Arcis, where the troops received orders to repass the Seine at Montereau, Nogent, and Pont. On the arrival of the courier who brought intelligence that the movement of the allied armies indicated an intention to make an attack on the whole of the French line, Napoleon perceived that the least success of the Russians might place him in the most critical situation. If he persisted in opposing Marshal Blucher, Paris would be left at the mercy of Prince Schwartzemberg ; and if he marched to the Seine, a similar danger awaited his capital from the advance of the hostile army on the Marne. Thus, with not more than from fifty to sixty thousand men, he found himself between two armies, each consisting of a hundred thousand ; but his enemies were timid, and he enterprising, and a blow, suggested by despair, might release him from the terrible situation into which he had been plunged by the delirium of ambition and the love of conquest.

On the 16th he put the main body of his army in motion, and on the following day entered Epernay at the head of his imperial guard, with an army of forty thousand men. The marches and counter-marches of the Emperor, aided by the dark veil cast over political and military events, so far imposed upon the inhabitants, that wherever he directed his steps, he was hailed as a conqueror, and thought to be in pursuit of the vanquished invaders. From Epernay the French army advanced to Fere Champenoise, where M. de Rumigny, se-

cretary to the cabinet, arrived from Chatillon with intelligence of the dissolution of the congress. This event caused a deep sensation in the army, and many of his most enlightened generals augured the most disastrous results.

The advance of the French Emperor, at the head of his army, had once more produced in the allied army on the Seine a determination to retreat beyond Troyes; but the Emperor Alexander, seeing no end to these marches and counter-marches, formed the determination to concentrate all the allied forces at Arcis, and there to give battle to Napoleon. On the 19th the principal part of the allied force was concentrated in front of that place, and on the same day the French cavalry, infantry, and artillery, advanced to the Aube, and occupied both banks of that river. No sooner had the French Emperor arrived on the banks of the Aube than he received intelligence that the squadrons of the allies were wheeling into the plain between Troyes and Arcis. The cavalry, which had hitherto appeared only in small bodies, was gradually reinforced, and soon appeared in formidable masses in the plain between Troyes and Arcis, where several lines of infantry had already formed in order of battle. The two armies were now in sight of each other; and the first column of the French on commencing the attack found themselves opposed to a battery of sixty pieces of cannon, and one hundred squadrons of horse. Against this impregnable barrier all their efforts were directed in vain, and the danger of a repulse became the more imminent, because the town of Arcis is so situated as to form, in some degree, the head of a defile, half a league in length, and in which several bridges afford the only means of crossing the marshes and the various arms of the Aube. The preservation of the town became, therefore, of the highest importance. After the repulse of the French guard the retreating squadrons were pursued with extreme ardour by the cavalry of the allies, under General Count Pahlen, who, by a sudden and bold attack, captured three pieces of cannon. Every appearance induced a belief that the enemy's dragoons would enter the town at the heels of the French squadrons; when Napoleon, seeing the fugitives almost surrounded, placed himself at their head, exclaiming—"Are you not the conquerors of Champeaubert and Montmirail?" Inspired with fresh ardour by the presence of the emperor, a fresh charge was made by the French cavalry; while Napoleon in person marched for several minutes at the head of the assailants exposed to every danger. At this period of the engagement a blow was aimed at him by a Cossack, but Colonel Girardin, his aide-de-camp, had the good fortune to parry the

lance, and to avert the fate of his sovereign. A dreadful cannonade now took place on both sides. The fire of the allies caused great destruction among the French battalions, which were formed in squares, and remained immovable under the walls of Arcis, covering the town with heroic constancy and perseverance. The emperor, less cautious than usual, braved all danger; several officers of his staff were wounded round his person, and his horse was struck by a musket-ball, which rendered the animal unserviceable. Murmurs of dissatisfaction were now heard among the French troops, who seemed to reproach their general with exposing himself to unnecessary danger. "Subdue your fears," said he to those around him, "the ball which will be fatal to me is not yet cast." This sanguinary conflict terminated only with the day; both armies remained on the disputed ground; the field of battle was covered with the bodies of the slain, and the Austrian General de Hardegg was numbered among the wounded.

During the action reinforcements arrived on both sides; and after night had concealed their operations from the enemy, the allied army concentrated themselves by a retrograde movement on the heights of Mesnil-la-Comtesse, where Prince Schwartzemberg determined to await the attack of the French on the following day. At day-break on the 21st Napoleon proceeded to reconnoitre the position of the allies, and found to his surprise that their force had considerably increased. The difficulty of dislodging this formidable army from its present advantageous position appeared extreme, but the danger of inaction was still more alarming. The French corps, which had been left on the Marne, under the command of Marshal Mortier, was too weak to maintain its position, and it was evident that Marshal Blucher with all his strength would soon manœuvre on the flank and rear of the main army. Napoleon, aware of the necessity of striking a prompt and decisive blow, had re-united with his troops the corps under Marshals Oudinot and Macdonald, and a large reinforcement of cavalry drawn from the army of Spain. These reinforcements were posted on the right bank of the Aube, and on the heights of Arcis. The two armies remained in the presence of each other, ready for battle, till half past one o'clock; and in the interval Napoleon, apparently undecided as to his measures, changed his plan several times, sent orders and counter-orders, but appeared, nevertheless, determined on a general battle. About two hours after mid-day all the troops were ordered to advance through the town of Arcis, and to deploy before the allied army; but scarcely were they in line when

Napoleon suddenly resolved to retreat on Vitry and St. Dizier, in hopes of drawing the enemy to a distance from his capital. This determination was no sooner formed than orders were issued to the troops to retreat immediately along the defile in the rear, while directions were given to General Sebastiani and Marshal Oudinot to defend the bridges of Arcis, and to form a rear-guard for the protection of the retreating army. This duty, so important to the safety of the army, was performed with distinguished bravery and success, and though exposed to the combined attacks of three different corps of the allied army, they maintained their position till one o'clock in the morning, at which hour the bridges were destroyed. During the retreat, the light troops of the allies hovered on the flanks of the enemy, and General Count Angerouski, with a body of Russian cavalry, seized twenty-two pieces of cannon, several ammunition carriages, and sixty baggage waggons, together with five hundred men, belonging to Marshal Macdonald's corps, who formed the escort.

On the 22d the whole of the grand allied army advanced towards the Marne, for the double purpose of interposing between the French army and the capital, and uniting with the force under Marshal Blucher. After the battle of Rheims, that vigorous and enterprising general had been by no means inactive; Rheims had in the interval been entered for the third time; and by advancing on Chalons he was soon enabled to join in the bold operations which were to decide the fate of the campaign, and to fix the destinies of Europe.

Without interrupting his march to carry the town of Vitry, which was at this time garrisoned by a corps of Prussians, Napoleon pushed on to St. Dizier, from whence he despatched a corps of cavalry, under General Pire', in the direction of Chaumont, with orders to seize on the road every courier, *estafette*, and carriage, which departed from Vesoul. By a rapid march the general arrived near Chaumont on the 25th of March, and penetrated into that place. Having thus cut off the line of communication of the allies, General Pire' was enabled to intercept several ministers of state, and other persons of distinction, who were proceeding on missions to the head-quarters of the allied army. The seizure of these persons and their papers tended to develop the plans and objects of the allies to the enemy, but in his grand object, which was to capture Monsieur Count d'Artois, who had recently arrived from England, and was known to be in the eastern provinces of France, he was happily disappointed.

The Cossacks, always on the alert, intercepted a courier who had been sent to Paris with a letter from Napoleon to

the Empress Regent Maria Louisa, disclosing the object of his movement on St. Dizier, and holding out flattering expectations regarding the final issue of the campaign. On the same day another courier was intercepted on his way from Paris to the emperor, with despatches from the minister of war, containing official intelligence of a descent made by ten thousand British troops on Leghorn, adding, that Lyons had been entered by the Austrian General Count Bubna, in defiance of the French reserve under Marshal Augereau; that Bourdeaux was occupied by the English; and that it was conjectured that Lord Wellington would advance along the Garonne in order to combine his operations with those of General Bianchi. To these disastrous despatches was joined a report from the minister of police, regarding the state of the public mind in Paris, and expressive of a strong apprehension of serious disturbances on the slightest appearance of the allies.

It resulted from the information which had thus fallen into the hands of the allied commanders, that Napoleon was about to place himself on the line of their communications, and that by this movement he might have three objects in view: first, to oblige the allied armies to retrograde towards the Rhine; secondly, if he did not succeed in this, to manœuvre on their rear, and to form a junction with Marshal Augereau; or, thirdly, to take the direction of Metz, Thionville, and Longwy; there to prolong hostilities by defending a new line, and drawing the allies to the centre of France, after having taken all possible means to ensure the defence of his capital, and to raise the mass of the population in their rear.

The only way in which these consequences could be averted, and the great crisis accelerated, was to advance at once to Paris with a formidable force. The repeated declarations made by the allied sovereigns, that they had no desire to interfere in the measures which the French nation might pursue relative to the choice of a government, was considered as a sacred guarantee for the freedom of decision, and gave an impulse to the general spirit in their favour, which no other circumstance could have produced. Being certain that Paris, and even the government itself, contained many persons who were discontented, and that the population of that capital were far from being disposed to take up arms and sacrifice every thing for a man who had imposed upon his country a military despotism, the confederated monarchs determined to effect a junction of the allied armies, to place themselves between the French army and Paris, and to march at the head of two hundred thousand men direct to the capital.

On the side of Holland, the operations of the British army, under Sir Thomas Graham, were by no means of that magnitude and importance to the cause of the allies that was expected from them. The Dutch people, after the first impulse of their detestation to the French yoke, and their anxiety for the restoration of the house of Orange had subsided, seemed disinclined to exert themselves either to co-operate in the invasion of France, or even to lend any cordial assistance in the expulsion of the enemy from the fortresses in their own dominions. At Bergen-op-Zoom, where Sir Thomas Graham had collected four thousand British troops, with a determination to carry the place by storm, it does not appear that any efficient assistance was afforded by the Dutch soldiery. The assault was made on the night of the 8th of March, when this small British army was formed into four columns, two of which were destined to attack at different points of the fortifications, a third to make a false attack, and the fourth to penetrate into the fortress by the entrance of the harbour, which is fordable at low water. The first column, on the left, led on by Major-general Cooke, incurred some delay on account of the difficulty in passing the ditch on the ice, but at length established itself on the rampart. The right column, under Major-general Skerret, and Brigadier-general Gore, had forced their way into the body of the place, but the fall of the latter officer, and the dangerous wounds of the former, caused the column to fall into disorder, and to suffer a severe loss. The centre column, being driven back by the heavy fire from the enemy's batteries, was re-formed, and marched round to join General Cooke. At break of day the enemy turned their guns upon the troops on the unprotected rampart, and much loss and confusion ensued. General Cooke, now despairing of success, directed the retreat of the guards, but finding it impossible to withdraw his weakened battalions, he saved the lives of the remainder of his men by a surrender. The governor of the place, General Bizanet, who is represented as a brave and humane man, agreed to a suspension of hostilities for an exchange of prisoners, and to liberal stipulations for the treatment of the wounded left in his hands. The British army, which displayed the most heroic valour on this disastrous occasion, sustained a loss exceeding one half its whole amount, the number of slain being computed at three hundred, and the prisoners at eighteen hundred men.

The Crown Prince of Sweden, freed from the war with Denmark, was expected to have put forth a vigorous and effectual co-operation in the invasion of France; but, either from the peculiarity of his situation as a French subject, or

from some other cause, his movements became extremely slow ; nor did he arrive near the scene of action till his services were no longer wanted.

In Italy the contest between the Austrians and the French was maintained with considerable vigour. The treaty concluded between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples had provided that the emperor should keep fifty thousand men in Italy, and the king twenty thousand, till the end of the war, to act in concert, and to be augmented in case of necessity ; it was also stipulated that the emperor should guarantee to the king and his heirs the possession of the dominions actually held by him in Italy ; and that his mediation should be exerted to induce the allies to accede to this guarantee. Joachim, in consequence of these arrangements, united his force with the Austrian army ; and thus reinforced, Count Bellegarde succeeded, in spite of the vigorous resistance opposed to him by Eugene Beauharnois, in establishing himself on both banks of the Mincio.

But the operations in Holland and Italy were altogether subordinate to the great events which were preparing in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the 24th of March Prince Schwartzemberg established his head-quarters at Vitry, and on the same day Field-marshal Blucher arrived with a large proportion of his army at Chalons. Generals Winzingerode and Czernicheff were now despatched, with ten thousand horse, and fifty pieces of cannon, to observe the march of Napoleon on St. Dizier, and to menace his rear. The arrangements being complete, the King of Prussia issued orders to Marshal Blucher to direct his army on Paris, and on the 25th the Austro-Russian army faced about from Vitry, and took the same direction, by the route of Ferre Champenoise, where a junction between the two armies was formed. A splendid and unforeseen advantage was about to mark this re-union. A column of five thousand men had been despatched from Paris, under the command of Generals Amey and Pactod, as an escort to an immense convoy of ammunition, and one hundred thousand rations of bread, intended for Napoleon's army. Protected by Marshal Marmont's corps, this convoy had approached to Montmirail, and found, when it was too late, that it was impossible to escape the two grand armies of the allies. Captain Harris, the aide-de-camp of Lieutenant-general Stewart, who had been despatched on a reconnoitring expedition, with a body of Cossacks, was the first to perceive the convoy, and hastened to apprise Marshal Blucher of its advance. The whole column was soon surrounded ; but in spite of the most vigorous attacks, they formed themselves into squares, and

refused to lay down their arms. Colonel Rapatel, the French officer who attended General Moreau in his dying moments, advanced to end this unavailing struggle by a friendly remonstrance with his countrymen; but scarcely had he presented himself when he was struck by two musket balls, and fell dead in the front of the ranks. The artillery was now called in to subdue these self-devoted victims, who were at length obliged to surrender, with the whole of their cannon, ammunition, and stores.

During the night of the 26th, General Woronzow surprised a French corps at *bivouac* near Montmirail, and took about two thousand prisoners, while the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back continually before the advancing army, with a prodigious loss of both men and artillery. The grand army, continuing its march, established its head-quarters at Coulommiers on the 27th, having marched twenty-seven leagues in three days, and being now no more than thirteen leagues from Paris. The plan of the allied sovereigns was to concentrate the whole of their force on the right banks of the Marne and the Seine, and to attack Paris on the north, by taking a position on the heights of Montmartre. On the 28th they continued their progress to Meaux by the two roads of Ferte Gaucher and Montmirail, and in the evening of that day the allied sovereigns arrived in the neighbourhood of the French metropolis, without having encountered any formidable obstacle in their line of march.

At the moment when the allies commenced their rapid movement, Napoleon displayed to his army the most invincible confidence in the final result of the campaign, considering the armies to which he was opposed, as cut off in their retreat, and inclosed in the heart of France. But roused at length from this delusion, by intelligence received on the 27th, that the allied armies were marching directly on the capital, he advanced at the head of his army, by the route of Vitry, to the Aube. On the 29th, at day-break, the advanced guard was preparing to pass that river at the bridge of Douliancourt, when a courier arrived from Paris with despatches for the emperor. The report of his arrival spread instantly through the army, and excited the highest degree of curiosity. More than ten days had elapsed since Napoleon and his Marshals had received official intelligence from the capital. On the appearance of the courier Bonaparte alighted from his horse, in a small meadow on the borders of the Aube, where he hastily broke the seals of the packet, and put questions to the courier. The result of his answers and information proved, that on the preceding day, the 28th, the allied armies were at Claye, five

leagues from Paris, and that Marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having fallen back before the enemy, were making dispositions to defend the capital. All the hopes and favourable presages of Napoleon were at once dissipated ; the bandage which had covered his eyes was torn away. He was well aware of the insufficiency of the means that existed for the defence of the capital, and foresaw the catastrophe which was about to destroy the great edifice of his power. He appeared to be subdued by his reverses. In this state he passed several hours at the bridge of Doulan-court, surrounded by his aide-de-camps and generals, and deliberating upon the course that was to be pursued. Listening to the sentiments of apprehension and compassion expressed by the officers around him, respecting the fate of Paris, he despatched General Dejean in great haste, with a formal order, to his lieutenant-general, not to sacrifice the capital by an obstinate defence. During this short interval of resignation, he determined to apply to the Emperor of Austria, and for that purpose, he summoned into his presence Baron de Wissenberg, the Austrian minister, recently seized and made a prisoner near Chaumont. In the conference that ensued, he conjured the baron to repair, without loss of time, to his imperial father, for the purpose of interceding in favour of Maria Louisa, and recommending his son, the King of Rome, to the tenderness and political influence of his august grandfather. Baron de Wissenberg, yielding to the intreaties of Napoleon, repaired immediately to Dijon, to which city the emperor, his master, had retired.—The emperor was too much devoted to the cause of confederated Europe, and to the interests of his own monarchy, to sacrifice either to personal considerations ; and the mission of Baron de Wissenberg, though seconded by a similar application through the medium of M. de Galbois, failed of success. The time for saving the Napoleon dynasty had passed, and the seat of his empire was no longer sacred.

The tempest hovered about the heads of the Parisians, and they expected soon to be crushed by the explosion. On Sunday the 27th of March, six thousand regular troops, and twenty thousand national guards, were ranged in battle array, and passed in review before the Thuilleries. The tremendous spectacle of the artillery, the gloomy silence of the soldiery, and the intense anxiety of the populace, formed the distinguishing traits of this military procession ; every one laboured under a weight of oppression, and the most intrepid could not divest their minds of an involuntary fear. The eyes of all were turned to the affecting scenes which the Boulevards principally exhibited in the morning of the 28th, the

peaceful promenades, generally embellished by brilliant equipages, with all the accompaniments of pleasure and luxury, were suddenly filled with wounded soldiers, and peasants who had abandoned their farms, carrying with them the remnant of their rustic fortunes.

In the morning of the 29th, the allies removed their advanced posts towards Pantin, Villette, and the forest of Vincennes, harrassing the French corps which were rallying under the walls of Paris. Every thing now indicated an approaching attack, but neither the government nor the people of Paris were fully aware of the extent of the dangers by which they were menaced. During the whole day immense masses of infantry advanced by different roads, a large body of cavalry covered the plains, and six hundred pieces of artillery approached, to thunder from the heights, and to announce the arrival of an army of two hundred thousand men. For nearly two centuries, war had never approached the walls of Paris, and of all spectacles, the most novel and terrible to its inhabitants was a general battle. All business in the city was suspended; the shops in the principal streets were closed, and the countenances of the numerous groups assembled on the quays and in the squares, exhibited mingled feelings of consternation and alarm. It was clearly perceived that the late colossal power of the French empire was falling into dissolution. The treasure and equipage of the agents of government were at this time seen filing off on the roads of the Loire; the council sat in close deliberation, and the empress and her son, accompanied by several of the principal officers of state, suddenly abandoned Paris.

The troops left to defend the capital, consisted of the remains of the corps which had fallen back before the allied armies, five or six thousand regulars in garrison, commanded by Generals Compans and Ornans, and thirty thousand national guards, of whom eight or ten thousand at the most, were fit for active service. This small army was under the immediate command of Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Marshals Mortier and Marmont, and the Governor-general Hulin. Joseph, who had thrice fled from Madrid on the approach of the enemy, appeared determined to hold this last bulwark of his family's power; and with this view, a concentrated position was taken by his troops; the right being stationed on the heights of Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-Chaumont, resting on Vincennes; the centre towards the canal of Ourcq, protected on the rear by Montmartre; and the left extending itself from Mousseaux to Neuilly. To add to the strength of this defensive position, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, ad-

vantageously disposed, were placed along the whole line, while several redoubts covered the centre, and increased the difficulty of approach.

In the night between the 29th and 30th, a council of war was assembled in the camp of the allied sovereigns, when the final arrangements for the attack on the French capital were made, and at which it was determined that the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, whose corps formed the left of their position, should march on Vincennes; General Rayefski on Pantin and Belleville; and the Russian and Prussian guards on the high road which leads from Bondy to Paris, along the Ourcq canal. On the right, the army of Silesia was to take a direction by the Soissons road towards St. Denis, and on the village of Villette, and to attack the heights of Montmartre; while the grand army was to make its offensive efforts on the heights of Belleville and Romainville. The third corps, and part of the cavalry, were posted in reserve.

On the 30th of March, at two o'clock in the morning, Joseph Bonaparte gave a formal order for the defence of Paris, and the march of the national guards. Two hours afterwards the Parisians were roused from their beds by the beat of the drums, and the soldiers and citizens, in spite of their diversity of opinion, seemed penetrated by a feeling sacred to every nation—the duty of defending their capital. At the dawn of day, two officers from the allied army presented themselves at the advanced posts of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, bearing a proclamation from the commander-in-chief to the inhabitants of Paris, in which they were told—"that there existed in the nature of the government which oppressed them an insurmountable obstacle to that peace which the allies had made so many attempts to obtain; that Europe in arms, now before their walls, sought only for a salutary authority in France, which might cement the union of all governments with her; that the inhabitants had only to declare themselves, and from that moment the allied armies would become the supporters of their decisions." The bearers of this proclamation were refused admittance; and every thing was prepared for a determined resistance on the heights of Paris.

The fire of artillery commenced between five and six o'clock in the morning, and the engagement on the hills of Belleville and Saint Chaumont, where the principal part of the French force was stationed, under Marshal Mortier, soon became very animated. At this moment a number of the inhabitants, principally consisting of mechanics and artizans, formed themselves into bodies, and repaired to the parades to demand arms. After waiting for several hours, they were told that no

arms were to be had, but that they might be supplied with pikes. These they indignantly rejected, and a cry of "treason!" rang through the city. At eight o'clock in the morning, the Russian corps of General Rayefski had advanced from Bondy in three columns, supported by the guards, as well as the reserve, and quitting the high road from Meaux, attacked the heights of Belleville and Romainville, which, like those of Montmartre, command Paris, and are covered with villages and chateaux. The division under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, after having commenced the fire, endeavoured to turn the right flank of the position at Belleville, but his infantry was repulsed by the batteries, and Marshal Marmont instantly assumed the offensive. The nature of the ground not permitting the allied cavalry to make any decisive charge, the fire of the Parisian artillery mowed down the ranks of their enemies, and obliged them to give way. The combat was soon renewed with great obstinacy, and such was the determination on both sides, that the riflemen were more than once renewed. The villages of Pantin and Romainville were several times taken and retaken, but the allied troops were at length obliged to withdraw from these points, and to leave them in possession of the enemy.

Marshal Blucher had not yet arrived on the field, and the gallant resistance of the French began to render the issue of the contest doubtful. Had Napoleon suddenly appeared at this moment, in the midst of his military and political resources, the course of affairs might have been changed, and the beams of his imperial power might once more have shone forth. Penetrated with the full urgency of the danger, and the necessity of an extraordinary effort, General Barclay de Tolly, the commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, judged it indispensable to bring the choicest of his troops at once into action, and thus, if possible, to decide the fortune of the day. Without a moment's delay, he ordered the grenadiers of the reserve, as well as the Prussian and Baden guards, to advance, and to co-operate in General Rayefski's attack. The village of Pantin was soon re-taken at the point of the bayonet, and Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg seized the village of Pris St. Jervais. The French troops, reinforced in their turn, returned to the charge, and attempted several times to resume the offensive. Being at length checked by the Russian grenadiers near the woods of Romainville, they were driven back into the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-Montant; no advantage, however, was obtained, but at the price of great sacrifices, and after the most vigorous resistance. A continual fire of musketry and cannon prevailed on the whole line. Persons un-

habituated to the occupation of war joined in the combat, and the Parisian artillery was served by the pupils of the Polytechnic school, boys principally from twelve to fifteen years of age, with a devotion and enthusiasm that in some degree compensated for their inexperience. The soldiers of the line, still animated by the hope of saving the capital, ceased not to renew their attacks upon the advancing columns, and frequently descended from the heights to attack the allies with the bayonet. The field of battle thus became covered with the dead, and the carnage presented on all sides a hideous spectacle. The hills between Romainville and Pantin being now occupied by the columns of the grand allied army, General Barclay de Tolly ordered the regiments, many of which were reduced almost to the rifle corps, to collect their forces, and to cease to act on the offensive; being convinced, that when the army of Silesia, and the advanced-guard, under the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, came on the ground, the army would be enabled to seize on Belleville and Saint-Chaumont with less sacrifice.

The French troops, though aware of the superior numbers of their enemy, were induced by a sentiment of national honour to redouble their gallant efforts. Joseph Bonaparte himself manifested a degree of emulation, and flattered himself that the seat of his brother's government would yet remain unconquered. But no sooner was the lieutenant-general informed that the emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were at Bondy, and that their whole force was congregated in the vicinity of Paris, than he exclaimed,—“In that case there is no alternative but to capitulate.” Soon after the arrival of the intelligence which apprised the French commanders of the magnitude of the force by which the capital was assailed, the confederated armies were perceived spreading over the plain of St. Denis, and displaying a front of more than two leagues. At noon the national guards departed from the barriers to support the line, and it was then clearly perceived that the allies were making dispositions for a general attack. The first column of the Silesian army had reached the ground, and St. Denis was blockaded. The corps of General Langeron, after having dislodged the troops which occupied Aubervilliers, instantly advanced by Clichy on Montmartre, while the Prussian corps, under Generals D'Yorck and Kleist, marched on Vilette, and carried that village.

During these combats, the rifle corps belonging to the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg's advanced-guard, had approached from Vincennes; and General Barclay de Tolly now ordered a general attack. The division commanded by Prince

Eugene of Wirtemberg moved on Belleville, and that under Prince Gotschakoff on the village of Charonne; while the corps of Russian grenadiers, led by Lieutenant-general Lambert, marched also to attack the villages of Belleville and Mesnil-Montant. On the side of Montmartre the batteries of the allies were advanced to the foot of the hill, and opened a fire which reached the Lieutenant-general and his staff. Marshal Marmont now announced to the commander-in-chief that the French troops were about to be overpowered, and could not sustain the battle more than an hour and a half. It was also perceived that the capture of Belleville, Saint-Chaumont, and Montmartre, would speedily afford the allies access to the capital, and Joseph Bonaparte once more sought his safety in flight. On his departure he authorised Marshal Marmont to apply for a suspension of arms, to afford time for a capitulation; but these pacific dispositions could not be effected with a promptitude sufficient to stop the effusion of blood; the conflict was prolonged through the whole line; and the successive arrival of reinforcements gave to the allies a decided superiority.

While the vicinity of this great metropolis had thus become the theatre of a wide-spreading carnage, the interior presented a calm and singular aspect. The populace covered the squares, streets, and interior *boulevards* of the north, though without confusion or disorder, and without any manifestation of surprise or alarm. The crowd, actuated apparently by a spirit of curiosity and expectation, moved principally towards the gates of St. Denis and St. Martin, as if to assist at a public ceremony. Amidst an uninterrupted line of carriages, baggage-waggons and artillery trains, with officers and soldiers of every description, filing towards the field of battle, or returning wounded from it, an immense multitude proceeded through the city, consisting almost of as many women as men, attracted by a spectacle the most singular in the annals of their country. A secret presentiment seemed to assure the inhabitants that the *denouement* of the great drama now before them would not be fatal, and that the interior of this beautiful capital would be preserved from the horrors of war. But if the populace waited the event with composure, such was not the case with many families. How many wives and mothers were in tears and agony, looking forward with horror to the probability of Paris being sacked, and their daughters outraged; and trembling for the fate of their husbands and sons, who had taken up arms as much to defend their homes as to support the existing government?

Towards Charonne, Belleville, Mesnil-Montant, and Saint-

Chaumont, the allied troops had surmounted every obstacle. In every direction the French troops had been driven to the barriers, and the capital was about to be forced, when Marshal Marmont, on whom the command had now devolved, despatched an officer to General Barclay de Tolly to solicit a truce ; engaging to abandon all the ground which he occupied beyond the barriers, and to sign a capitulation for the surrender of Paris in two hours. The Russian general lost no time in submitting this proposition to his imperial master, and to the King of Prussia, neither of whom had for a moment quitted the field of battle. These monarchs, animated by a desire to stop the effusion of blood, and wishing to preserve from ruin one of the first cities in Europe, agreed to the truce without hesitation, and ordered their armies to cease hostilities. Count Orloff, aide-de-camp to the Emperor of Russia, and Count de Paar, aide-de-camp to the Prince of Schwartzemberg, were charged with the office of regulating the cessation of hostilities, in concert with Colonel Denys, principal aide-de-camp to Marshal Marmont, and Colonel Baron Fabrier, attached to his staff. A shout of "*a capitulation !*" now resounded on all sides ; the thunders of the artillery had already ceased ; and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia repaired to the heights of Belleville, where they surveyed the capital of France, and received its deputies. At four o'clock in the afternoon Count de Nesselrode entered the city, furnished with full powers to ratify the capitulation, which was concluded at two o'clock in the morning of the 31st of March.*

Paris, surrounded as it was with dangers, escaped only by

* CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Article I.---The corps of the Marshals Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa shall evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven o'clock in the morning.

II.---They shall take with them all the appurtenances of their corps d'armee.

III.---Hostilities shall not recommence until two hours after the evacuation of the city, that is to say, on the 31st of March, at nine o'clock in the morning.

IV.---All the arsenals, military establishments, work-shops, and magazines shall be left in the same state they were previous to the present capitulation being proposed.

V.---The national or city guard is entirely separated from the troops of the line. It is either to be kept on foot, or disarmed, or disbanded, according to the ulterior disposition of the allied powers.

VI.---The corps of the municipal gendarmerie, shall, in every respect, share the fate of the national guard.

VII.---The wounded and the stragglers remaining in Paris after seven o'clock shall be prisoners of war.

VIII.---The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allied powers.

a sort of miracle ; the very resistance which duty and honour commanded might have occasioned its ruin. The obstinate resistance of the French troops cost the conquerors seven or eight thousand men ; and the vanquished sustained a loss of about half that number. The commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, Count Barclay de Tolly, exhibited a happy union of skill and moderation, and his services on this memorable day were rewarded by his sovereign with the elevated distinction of field-marshal.

The Emperor Napoleon, pressing the movements of his army with incredible celerity, arrived at Troyes at eleven o'clock at night on the 29th, after having exhausted his troops by a march of twenty leagues that day. Agitated by alarming presentiments, he had formed an opinion that the duration of his power depended upon the resistance of Paris, and that unless he could prevent the reduction of that city, all would be lost. Under this persuasion, he adopted the resolution of despatching General Girardin, his aide-de-camp, during the night, with orders diametrically opposite to those of which General Dejean had been the bearer from the bridge of Doulan court. These last despatches were addressed to the ministers of war and police, and contained positive commands to defend Paris by all practicable means, assuring the ministers, that in twelve hours after the arrival of his aide-de-camp, himself and his army would enter Paris. Early in the morning of the 30th Napoleon left Troyes at the head of his guard, taking the direction towards Sens. But so great was his impatience, that he quitted his army at the distance of five leagues from Troyes, and with an escort of fifteen hundred cavalry, selected from his horse-guards, proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Fontainebleau, and in the night of the same day arrived at Cour-de-France, about four leagues from the capital. Assuming an air of tranquillity, he awaited, at an inn, the return of his aide-de-camp from Paris. For some time he paced the room in silence, without suffering any trace of disquietude to appear upon his countenance, and after having supped with appetite, threw himself upon his bed, and enjoyed several hours of sleep. With every exertion General Girardin was not able to reach Paris till the armistice had taken place, and till all hopes of preventing the entrance of the allies were completely dissipated.

Paris, the focus of those revolutionary wars which had agitated Europe for five and twenty years, saw, on the 31st of March, Europe in arms within her walls. The approach of the crisis had secretly given birth to three parties, into which the city was divided. The first was composed of a nu-

merous body, who felt a desire for the re-establishment of liberty; another party, less numerous, was composed of faithful royalists, anxious for the restoration of the Bourbons; while a third wished to maintain the existing government. These elements of intestine discord existed in every department of France; but the partisans of liberty, from a hope that adversity had inculcated upon the Bourbons the salutary lesson—that the best security of thrones consists in the liberty and happiness of the people, cast their weight into the scale of the royalists, and favoured the return of their ancient sovereigns.

The occupation of Paris by the allies had suggested a movement to the royalists, which had for its object to convince the European monarchs that the wishes of the French, too long suppressed, were favourable to the royal cause. With this view, one hundred young royalists entered into an engagement to meet on the morning of the 31st, at the Place Louis XV. and to declare for the Bourbons. At nine o'clock in the morning M. Charles de Vauvineaux appeared on horseback at the appointed rendezvous, and read aloud to the citizens by whom he was surrounded, the proclamation of the commander-in-chief of the allied armies, which declared that they sought to establish “a salutary authority in France, able to join in cementing the union of all nations and governments.” Having finished the proclamation, he mounted the white cockade, and uttered, for the first time that it had been heard in Paris since the death of Louis XVI. the shout of “*Long live the King!*” This cry was instantly reiterated by a number of the partisans of royalty, who dispersed in various directions, and explained to the people the advantages of the restoration. “By recalling your legitimate monarch,” said they, you will obtain peace, and with it the end of the conscription, as well as the abolition of all vexatious taxes.” These popular harangues, so grateful to the ears of the Parisians, were followed by a distribution of white cockades, which were received by the populace with cries of—“*Down with the Tyrant! Long live the Bourbons! Long live Louis XVIII!*” To waft these returning indications of loyalty into a flame, a group of royalists, headed by Count Thibault de Montmorency, retraced their steps to the Place of Louis XV. without their numbers having been materially increased; but here they were joined by the Viscountess de Chateaubriand, Madame De Vauvineaux, Madame de Semalle, the Countess de Choiseul, the Princess de Leon, and several other ladies of distinction, who encouraged the citizens to assume the royal colours, and when they had no longer any cockades to distri-

bute, they tore into shreds several parts of their dress, which served to multiply the tokens of the restoration. Napoleon, however, still had partisans, who went from group to group, exclaiming—"Remove your cockades. Have we not an established order of things. Would you unsettle all our institutions, disturb property, and renew the scenes of the revolution. We ought to have no wishes but for the emperor." These cold remonstrances were lost in the tumultuous shouts of the multitude, and by a strange vicissitude, the same voices which, one and twenty years ago, had exulted in the death of Louis XVI. were now raised for the restoration of the Bourbons.

The cavalry of the allied armies, under the command of the Grand Duke Constantine, the brother of the Emperor of Russia, were formed in columns during the morning on the road from Bondy to Paris; and the emperor himself, with his staff, his generals, and his suite, repaired to Pantin, where he was joined by the King of Prussia with a similar equipage. The two monarchs, attended by their suites, at length proceeded by the suburbs of St. Martin through the barriers of Paris, the Cossacks of the guards forming the head of the procession. Towards noon, the troops which preceded and followed the imperial and royal retinue made their entry, with the sound of trumpets and martial music—the infantry marching with a front of thirty, and the cavalry of fifteen men. On reaching the suburb the crowd was so immense that the military procession was for a long time delayed. All Paris seemed to be concentrated at a single point. Towards one o'clock the army of Europe, from the borders of the Volga, the Danube, and the Spree, debouched on the *Boulevards*, with as much regularity as if defiling at a parade, accompanied by the most rapturous greeting of the multitude by which they were surrounded. When the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and the Grand Duke Constantine, appeared, accompanied by the Generalissimo, Prince Schwartzenburg, and the British Ambassador, Lord Cathcart, the crowd rushed towards them, and exclaimed, "*Long live the Emperor Alexander! Long live Frederick William! Long live our Deliverers!*" and these cries were frequently mixed with the exclamations of "*Long live Louis XVIII! Long live the Bourbons!*" During the while of this imposing procession, which occupied several hours, the two sovereigns replied to the acclamations of the populace with unbounded affability, and soothed the wounds of national pride by repeating to all around them, "We come not as your conquerors, we are your allies." The royalists, seizing the auspicious moment,

crowded round the Emperor Alexander, and continually implored him to restore the legitimate monarch. Madame de Semalle, a lady who had distinguished herself by her activity and zeal in the royal cause, threw herself at the feet of the czar, and with a flood of tears urged the claims of her sovereign, the king:—"You wish it," answered Alexander, "and the French nation wish it. Enough—you shall be gratified." These assurances spread like electricity through Paris; accompanied by assurances that the capital should be exempt from contributions and war charges; and that all the monuments of art should be respected. To complete the picture, the populace, so lately greeting the ears of Napoleon with the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" were now seen throwing a cord round the neck of his statue, on the column of victory, and labouring to remove it from the pedestal, with repeated cries of "*Down with the tyrant !*"

Napoleon as if doomed to assist at the funeral rites of his own power, passed the night of the 30th at a distance of only four leagues from Paris, and slept with tranquillity, while two hundred thousand foreign troops were making preparations to deprive him of his crown. Early in the morning the intelligence reached him that his capital had capitulated, and that no effort could now prevent the entrance of the allied armies into Paris. In this emergency he held a council with the officers by whom he was surrounded, consisting of the Duke of Vicenza, General Bertrand, and several others, at which it was determined that the emperor should repair to Fontainebleau, and there rally his army, while the Duke of Vicenza proceeded to the head-quarters of the allied monarchs, furnished with full powers to coincide in such conditions as the conquerers might be disposed to dictate.

The military government of Paris was confided to General Baron Sacken, and the propriety of this choice was manifested by the good order and tranquillity which prevailed in all quarters. Business resumed its natural course; the barriers were opened, and a sentiment of general security began to prevail in a city occupied by an army so lately in a state of hostility with France. Still the opinions of the people regarding the future government had not been expressed in an authorised way. The legislative corps, which, from its popular construction, seemed the proper organ of the national will, had been abruptly dissolved on the 31st of December, and it was impossible to assemble the deputies with sufficient promptitude to take a lead in the momentous decisions of the present moment. The senate was the only body which possessed any authority; but this assembly thought itself crushed beneath the ruins of

Napoleon's throne, till the following declaration on the part of the Emperor Alexander called it into action, and gave it a new existence :—

“The armies of the allied powers have occupied the capital of France, and the sovereigns gladly meet the wishes of the French nation. They declare, that though the conditions of peace must have been protected by the strongest guarantees, while it was their object to fetter the ambition of Bonaparte, these conditions may be more favourable, when France herself, returning to a sage system of government, offers the assurance of repose. The sovereigns consequently declare, that they will no further treat with Napoleon Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family ; that they will respect the integrity of ancient France, such as it existed under her legitimate kings ; and that they may even do more, because they lay it down as a principle, that, for the happiness of the people, it is necessary France should be great and strong ; that they will acknowledge and guarantee the constitution which the French nation shall choose for itself ; and that they consequently invite the senate to appoint, without delay, a provisional government, which is capable of providing for the wants of administration, and preparing a constitution suitable to the French. The intentions which I thus avow, are entertained by me, in common with all the allied powers.

“ALEXANDER.”

This proclamation was no sooner promulgated, than the senators were suddenly convoked by Prince Talleyrand de Périgord, in his quality of vice grand elector. Sixty-five senators, assembled by this authority, on the 1st of April, threw off the imperial sway, and created a provisional government, charged with the office of re-establishing the functions and administration of the state. The persons fixed upon for this duty were Prince Talleyrand, the Senators Count Beurnonville and Count de Jaucourt, the Counsellor of State, Duke Dalberg, and the Abbe de Montesquieu, an old member of the constituent assembly. The installation of the provisional government was signalized by an address to the French armies, in which it was said :—“You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon ; the senate and all France release you from your oath.” On the following day, the 2d of April, the senate decreed, that the Emperor Napoleon had forfeited the throne of France, and that the people, as well as the army, were released from the oath of fidelity.* At the close of the sitting, the

* DECREE OF THE SENATE.

The conservative senate, considering,

That in a constitutional monarchy, the monarch exists only in virtue of the constitution or social compact ;

That Napoleon Bonaparte, during a certain period of firm and prudent government, afforded to the nation reasons to calculate for the future on acts of wisdom and justice ; but that afterwards he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law,

members proceeded in a body to the Emperor of Russia, who, after receiving their homage, addressed them in these terms :—

against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to the 57th article of the Act of the constitutions of the 28th Floreal, year 12 ;

That he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning, without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed, as criminal, a report of that body,* the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed ;

That he undertook a series of wars in violation of article 50 of the act of the constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports, that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated, in the same manner as laws ;

That he issued, unconstitutionally, several decrees, inflicting the punishment of death ; particularly the two decrees of the 5th of March last, tending to cause to be considered as national, a war which would not have taken place but for the interests of his boundless ambition ;

That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the state ;

That he annulled the responsibility of the ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of judicial bodies ;

Considering that the liberty of the press, established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subjected to the arbitrary control of his police, and that at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favourable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments ;

That acts and reports heard by the senate have undergone alterations in the publication ;

Considering that, instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country by his refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honour ;

By the abuse which he made of all the means intrusted to him in men and money ;

By the abandonment of the wounded, without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence ;

By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases ;

Considering that, for all these causes, the imperial government, established by the *senatus consultum* of the 28th Floreal, year 12, has ceased to exist, and that the wish manifested by all Frenchmen calls for an order of things, the first result of which should be the restoration of general peace, and which should also be the æra of a solemn reconciliation of all the states of the great European family—

The senate declares and decrees as follows :—

Article I.—Napoleon Bonaparte has forfeited the throne, and the hereditary right established in his family is abolished.

II.—The French people and the army are released from their oath of fidelity towards Napoleon Bonaparte.

III.—The present decree shall be transmitted by a message to the provisional government of France, conveyed forthwith to all the departments and the armies, and immediately proclaimed in all the quarters of the capital.

“A man, who called himself my ally, came as an unjust aggressor into my dominions. It is against him, and not against France, that I have carried on the war. I am the friend of the French, and you cause me to renew this declaration. It is just and wise that France should have strong and liberal institutions, commensurate with her present enlightened state. The allies and I have only come to protect the freedom of your decisions. As a proof of the durable alliance which I wish to contract with your nation, I restore to you all the prisoners now in Russia. The provisional government has solicited this of me ; I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolution which it has taken.”

Thus, by a splendid act of munificence, two hundred thousand French captives were about to be restored without ransom, and returned from the extremities of Europe and Asia to the bosom of their families in France.

The members of the legislative body who still remained in Paris, amounting to seventy-seven in number, assembled on the following day in the ordinary hall of their sittings, and assented to the act of the senate, which decreed that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne. The body of advocates, and the court of cassation, immediately followed this example, invoking the constitutional charter, which they considered necessary to confirm public liberty, and restore France to the descendants of Henry IV. Marshal Marmont, in a correspondence with Prince Schwartzenberg, on the 3d of April, professed his readiness to accede to the decree by which Napoleon Bonaparte was declared to have forfeited the throne of France, but he required as a guarantee—“That all troops quitting the standard of Napoleon should have leave to pass freely into Normandy ; and that if the events of the war should place Bonaparte as a prisoner in the hands of the allies, that his life and safety should be guaranteed, and that he should be sent to a country chosen by the allied powers and the French government.” To these demands Prince Schwartzenberg acceded, and Marshal Marmont, with his corps of twelve thousand men, passed within the lines of the allies. The counter-revolution was thus advancing at a steady pace, and all the authorities, both civil and military, successively rallied round the senate and the provisional government.

In the mean time Napoleon collected all his troops at Fontainebleau, amounting to sixty thousand men, and announced, that it was his intention to march his army to the capital, and to repel the invaders ; but the talisman of passive obedience was broken ; some of the marshals had already sent in their adherence to the provisional government,* and a majority of the other marshals refused to acquiesce in the romantic enter-

* Marshal Victor, who was detained at Paris by a severe wound, was the first of this number.

prise of marching against Paris. France was invaded from the Pyrenees to the Garonne ; from the Alps to the Auvergne ; from the Rhine to the Loire ; Paris and its environs were occupied by two hundred thousand foreign troops, and the army that Napoleon still had under him might be considered as almost surrounded. The struggle, therefore, had become hopeless, and the army, however well disposed to follow their leader, had no disposition to sacrifice themselves, or to light up a flame of civil war, which might lay their country in ruins. The Major-general Berthier, having at all times access to the Emperor, was deputed to repair to the palace during the night of the 3d of April, and to recommend to him the salutary measure of abdication. The first mention of this subject roused the natural irritability of his temper into rage ; but when Marshals Ney, Oudinot, and Macdonald, who afterwards arrived, assured him that this measure alone could save the country, his towering spirit seemed subdued, and he consented to abdicate his throne in favour of his son, the infant king of Rome. This proposal it was determined to submit to the senate and the French nation, and on the 4th, Marshals Ney and Macdonald, accompanied by M. de Caulaincourt, were deputed to repair to Paris for that purpose.

On quitting Paris, the empress and the King of Rome had taken the road to Tours, by Rambouillet and Chartres, and on the 1st of April arrived at Blois, the capital of the department of the Loire, where a regency government was established in the name of the empress. The ministers, and the brothers of Napoleon, forming the council of regency, determined to maintain one government against another ; the war-office was placed in full activity, and four hundred commissioners were employed day and night in collecting levies, under a persuasion that this unfortunate country would become the theatre of a civil war. To forward the execution of the projects of the emperor, the ephemeral regency of Blois issued the following proclamation, which was dated on the 3d of April, and signed by the empress :—

“ FRENCHMEN ! The events of war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners ; but the emperor has hastened to its protection at the head of his armies, so frequently victorious. They are in the presence of the enemy under the walls of Paris. It is from the residence I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, that the only orders will proceed which you can acknowledge. Every place which is in the possession of the enemy ceases to be free. Every direction which emanates from it, is in the language of strangers, or such as it suits their hostile views to adopt. You will be faithful to your oath of allegiance. You will listen to the voice of a princess, who was consigned to your good faith, who glories in being a Frenchwoman, and in having associated her destiny with that of the sovereign whom you freely chose for

yourselves. My son was less sure of your affection during the hour of prosperity than at the present moment. His rights and his person are under your safe-guard.

(Signed)

“ MARIA LOUISA, Empress Regent.

“ MONTALIVET, Secretary to the Regency.”

It was amidst these melancholy prospects that the negotiators from Fontainebleau, who had repaired to Paris to defend the Napoleon dynasty, were introduced during the night of the 4th into the presence of the Emperor Alexander. Marshals Ney and Macdonald, faithful to the obligations imposed upon them by their commission, represented that the emperor was disposed to abdicate his throne in favour of his son. The political and moral considerations connected with the question of the succession, were debated with great energy at a special conference convened on this question, at which Prince Talleyrand, General Pozzo di Borgo, and others, attended, and the result was, that the Bourbon dynasty should be restored. At the breaking up of the conference Marshals Ney and Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at eleven o'clock at night on the 5th. The Prince of Moskwa was the first to enter the apartments of the palace, when the emperor inquired with earnestness if he had succeeded. “ In part, sire,” said the marshal, “ but not with regard to the regency—it was too late. Revolutions never give way. This has taken its course, and the senate will tomorrow recognize the Bourbons.” The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been stipulated for; that he would be permitted to retire to the Isle of Elba; and that a stipend of two millions of francs would be allowed for his annual expenditure. The composure and acquiescence with which a man who had aspired to universal empire received these proposals, astonished those around him, and the utter impossibility of controlling the adverse events by which he was surrounded, combined with a love of life, bowed him to his destiny. In virtue of these arrangements Napoleon consented to the entire renunciation of his rights, and on the 6th of April announced his abdication in the following terms:—

“ The allied powers have proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe; the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares, that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interest of France.”

This act, which was officially announced in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 9th of April, was not known at Paris till the 12th, the day after the conclusion of a secret

treaty between the confederated Sovereigns of Europe and the modern Charlemagne, now become, by a strange vicissitude of fortune, the Emperor of the Isle of Elba !*

The same day on which the deed of abdication was signed by Napoleon, a new constitution for the government of France was submitted to the conservative senate, and adopted by the unanimous consent of that assembly. By this constitutional charter Louis XVIII. was called to the throne of his ancestors, and in its enactments the prerogatives of the sovereign were happily blended with the liberties of the subject. The resemblance of many articles in this constitution to that form of government under which it is the happiness of Englishmen

* The secret treaty between Napoleon and the allied powers consisted of twenty-one articles ; it was dated the 11th of April, 1814, and fixed and guaranteed the future destiny of Napoleon and his family. The first article stipulated that “ His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall for himself, his successors, and descendants, and for all the members of his family, renounce all right of sovereignty and dominion, as well over the empire of France and the kingdom of Italy, as every other country ;” by the second, the titles of Bonaparte and his family were guaranteed to them during their lives ; by the third, the Isle of Elba was appointed as his future residence, of which the full sovereignty was vested in him, with an annual revenue of two millions of francs, (83,333*l.*) in rent charge on the great book of France ; one million to revert to the Empress Maria Louisa ; to whom, by the fifth article, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, were granted in full propriety and sovereignty, to pass to her son and his descendants in the direct line, the prince, her son, to take the name of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. By the sixth article a rent charge of two millions five hundred thousand francs was decreed to the different branches of Bonaparte’s family, in the following proportions :—

To Madame, the Mother of the Emperor,	-	<i>Francs</i>	300,000
King Joseph and his Queen,	- - - - -		500,000
King Louis,	- - - - -		200,000
Queen Hortensia and her Children,	- - - - -		400,000
King Jerome and his Queen,	- - - - -		500,000
The Princess Eliza,	- - - - -		300,000
The Princess Paulina,	- - - - -		300,000

Article seven fixed the future revenue of the Empress Josephine at one million francs ; and article eight provided that a suitable establishment should be given to her son, Prince Eugene, the Viceroy of Italy, in some country out of France. The seventeenth article stipulated that the emperor should carry with him, and retain as his guard, four hundred volunteers, including officers, subalterns, and privates ; and by the nineteenth the Polish troops of every description in the service of France were permitted to return to their native country, carrying with them their arms and baggage ; and the officers, subalterns, and privates, retaining the decorations which had been bestowed upon them, and the pensions attached to those decorations. The other articles of the treaty were either explanatory or merely prescribed the mode of carrying into effect those above enumerated.

to live, is sufficiently obvious ;* and hence it might perhaps be inferred that the French were at last to be blessed with as great

* CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER.

Article I.—The French government is monarchical, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture.

II.—The French people call freely to the throne of France, Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, brother of the last king, and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon.

III.—The ancient nobility resume their titles. The new preserve theirs hereditarily. The legion of honour is maintained with its prerogatives. The king shall fix the decoration.

IV.—The executive power belongs to the king.

V.—The king, the senate, and the legislative body, concur in the making of laws.

Plans of laws may be equally proposed in the senate and in the legislative body.

Those relating to contributions can only be proposed in the legislative body.

The king can invite equally the two bodies to occupy themselves upon objects which he deems proper.

The sanction of the king is necessary for the completion of a law.

VI.—There are one hundred and fifty senators at least, and two hundred at most. Their dignity is immovable, and hereditary from male to male, in order of primogeniture. They are named by the king. The present senators, with the exception of those who should renounce the quality of French citizens, are maintained, and form part of this number. The actual endowment of the senate and the senatorship belongs to them. The revenues are divided equally between them, and pass to their successors. In case of the death of a senator without direct male posterity, his portion returns to the public treasure. The senators who shall be named in future cannot partake of this endowment.

VII.—The princes of the royal family, and the princes of the blood, are by right members of the senate. The functions of a senator cannot be exercised until the person has attained the age of twenty-one years.

VIII.—The senate decides the cases in which the discussion of objects before them shall be public or secret.

IX.—Each department shall send to the legislative body the same number of deputies it sent thither. The deputies who sat in the legislative body at the period of the last adjournment shall continue to sit till they are replaced. All preserve their pay. In future they shall be chosen immediately by the electoral bodies, which are preserved, with the exception of the changes that may be made by a law in their organization. The duration of the functions of the deputies to the legislative body is fixed at five years. The new election shall take place for the session of 1816.

X.—The legislative body shall assemble of right each year on the 1st of October. The king may convoke it extraordinarily ; he may adjourn it ; he may dissolve it ; but in the latter case another legislative body must be formed, in three months at the latest, by the electoral colleges.

XI.—The legislative body has the right of discussion. The sittings are public, unless in cases where it chooses to form itself into a general committee.

XII.—The senate, legislative body, electoral colleges, and assemblies of cantons, elect their president from among themselves.

XIII.—No member of the senate, or legislative body, can be arrested without a previous authority from the body to which he belongs. The

a portion of civil, religious, and political liberty, as the people of this country enjoy; but no constitution, however liberal in

trial of a member of the senate or legislative body belongs exclusively to the senate.

XIV.—The ministers may be members either of the senate or legislative body.

XV.—Equality of proportion in the taxes is of right; no tax can be imposed or received unless it has been freely consented to by the legislative body and the senate. The land tax can only be established for a year. The budget of the following year, and the accounts of the preceding year, are presented annually to the legislative body and the senate, at the opening of the sitting of the legislative body.

XVI.—The law shall fix the mode and amount of the recruiting of the army.

XVII.—The independence of the judicial power is guaranteed. No one can be removed from his natural judges. The institution of juries is preserved, as well as the publicity of trial in criminal matters. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished. The king has the right of pardoning.

XVIII.—The courts and ordinary tribunals existing at present are preserved; their number cannot be diminished or increased, but in virtue of a law. The judges are for life, and irremovable, except the justices of the peace, and the judges of commerce. The commissions and extraordinary tribunals are suppressed and cannot be re-established.

XIX.—The courts of cassation, the courts of appeal, and the tribunals of the first instance, propose to the king three candidates for each place of judge vacant in their body. The king chooses one of the three. The king names the first presidents and the public ministry of the courts and the tribunals.

XX.—The military on service, the officers and soldiers on half pay, the widows and pensioned officers, preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions.

XXI.—The person of the king is sacred and inviolable. All the acts of the government are signed by a minister. The ministers are responsible for all which those acts contain violatory of the laws, public and private liberty, and the rights of citizens.

XXII.—The freedom of worship and conscience is guaranteed. The ministers of worship are treated and protected alike.

XXIII.—The liberty of the press is entire, with the exception of the legal repression of offences which may result from the abuse of that liberty. The senatorial commissions of the liberty of the press and individual liberty are preserved.

XXIV.—The public debt is guaranteed. The sales of the national domains are irrevocably maintained.

XXV.—No Frenchman can be prosecuted for opinions or votes which he has given.

XXVI.—Every person has the right to address individual petitions to every constituted authority.

XXVII.—All Frenchmen are equally admissible to all civil and military employments.

XXVIII.—All the laws existing at present remain in vigour, until they be legally repealed. The code of civil laws shall be entitled, *Civil Code of the French*.

XXIX.—The present constitution shall be submitted to the acceptance of the French people, in the form which shall be regulated. Louis Stanislaus Xavier shall be proclaimed King of the French, as soon as he shall have signed and sworn, by an act stating, *I accept the constitution; I swear to observe it, and cause it to be observed.*

its principles, and apparently practicable in its details, can of itself bestow on a nation the blessings of liberty. Unless in the great body of the people there be a proper degree of intelligence ; a due sense of their own importance, weight, rights, and duties ; and unless also there be, in the higher classes, and particularly in those who are intrusted with the government, a conviction that their own happiness and the permanency of their rule will be best secured by maintaining the liberties of the people, free constitutions will be of little avail. The body will be there, but the animating spirit will be wanting ; and years, perhaps ages, must roll away, before nations once sunk into slavery can become free and happy.

After the fall of Bourdeaux, that city, and the department of La Vendee, became the focus of royal insurrection, and Lord Wellington, pursuing his success, marched to the conquest of Languedoc. From Tarbes Marshal Soult had been obliged to retreat to Toulouse, and thither he was pursued by the British army. On the 7th of April, Colonel Cooke had left Paris for the express purpose of apprising Lord Wellington of the revolution which had so completely changed the aspect of public affairs ; and this officer was accompanied by Colonel St. Simon, who was employed by the provisional government to give Marshals Soult and Suchet information of the same event. From some cause, not very satisfactorily explained, these messengers of peace were arrested and detained on their way to the south, and owing to their detention the lives of ten thousand brave men were uselessly sacrificed, in a battle fought on the 10th of April, under the walls of the capital of Languedoc.

The incessant rains had impeded the advance of Lord Wellington ; and time was afforded to Marshal Soult to prepare for the defence of this city. Toulouse, though not naturally a strong fortress, is supported on three of its sides by the Garonne, and the celebrated canal of Languedoc ; and the French, availing themselves of these advantages, constructed *tetes de pont* commanding the approaches by the canal and the river, and supported them by musketry and artillery from the walls. In addition to these advantages, they had placed five redoubts on a commanding height to the eastward ; and as the roads had become almost impassable for artillery, the allies were obliged to attack to great disadvantage. Early in the morning of the 10th of April, all the corps of the combined army were

This oath shall be repeated in the solemnity, when he shall receive the oath of fidelity of the French.

Signed by the PRINCE OF BENEVENTE, President ; and by sixty-seven members of the senate.

put in motion, while the French troops, ranged in battle array, prepared to make the most vigorous resistance. At seven o'clock in the morning the battle commenced, near the wharfs at the mouth of the canal, and soon became extremely animated. The French brigade being at first repulsed, set fire to several houses in the suburbs, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the assailants, and then fell back towards the *tete de pont* formed at the junction of the canals, and in this situation they maintained themselves with so much firmness that all the efforts of the allies to dislodge them proved unavailing.

The attack soon spread along the whole line, and the battle became general. Marshal Beresford, by previous arrangement, crossed the Ers, and forming his corps into three columns at Croix d'Orade, immediately seized the village of Montblanc, and re-ascended the river over difficult ground, in a direction parallel to the position of Marshal Soult. On reaching the extremity of the village he lost no time in proceeding to the attack. As soon as Don Manuel Freyre, the Spanish commander, perceived that Marshal Beresford's corps had reached its station, he advanced to attack the French intrenchments in concert with that commander. It was Marshal Soult's intention to receive the combined army with a tremendous cannonade, and to avail himself of this favourable moment for attacking it unawares, hoping to break the line by a bold and decisive charge. Every thing seemed at first to presage success; his army stood firmly in its line, and saw, without intimidation, the approach of the Spanish troops, marching in good order under a brisk fire of musketry and artillery, with their general and his staff at their head. On moving round to the left flank, Don Manuel's corps was repulsed with loss, and Marshal Soult immediately ordering a charge to be made, his troops darted from their line. By this charge the right wing of the Spanish corps was turned on both sides of the high road from Toulouse to Croix d'Orade, and compelled, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of their officers, to fall back in disorder.

This partial success, which animated the French army to the highest degree, induced Lord Wellington to redouble his efforts. The 4th division, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir L. Cole, and the 6th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir H. Clinton, led by Marshal Beresford in person, carried part of the heights, after two successive attacks, and obtained possession of the first redoubt, which covered and protected the flank of his position. This advantage was not obtained without much bloodshed, and the French troops having

shown that they were resolved to defend every intrenchment and redoubt, inch by inch, Marshal Beresford suspended his attacks till the arrival of his artillery, and till the Spanish corps was prepared to return to the charge. These dispositions being completed, the marshal resumed his offensive movements along the heights, and successively attacked the other redoubts with General Pack's brigade, supported by the 6th division. The Spanish and Portuguese corps failed in several attempts to carry the redoubts, but Lord Wellington, undismayed by the heroic resistance of the enemy, renewed the assault, and towards noon succeeded in carrying the two principal redoubts in the centre, and the intrenchments which constituted the principal strength of the position. Victory now evidently inclined towards the allies ; but on approaching the castle of Guery, towards the banks of the canal, they had to sustain a fierce attack, made by a French division, which rushed from a place of ambush, and made a desperate, but unsuccessful, effort to regain the heights. The French General Tampin, to whom the command of the troops issuing from this ambuscade was confided, paid the forfeit of his life to his impetuous valour ; and the 6th division of the British troops continuing to advance steadily along the summit of the hill, while the Spaniards made a corresponding movement in front, the French army was at length dislodged from the two remaining redoubts. The victorious troops of Lord Wellington now possessed themselves of the Montaudron road, and the whole range of heights fell into their possession.

While these operations were taking place on the left of the combined army beyond the Garonne, Lieutenant-general Hill, with the right wing, dislodged the enemy's left from the interior works of the St. Cyprien suburb. Lieutenant-General Picton also renewed his attacks, and drove the French troops from the *tete de pont* at the canal, near the Garonne ; but upon attempting to seize that position his division was repulsed with loss, and compelled to desist from the further prosecution of this part of the enterprise.

The allied army, being now victorious at all the principal points, and particularly on the left, established themselves on three of the sides of Toulouse ; and after having turned the French army, compelled it to seek refuge in the city, and finally, to retreat from that place in the direction of Castelnau-dry, leaving Generals D'Harispe, Bourot, and St. Hilaire, with sixteen hundred prisoners, in the hands of the victors. Of the numerous battles fought by Lord Wellington, the battle of Toulouse, which was the last of the campaign, and of the war, may be classed among the most sanguinary ; the en-

gement, which commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, did not cease till the same hour in the evening; and the number of killed and wounded in the allied armies amounted to nearly five thousand. The loss of the French was not estimated, but it no doubt swelled the whole number of those whose blood flowed in vain on this glorious but melancholy day to upwards of ten thousand.(79.)

(79.) The French writers give a very different representation of the battle of Toulouse from that in the text. According to them, the force of the army under Marshal Soult, did not exceed 20,000 men, while that of the allies is estimated at upwards of 80,000. The dilatory movements of Lord Wellington, after the battle of Orthez, had enabled his opponent to fortify his position at Toulouse in the strongest manner. The object of the allies was the possession of the French intrenchments, but night closed upon the field of battle without their having gained any important point. They are said to have lost fifteen thousand men, the French about twenty-five hundred; and when the advantageous position of the latter is considered, this statement will probably be found nearer the truth than the English. The narratives of individuals, generally speaking, convey a more faithful, and at the same time a more picturesque view of an engagement, than the official despatches of commanders. The subjoined anecdote, copied from the memoirs of an eyewitness of the battle of Toulouse, will probably interest our readers.

"The French lost in the affair of Toulouse, about 2,500 men; of the English, from their own confession, more than 15,000 were put *hors de combat*, and the regiments which fought with the greatest bravery were as usual those which suffered the most. The morning after the battle, I was detached with my battalion to the bridge at the head of the canal. Without fear of being accused of exaggeration, I can confidently assert that in a space of twenty square yards I counted more than two hundred and sixty corpses, all either English or Scotch. Near this place I met with an English officer, who had been sent for the purpose of burying their dead. He spoke a little French, and although enemies, we soon entered into a familiar conversation. Between military men, confidence is soon established. Seeing us tranquilly seated together, at the foot of a tree, partaking of the same frugal breakfast, and drinking from the same cup, no one would have supposed that we had been bitter enemies the evening before. I asked him what he thought of the battle. "It was a severe one," he replied with the usual English phlegm, "We have great confidence in Lord Wellington, but another such day as yesterday"—"Yes," I interrupted him with the vivacity of a *voltigeur* officer, "Another such day as yesterday, and Lord Wellington will return to England as Pyrrhus did to Epirus." My new acquaintance blamed the conduct of the Spaniards severely, accusing them as the cause of the disasters of the preceding day. "There is no occasion to accuse any one," I replied, "The Spaniards behaved well on their own ground, and so will we on ours; a nation determined to defend itself, can never be subjected." We then spoke on the subject of peace, for to that theme men willingly recur: nature never formed them to destroy each other. He confessed that he was heartily tired of the fatigues of war, and wished to live in tranquillity. "I believe you sincerely," I said, "but peace appears to me still at a distance; your government, which at one time proposed reasonable terms, now seems bent on the ruin of my country, and sows among us the seeds of dissension and civil war. Your general brings in his train, men who call themselves French princes, but who are in fact unknown to us, and whom we have resolved

On the 11th of April Colonel Cooke and Colonel St. Simon arrived at Toulouse with the intelligence that Napoleon Bonaparte was dethroned ; and the same information was conveyed with all possible despatch to Marshals Soult and Suchet. For some days the French marshals did not consider the communication as sufficiently authentic to induce them to lay down their arms ; and in the interval Sir John Hope was made prisoner by the enemy in a sortie from Bayonne ; but the arrival of other messengers placed the fact of the overthrow of Bonaparte's government out of all doubt, and a convention was entered into by the commanders of the hostile armies on the same bases as the convention of Paris.

All France was left at complete liberty to follow the impulse and the example of the capital ; in every part of that fine country an ardent desire existed to see public liberty flourish under the shelter of the laws ; and the Bourbons, aware of the rock upon which the unfortunate Louis XVI. had perished, would, it was hoped, secure to the nation over which they were again destined to rule, a portion, at least, of that first of blessings. At the period of the restoration, Louis XVIII. was confined at his residence in England by sickness and infirmity ; in consequence of which, his brother, the Count d'Artois, was appointed lieutenant-general of France, and requested immediately to repair to the capital from Vesoul. On the 12th of April his royal highness made his public entry into Paris, surrounded by several of the great officers of the state, and attended by a group of French marshals. The enthusiasm with which the French people had now become animated, was rapidly communicated to the Russian, Austrian, Prussian, English, Spanish, and Portuguese officers assembled in the church of Notre Dame, and it appeared as if all Europe, represented by a selection of warriors, swore on the altar, at the festival of the restoration, to maintain that peace which had been so happily and unexpectedly restored.

The cause of Napoleon was for the present entirely lost : the emblems of his government disappeared, and his army was rapidly melting away. The regency at Blois, astonished at the rapid progress of the restoration, and overpowered by the intelligence of the emperor's abdication, was suddenly dissolved ; and the Empress Maria Louisa and her son, placing themselves under the protection of Prince Esterhazy,

never to acknowledge. We must therefore, I am afraid, renounce all hope of peace." We drank to the health of each other, and parted with a mutual promise, that if by chance we should again meet, we would recall to each other's recollection our singular interview on the field of battle of Toulouse."---*Precis Historique, &c. par A. Carel*, p. 218.

retired, first into Switzerland, and afterwards to that paternal residence from which four years before she had withdrawn, under the combined influence of the blandishments of imperial splendour, and the dictates of filial obedience.

Napoleon, who, in the plenitude of his power, had commanded five hundred thousand warriors, and held all Europe in awe, now found himself at Fontainebleau, with no troops but his guards, and those reduced to two or three thousand men. The shock of his sudden overthrow had produced an attack of catalepsy,* a disorder to which he was subject, and his departure for the Island of Elba was in consequence delayed. His indisposition was not so severe as to prevent him from daily reading the Paris journals; but instead of those extravagant eulogiums, of which for fifteen years he had been the object, he now found his conduct canvassed with freedom, and frequently censured with a spirit that awakened his fury, and called down his menace; but speedily recollecting that he was no longer the formidable Napoleon, he exclaimed—"Had any one told me, three years ago, one-hundredth part of the truths I now hear, I should still have been upon the throne of France." What a reflection on the dastardly and servile flatterers of princes! During his reverse of fortune he still preserved his adventurous character, and prepared himself for the last scene of his expiring power. Assembling his guards, he placed them in review, and with an emotion that could ill be suppressed, he thus addressed them;—

"Generals, officers, and soldiers of my guard, I bid you farewell. I am satisfied with you. For twenty years I have always found you in the path of glory. The allied powers have armed all Europe against me; part of the troops have betrayed their duty, and France herself wishes for another dynasty. With you and the other brave men who have remained faithful to me, I could maintain a civil war for three years; but this would be a misfortune to France, and as such is contrary to the object I have ever had in view. Be faithful to the new king which France has chosen; and do not abandon this dear country which has been so long unhappy. Lament not my fate; I shall be always happy when I know that you are so. I might have died---nothing would have been easier for me; but I will continue in the path of honour. I will write the history of our achievements. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general. Bring me the eagle. Dear eagle! may these kisses resound in the hearts of all my brave soldiers. Adieu, my children!"

On the 20th of April, at noon, Napoleon departed from Fontainebleau for Elba, accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouet, who retired with him to that island. The exiles

* A disease in which the senses and the power of voluntary motion are suddenly suspended, the body and limbs of the patient remaining unmoved in the situation in which they happen to be at the moment of attack, and readily receiving and retaining any position which is communicated to them by external force.

were escorted on their journey by four superior officers,* acting as commissioners to the allied powers, together with one hundred and fifty foreign troops, supported by detachments placed at a distance from each other.

To accomplish the great work of a general peace, the allied sovereigns of the continent assembled at Paris. The Emperor of Austria, who had hitherto remained at Dijon, made his entry into the French capital in great state on the 15th of April, and was received by the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois. On the 23d a convention was signed between the allied powers and France, by which it was agreed that hostilities should every where cease; and that the allied armies should evacuate the French territory in fourteen days from that date; the boundary line to be observed being that which constituted the limits of France on the 1st of January, 1792. Fifteen days were allowed for mutual evacuations in Piedmont, and twenty days in Spain; the fleets were to remain in their then present stations, but all blockades were declared to be raised, and the fisheries and the coasting trade were permitted. By this convention all prisoners were mutually and immediately liberated and sent to their respective countries.

The health of Louis XVIII. was sufficiently restored on the 20th of April to enable him to repair from Hartwell to London, and his reception in the British metropolis was little inferior to that which awaited him in his own. The Prince Regent, who ranked among the warmest friends to the restoration, went out to meet the future sovereign of France, and the inhabitants of London, and indeed of every part of the kingdom, participated largely in the feelings of their prince.

On the 2d of May the French King arrived at the castle of St. Ouen, a royal residence in the vicinity of Paris, where the members of the provisional council were admitted to an audience, and on which occasion the following declaration was issued:—

“LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all whom these presents shall concern, health!

“Recalled by the love of our people to the throne of our fathers, and guided as to our conduct by the misfortunes of the nation which we are destined to govern, our first idea is to invoke that mutual confidence, so necessary to our repose, and the happiness of France.

“After having attentively read the plan of constitution proposed by the senate at its sitting of the 6th of April last, we are convinced that

* Colonel Campbell, (English); General Schuwalow, (Russian); General de Koller, (Austrian); and General Valdeburgh Fruchsels, (Prussian.)

the bases of it are good, but that a great number of articles, bearing the stamp of the precipitation with which they have been framed, cannot, in their present form, become fundamental laws of the state.

"Being resolved to adopt a liberal constitution, wishing that it may be sagely combined, and not being able to accept one which it is indispensable to rectify, we convoked, for the 10th of June, in the present year, the senate and legislative corps, engaging that we will then submit to them the result of our labours, with a committee chosen from the members of these two bodies, and that the constitution shall be founded on the following bases.

"The representative government shall be maintained as it exists at this day, and shall be divided into two bodies, the senate, and the chamber of deputies from the departments.

"The taxes shall be freely assented to.

"Public and individual liberty shall be secured.

"The liberty of the press shall be respected, subject to such precautions as are necessary to insure public tranquillity.

"Religious liberty shall be guaranteed.

"Property shall be sacred and inviolable; the sale of national effects shall be irrevocable.

"The ministers, who shall be responsible for the measures of government, may be arraigned by one legislative chamber, and judged by the other.

"The judges shall hold their offices for life; and their judicial power shall be independent.

"The public debt shall be guaranteed.

"The pensions, degrees, and military honours shall be preserved, as well as the ancient and new nobility.

"The legion of honour shall be retained, and we will fix the decoration of it

"Every Frenchman shall be admissible to civil and military employments.

"No individual shall be disturbed for his opinions and votes.

"Given at St. Ouen, the 2d of May, 1814.

"LOUIS."

Accompanied by the acclamations of the people from the frontiers of his kingdom to the gates of his capital, the impatiently expected monarch made his solemn entry on the 3d of May. The procession was headed by the marshals of France, the generals of the army, and all the officers of the court; accompanied by the national guards, and by detachments of the regular army. The king, dressed in a general's blue uniform, appeared in an open carriage, drawn by eight horses; on his left was placed the august daughter of Louis XVI. opposite to them were the Prince of Conde, and his son, the Duke of Bourbon; and Monsieur, and his son, the Duke of Berri, mounted on their chargers, took the right and left of the carriage. The procession entered the city amidst the reiterated shouts of the populace, and peals of artillery. All the windows in the streets through which they passed, up to the roofs, were filled with spectators, and the king saluted the crowd with the most gracious condescension and benignity. On entering the gates of Notre Dame, the royal personages were saluted by the thousand times repeated cry of "*Vive le*

Roi !" The king alighted at the gate of the cathedral, and after receiving the holy water and incense, was addressed by the vicar-general in the name of the chapter :—" On entering my good city of Paris," said his majesty in reply, " my first object was to thank God and his blessed mother, the almighty protectress of France, for the miracles which have terminated my misfortunes. I am a son of St. Louis, and will imitate his virtues." At the close of the ceremony the king repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries, and in presenting himself to the countless multitude assembled under the windows of his palace, he laid one hand on his heart, and raised the other towards heaven, as if to express, by a single gesture, that the acknowledgment which he owed to God, he would manifest by his love to his people.

As the stability of the new government depended in a great degree on the adherence of the French marshals, and of the army, over which they had a powerful influence, their sentiments on the counter-revolution were anxiously looked for. Most of them were not slow in offering the incense of their adhesion at the shrine of power ; and if they had simply contented themselves with expressing their fidelity to their new sovereign, and their hope that by his restoration peace would be secured to France and to Europe, no blame could have been attached to them ; but many of them, in their acts of adhesion, indulged in the most violent and outrageous language against Napoleon—language which, however well warranted by his conduct, ill became men who had been the instruments of his ambition, and had largely partaken in the honours and emoluments which his successful career had enabled him to shower down upon his followers. Of the number of *girouettes*, Marshal Augereau, the Duke of Castiglione, held the most distinguished rank ; and his subsequent conduct sufficiently proved how little reliance is to be placed upon that spurious loyalty which has for its basis a compound of ingratitude and apostacy. " Soldiers !" said the marshal, in his proclamation to the army, " you are freed from your oaths ; you are freed by the nation, in whom the sovereignty resides ; you are freed also, if this were necessary, by the abdication of a man, who, after sacrificing millions of victims to his cruel ambition, had not the heart to die like a soldier."*

The convention signed between the allied powers and the French government on the 23d of April, was the precursor of a more comprehensive and specific arrangement ; and on the

* Proclamation of Marshal Angereau to his army, dated Valence, April 16, 1814.

30th of May, a definitive treaty of peace between his Britannic Majesty and his most Christian Majesty Louis XVIII. was signed at Paris, of which the subjoined copy is a faithful transcript:—

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE

CONCLUDED AT PARIS ON THE 30TH DAY OF MAY, 1814.

“In the name of the most Holy and Undivided Trinity. His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his allies, on the one part; and his Majesty the King of France and of Navarre on the other part; animated by an equal desire to terminate the long agitations of Europe, and the sufferings of mankind, by a permanent peace, founded upon a just repartition of force between its states, and containing in its stipulations the pledge of its durability; and his Britannic Majesty, together with his allies, being unwilling to require of France, now that, replaced under the paternal government of her kings, she offers the assurance of security and stability to Europe, the conditions and guarantees which they had with regret demanded from her former government, their said majesties have named plenipotentiaries to discuss, settle, and sign a treaty of peace and amity; namely,

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh, his Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c. &c. the Right Honourable George Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty; the Right Honourable William Shaw Cathcart, Viscount Cathcart, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias; and the Honourable Sir Charles William Stewart, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of Prussia; and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Perigord, Prince of Benevente, his said Majesty's Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; who, having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I.—There shall be from this day forward perpetual peace and friendship between his Britannic Majesty and his allies on the one part, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre on the other, their heirs and successors, their dominions and subjects respectively.

The high contracting parties shall devote their best attention to maintain, not only between themselves, but, inasmuch as depends upon them, between all the states of Europe, that harmony and good understanding which are so necessary for their tranquillity.

II.—The kingdom of France retains its limits entire, as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792. It shall further receive the increase of territory comprised within the line established by the following article;

III.—On the side of Belgium, Germany, and Italy, the ancient frontiers shall be re-established as they existed the 1st of January, 1792, extending from the North Sea, between Dunkirk and Nieupoort, to the Mediterranean, between Cagnes and Nice, with the following modifications:—

1st.—In the department of Jemappes, the cantons of Dour, Merbes-le-Chateau, Beaumont, and Chimay, shall belong to France; where the line of demarkation comes in contact with the canton of Dour, it shall pass between that canton and those of Bousau and Paturage, and likewise further on it shall pass between the canton of Merbes-le-Chateau, and those of Binck and Thuin.

2.—In the department of the Sambre and Meuse, the cantons of Walcourt, Florennes, Beauraing, and Gedinne, shall belong to France; where the demarkation reaches that department, it shall follow the line which separates the cantons from the department of Jemappes, and from the remaining cantons of the department of Sambre and Meuse.

3.—In the department of the Moselle, the new demarkation, at the point where it diverges from the old line of frontier, shall be formed by a line to be drawn from Perle to Fremersdorff, and by the limit which separates the canton of Tholey from the remaining cantons of the said department of the Moselle.

4.—In the department of La Sarre, the cantons of Saarbruck and Arneval shall continue to belong to France, as likewise the portion of the canton of Lebach which is situated to the south of a line drawn along the confines of the villages of Herchenbach, Ueberhofen, Hilsbach, and Hall, (leaving these different places out of the French frontier,) to the point where, in the neighbourhood of Querselle, (which place belongs to France,) the line which separates the cantons of Arneval and Ottweiler reaches that which separates the cantons of Arneval and Lebach. The frontier on this side shall be formed by the line above described, and afterwards by that which separates the canton of Arneval from that of Bliescastel.

5.—The fortress of Landau having, before the year 1792, formed an insulated point in Germany, France retains beyond her frontiers a portion of the departments of Mount Tonnerre and of the Lower Rhine, for the purpose of uniting the said fortress and its radius to the rest of the kingdom.

The new demarkation from the point in the neighbourhood of Obersteinbach, (which place is left out of the limits of France,) where the boundary between the department of the Moselle and that of Mount Tonnerre reaches the department of the Lower Rhine, shall follow the line which separates the cantons of Weissenbourg and Bergzabern (on the side of France) from the cantons of Pirmasens, Dahn, and Annweiler, (on the side of Germany,) as far as the point near the village of Vollmersheim where that line touches the ancient radius of the fortress of Landau. From this radius, which remains as it was in 1792, the new frontier shall follow the arm of the river de la Queich, which on leaving the said radius at Queichheim, (that place remaining to France,) flows near the villages of Merlenheim, Knittelsheim, and Belheim (these places also belonging to France) to the Rhine, which from thence shall continue to form the boundary of France and Germany.

The main stream (Thalweg) of the Rhine shall constitute the frontier; provided, however, that the changes which may hereafter take place in the course of that river shall not affect the property of the islands. The right of possession in these islands shall be re-established as it existed at the signature of the treaty of Luneville.

6.—In the department of the Doubs the frontier shall be so regulated as to commence above the Ranconnie're, near Locle, and follow the Crest of Jura between the Cerneux, Pequignot, and the village of Fontenelles, as far as the peak of that mountain, situated about seven or eight thousand feet to the north-west of the village of La Brevine, where it shall again fall in with the ancient boundary of France.

7.—In the department of the Lemán, the frontiers between the French territory, the Pays de Vaud, and the different portions of the territory of the republic of Geneva, (which is to form part of Switzerland,) remain as they were before the incorporation of Geneva with France. But the cantons of Frangy and of St. Julien, (with the exception of the districts situated to the north of a line drawn from the point where the river La Loire enters the territory of Geneva near Chancy, following the confines of Sesequin, Laconex, and Seseneuve, which shall remain out of the limits of France,) the canton of Reignier, with the exception of the por-

tion to the east of a line which follows the confines of the Muras, Bussy, Pers, and Cornier, (which shall be out of the French limits,) and the canton of La Roche (with the exception of the places La Roche, and Armanoy, with their districts) shall remain to France. The frontier shall follow the limits of these different cantons, and the line which separates the districts continuing to belong to France, from those which she does not retain.

In the department of Montblanc, France acquires the sub-prefecture of Cambery, with the exception of the cantons of L'Hospital, St. Pierre d'Albigny, la Rocette, and Montmelian, and the sub-prefecture of Annecy, with the exception of the portion of the canton of Faverges, situated to the east of a line passing between Ourechaise and Marleys on the side of France, and Marthod and Ugine on the opposite side, and which afterwards follows the crest of the mountains as far as the frontier of the canton of Thones; this line, together with the limit of the cantons before mentioned, shall on this side form the new frontier.

On the side of the Pyrenees, the frontiers between the two kingdoms of France and Spain, remain such as they were the 1st of January, 1792, and a joint commission shall be named on the part of the two crowns for the purpose of finally determining the line.

France on her part renounces all rights of sovereignty (*suzerainete'*) and of possession over all the countries, districts, towns, and places situated beyond the frontier described, the principality of Manaco being replaced on the same footing on which it stood before the 1st of January, 1792.

The allied powers assure to France the possession of the principality of Avignon, of the Comptat Venaissin, of the Comte' of Montbeilliard, together with the several insulated territories which formerly belonged to Germany, comprehended within the frontier above described, whether they have been incorporated with France before or after the 1st of January, 1792. The powers reserve to themselves, reciprocally, the complete right to fortify any point in their respective states which they may judge necessary for their security.

To prevent all injury to property, and protect, according to the most liberal principles, the property of individuals domiciliated on the frontiers, there shall be named, by each of the states bordering on France, commissioners, who shall proceed, conjointly with French commissioners, to the delineation of the respective boundaries.

IV.—To secure the communications of the town of Geneva with other parts of the Swiss territory situated on the lake, France consents that the road by Versoy shall be common to the two countries. The respective governments shall amicably arrange the means for preventing smuggling, regulating the posts, and maintaining the said road.

V.—The navigation of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable unto the sea, and *vice versa*, shall be free, so that it can be interdicted to no one:—and that at the future congress, attention shall be paid to the establishment of the principles according to which the duties to be raised by the states bordering on the Rhine may be regulated, in the mode the most impartial, and the most favourable to the commerce of all nations.

The future congress, with a view to facilitate the communication between nations, and continually to render them less strangers to each other, shall likewise examine and determine in what manner the above provision can be extended to other rivers which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different states.

VI.—Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange; shall receive an increase of territory. The title and exercise of that sovereignty shall not in any case belong to a prince wearing, or destined to wear a foreign crown.

The states of Germany shall be independent and united by a federative bond.

Switzerland, independent, shall continue to govern herself.

Italy, beyond the limits of the countries which are to revert to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign states.

VII.—The island of Malta and its dependencies shall belong in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty.

VIII.—His Britannic Majesty, stipulating for himself and his allies, engages to restore to his most Christian Majesty, within the term which shall be hereafter fixed, the colonies, fisheries, factories, and establishments of every kind, which were possessed by France on the 1st of January, 1792, in the seas and on the continents of America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception however of the islands of Tobago and St. Lucie, and of the Isle of France and its dependencies, especially Rodrigues and Les Sechelles, which several colonies and possessions his most Christian Majesty cedes in full right and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, and also the portion of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, and which his most Christian Majesty restores in full right and sovereignty to his Catholic Majesty.

IX.—His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with the allies, and in execution of the preceding article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe be restored to his most Christian Majesty, and gives up all the rights he may have acquired over that island.

X.—Her most Faithful Majesty, in virtue of the arrangements stipulated with her allies, and in execution of the 8th article, engages to restore French Guyana as it existed on the 1st of January, 1792, to his most Christian Majesty, within the term hereafter fixed.

The renewal of the dispute which existed at that period on the subject of the frontier, being the effect of this stipulation, it is agreed that the dispute shall be terminated by a friendly arrangement between the two courts, under the mediation of his Britannic Majesty.

XI.—The places and forts in those colonies and settlements, which, by virtue of the 8th, 9th, and 10th articles, are to be restored to his most Christian Majesty, shall be given up in the state in which they may be at the moment of the signature of the present treaty.

XII.—His Britannic Majesty guarantees to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty the same facilities, privileges, and protection, with respect to commerce, and the security of their persons and property within the limits of the British sovereignty on the continent of India, as are now or shall be granted to the most favoured nations.

His most Christian Majesty, on his part, having nothing more at heart than the perpetual duration of peace between the two crowns of England and of France, and wishing to do his utmost to avoid any thing which might affect their mutual good understanding, engages not to erect any fortifications in the establishments which are to be restored to him within the limits of the British sovereignty upon the continent of India, and only to place in those establishments the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

XIII.—The French right of fishery upon the bank of Newfoundland, upon the coasts of the island of that name, and of the adjacent islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be replaced upon the footing in which it stood in 1792.

XIV.—Those colonies, factories, and establishments, which are to be restored to his most Christian Majesty by his Britannic Majesty or his allies in the Northern Seas, or in the seas on the continents of America and Africa, shall be given up within the three months; and those which are beyond the Cape of Good Hope within the six months which follow the ratification of the present treaty.

XV.—The high contracting parties having, by the 4th article of the

convention of the 23d of April last, reserved to themselves the right of disposing, in the present definitive treaty of peace, of the arsenals and ships of war, armed and unarmed, which may be found in the maritime places restored by the second article of the said convention; it is agreed, that the said vessels and ships of war, armed and unarmed, together with the naval ordnance and naval stores, and all materials for building and equipment, shall be divided between France and the countries where the said places are situated, in the proportion of two-thirds for France, and one-third for the power to whom the said places shall belong. The ships and vessels on the stocks, which shall not be launched within six weeks after the signature of the present treaty, shall be considered as materials, and after being broken up, shall be, as such, divided in the same proportions.

Commissioners shall be named on both sides to settle the division and draw up a statement of the same, and passports or safe conducts shall be granted by the allied powers for the purpose of securing the return into France of the workmen, seamen, and others in the employment of France.

The vessels and arsenals existing in the maritime places which were already in the power of the allies before the 23d of April, and the vessels and arsenals which belonged to Holland, and especially the fleet in the Texel, are not comprised in the above stipulations.

The French government engages to withdraw, or cause to be sold, every thing which shall belong to it by the above stipulations, within the space of three months after the division shall have been carried into effect.

Antwerp shall for the future be solely a commercial port.

XVI.---The high contracting parties, desirous to bury in entire oblivion the dissensions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that no individual, of whatever rank or condition he may be, in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in his person or property, under any pretext whatsoever, either on account of his conduct or political opinions, his attachment either to any of the contracting parties, or to any government which has ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for debts contracted towards individuals, or acts posterior to the date of the present treaty.

XVII.---The native inhabitants and aliens, of whatever nation or condition they may be, in those countries which are to change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty as of the subsequent arrangements to which it may give rise, shall be allowed a period of six years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications, for the purpose of disposing of their property, if they think fit, whether it be acquired before or during the present war; and retiring to whatever country they may choose.

XVIII.---The allied powers, desiring to offer his most Christian Majesty a new proof of their anxiety to arrest, as far as in them lies, the bad consequences of the disastrous epoch terminated by the present peace, renounce all the sums which their governments claim from France, whether on account of contracts, supplies, or any other advances whatsoever to the French governments, during the different wars that have taken place since 1792.

His most Christian Majesty, on his part, renounces every claim which he might bring forward against the allied powers on the same grounds. In execution of this article, the high contracting parties engage reciprocally to deliver up all titles, obligations, and documents, which relate to the debts they may have mutually cancelled.

XIX.---The French government engages to liquidate and pay all debts it may be found to owe in countries beyond its own territory, on account of contracts, or other formal engagements between individuals, or pri-

vate establishments, and the French authorities, as well for supplies, as in satisfaction of legal engagements.

XX.---The high contracting parties, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, shall name commissioners to direct and superintend the execution of the whole of the stipulations contained in the 18th and 19th articles. These commissioners shall undertake the examination of the claims referred to in the preceding article, the liquidation of the sums claimed, and the consideration of the manner in which the French government may propose to pay them. They shall also be charged with the delivery of the titles, bonds, and the documents relating to the debts which the high contracting parties mutually cancel, so that the approval of the result of their labours shall complete that reciprocal renunciation.

XXI.---The debts which in their origin were specially mortgaged upon the countries no longer belonging to France, or were contracted for the support of their internal administration, shall remain at the charge of the said countries. Such of those debts as have been converted into inscriptions in the great book of the public debt of France, shall accordingly be accounted for with the French government after the 22d of December, 1813.

The deeds of all those debts which have been prepared for inscription, and have not yet been entered, shall be delivered to the governments of the respective countries. The statement of all these debts shall be drawn up and settled by a joint commission.

XXII.—The French government shall remain charged with the reimbursement of all sums paid by the subjects of the said countries into the French coffers, whether under the denomination of surety, deposit, or consignment.

In like manner, all French subjects employed in the service of the said countries, who have paid sums under the denomination of surety, deposit, or consignment, into their respective coffers, shall be faithfully reimbursed.

XXIII.—The functionaries holding situations requiring securities, who are not charged with the expenditure of public money, shall be reimbursed at Paris, with the interests, by fifths and by the year, dated from the signature of the present treaty. With respect to those who are unaccountable, this reimbursement shall commence, at the latest, six months after the presentation of their accounts, except only in cases of malversation. A copy of the last account shall be transmitted to the government of their countries, to serve for their information and guidance.

XXIV.—The judicial deposits and consignments upon the "*caisse d'amortissement*," in the execution of the law of 28 Nivose, year 13, (18th of January, 1805,) and which belong to the inhabitants of the countries France ceases to possess, shall, within the space of one year from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, be placed in the hands of the authorities of the said countries, with the exception of those deposits and consignments interesting French subjects, which last will remain in the "*caisse d'amortissement*," and will only be given up on the production of the vouchers, resulting from the decisions of competent authorities.

XXV.—The funds deposited by the corporations and public establishments in the "*caisse de service*," and in the "*caisse d'amortissement*," or other "*caisse*," of the French government, shall be reimbursed by fifths, payable from year to year, to commence from the date of the present treaty; deducting the advances which have taken place, and subject to such regular charges as may have been brought forward against these funds by the creditors of the said corporations, and the public establishments.

XXVI.—From the 1st day of January, 1814, the French government shall cease to be charged with the payment of pensions, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, pensions for retirement, and allowances for reduction, to any individual who shall cease to be a French subject.

XXVII.—National domains acquired for valuable considerations by French subjects in the late departments of Belgium, and of the left bank of the Rhine, and the Alps, beyond the ancient limits of France, and which now cease to belong to her, shall be guaranteed to the purchasers.

XXVIII.—The abolition of the "*droits d'Aubaine*," "*de Detraction*," and other duties of the same nature, in the countries which have reciprocally made that stipulation with France, or which have been formerly incorporated, shall be expressly maintained.

XXIX.—The French government engages to restore all bonds, and other deeds, which may have been seized in the provinces occupied by the French armies or administrations; and in cases where such restitution cannot be effected, these bonds and deeds become and continue void.

XXX.—The sums which shall be due for all works of public utility not yet finished, or finished after the 31st of December, 1812, whether on the Rhine or in the departments detached from France by the present treaty, shall be placed to the account of the future possessors of the territory, and shall be paid by the commission charged with the liquidation of the debts of that country.

XXXI.—All archives, maps, plans, and documents whatever, belonging to the ceded countries, or respecting their administration, shall be faithfully given up at the same time with the said countries: or if that should be impossible, within a period not exceeding six months after the cession of the countries themselves.

This stipulation applies to the archives, maps, and plates, which may have been carried away from the countries during their temporary occupation by the different armies.

XXXII.—All the powers engaged on either side in the present war, shall, within the space of two months, send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of regulating, in general congress, the arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present treaty.

XXXIII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, within the period of fifteen days, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed and affixed to it the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen.

(L. S.) LE PRINCE DE BENEVENT.

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L. S.) ABERDEEN.

(L. S.) CATHCART.

(L. S.) CHARLES STEWART, Lieutenant-general.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES.

1.—His most Christian Majesty, concurring without reserve in the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, with respect to a description of traffic repugnant to the principles of natural justice and of the enlightened age in which we live, engages to unite all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade, so that the said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years; and that, during the said period, no slave merchant shall

import or sell slaves, except in the colonies of the state of which he is a subject.

II.—The British and French governments shall name, without delay, commissioners to liquidate the accounts of their respective expenses for the maintenance of prisoners of war, in order to determine the manner of paying the balance which shall appear in favour of the one or the other of the two powers.

III.—The respective prisoners of war, before their departure from the place of their detention, shall be obliged to discharge the private debts they may have contracted, or shall at least give sufficient security for the amount.

IV.—Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty of peace, the sequestrators which since the year 1792 (one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two) may have been laid on the funds, revenues, debts, or any other effects of the high contracting parties or their subjects, shall be taken off.

The commissioners mentioned in the 2d article shall undertake the examination of the claims of his Britannic Majesty's subjects upon the French government, for the value of the property, movable or immovable, illegally confiscated by the French authorities, as also for the total or partial loss of their debts or other property, illegally detained, under sequester since the year 1792, (one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two.)

France engages to act towards British subjects in this respect, in the same spirit of justice which the French subjects have experienced in Great Britain; and his Britannic Majesty, desiring to concur in the new pledge which the allied powers have given to his most Christian Majesty, of their desire to obliterate every trace of that disastrous epocha, so happily terminated by the present peace, engages on his part, when complete justice shall be rendered to his subjects, to renounce the whole amount of the balance which shall appear in his favour for the support of prisoners of war, so that the ratification of the report of the above commissioners, and the discharge of the sums due to British subjects, as well as the restitution of the effects which shall be proved to belong to them, shall complete the renunciation.

V.—The two high contracting parties, desiring to establish the most friendly relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves, and promise to come to a mutual understanding and arrangement, as soon as possible, upon their commercial interests with the view of encouraging and increasing the prosperity of their respective states.

The present articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the treaty patent of this day. They shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time.

Dated and signed as above.

At the same time the same definitive treaty of peace was concluded between France and Austria, Russia, and Prussia, respectively; and signed, on the part of the former by the Prince of Benevente, for Austria by Prince Metternich and Count Stadion, for Russia by Count Rasmoffsky and Count Nesselrode, and for Prussia by Baron Hardenberg and Baron Humboldt; with the following additional articles.

TO THE TREATY WITH AUSTRIA.

The high contracting parties, wishing to efface all traces of the unfortunate events which have oppressed their people, have agreed to annul explicitly the effects of the treaties of 1805 and 1809, as far as they are not already annulled by the present treaty. In consequence of this determination, his most Christian Majesty promises, that the decrees passed against French subjects, or reputed French subjects, being or having been in the service of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majes-

ty, shall remain without effect ; as also the judgments which may have been given in execution of these decrees.

TO THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA.

The duchy of Warsaw, being under the administration of a provisional council established in Russia, since that country has been occupied by her armies, the two high contracting parties have agreed to appoint immediately a special commission, composed of an equal number of members on either side, who shall be charged with the examination, liquidation, and all the arrangement relative to the reciprocal claims.

TO THE TREATY WITH PRUSSIA.

Though the treaty of peace concluded at Basle, on the 8th of April, 1795 ; that of Tilsit, on the 9th of July, 1807 ; the convention of Paris, of the 20th of September, 1808 ; as well as all the conventions and acts whatsoever, concluded since the peace of Basle between Prussia and France, are already virtually annulled by the present treaty, the high contracting powers have nevertheless thought fit to declare expressly that the treaties cease to be obligatory for all their articles, both patent and secret, and that they mutually renounce all right, and release themselves from all obligation which might result from them.

His most Christian Majesty promises that the decrees issued against French subjects, or reputed Frenchmen, being or having been in the service of his Prussian Majesty, shall be of no effect, as well as the judgments which may have been passed in execution of those decrees.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BRITISH HISTORY: Meeting of Parliament---Inquiry regarding the Cession of Norway to Sweden---Address to the Prince Regent moved by Mr. Wilberforce---Honours conferred upon the Duke of Wellington---Takes his Seat in the House of Peers---His Reception in the House of Commons---The Corn Bill---Fresh Indignities offered to the Princess of Wales---Discussions in Parliament on this Subject---Proposed Marriage between the Princess Charlotte of Wales and the Prince of Orange---The proposed Alliance broken off---The Princess of Wales leaves the Kingdom---Imperial and Royal Visit to England---Case of Lord Cochrane---Finances---State of Ireland---Congratulatory Address to the Prince Regent on the Restoration of Peace---Prorogation of Parliament.

THE parliament of Great Britain, which assembled in the winter of 1813, principally for the purpose of voting those supplies by which the overthrow of the French empire under the Napoleon dynasty was essentially promoted, adjourned on the 20th of December, and was not re-assembled till the 21st of March in the following year, when the negotiations at Chatillon had failed, and when the allied armies were within a few days' march of their ultimate destination. Money was still wanted ; and the first business of importance brought before the house of commons was a motion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of two millions on account of the army extraordinaries, making, with three millions be-

fore voted, the sum of five millions. This grant, he stated, was much beneath the sum that would be required for the current year ; but as the necessities of the state were urgent, it was deemed expedient to propose the present grant thus early, and to wait the developement of events in order to regulate the amount of the further supply.

While the momentous occurrences, which took place in the month of April, were passing in rapid succession before an astonished world, the attention of the people of England was almost entirely absorbed by those public demonstrations of joy which prevailed in every city, town, and village of the empire ; and the members of both houses of parliament partook so largely of the public exhilaration, that the business of parliament was for some time suspended.

The treaty between Sweden and Denmark, by which the kingdom of Norway was transferred to Sweden, under the guarantee of Great Britain, without the consent, and, as it now appeared, against the will of the Norwegians, detracted from the general satisfaction, and soon arrested the attention of parliament. On the 29th of April, Lord Liverpool stated, in answer to a question from Lord Holland, that in the cessation of hostilities between France and the allied powers, Norway was not included, but that, on the contrary, orders had been given at the admiralty to take measures for the blockade of the ports of Norway. In effect, that the ports of Norway were to be blockaded by Great Britain, in order to compel the inhabitants of that country, under the pressure of famine, to submit to unite themselves with a foreign power. Against a proceeding so abhorrent to the feelings of independence, a motion was made by Earl Grey in the house of lords, and by Mr. C. W. Wynne in the house of commons, for an address to the prince regent, entreating that the blockade of Norway by a British force should be raised ; but in both houses the motion was rejected, and the Norwegians, unable to withstand the combined efforts put forth to coerce them into submission, ultimately passed under the Swedish yoke.

At a time when the British cabinet and foreign governments were more closely drawn together, and more intimately connected than at any former period ; when all the nations of Europe were about to revive their commercial relations with each other, and to study the elements of a lasting peace ; Mr. Wilberforce rising in his place in the house of commons,* said, it appeared to him that there was no better or more acceptable mode of expressing our gratitude to that Providence

* On the 3d of May.

which had brought us in safety and triumph through all our dangers and trials, than to do what in us lay to diminish the mass of human suffering, by recommending the abolition of the slave trade. When the present circumstances of Europe were taken into consideration, when it was considered what great provocations some of the allied powers had received from France, and what noble revenge they had taken, by returning benefits for injuries, and good for evil, he felt the most sanguine hopes, that when they were made thoroughly acquainted with the nature of this horrid traffic, they would consummate their noble conduct by joining heartily in this great act of justice and humanity. The slave trade of France had been practically destroyed by the war, and therefore that country had nothing to give up in this respect. Spain was no longer in a situation to be afraid of adopting a measure that might give offence to the merchants of Cadiz; Portugal had signed an engagement with this country for the gradual abolition of the trade, but Portugal, he was sorry to say, still persisted in that shameful traffic; Sweden had already acquiesced in the proposition of our government; Denmark, much to its honour, had discontinued the trade for a long time; and America had declared against it. It would be a noble sequel to the glorious event which had just taken place in Europe, if a foundation were now laid for the future security, peace, and happiness of the inhabitants of Africa. He did not think the present motion necessary for the purpose of reminding ministers of the subject, but his object was to strengthen their representations, by showing to all foreign powers, that in abolishing the slave trade the British parliament had not acted from a mere transient fit of humanity and justice, but that they considered this as a subject of the most serious nature, and deserving of their unremitting attention. With these views he should move that a humble address should be presented to the prince regent, beseeching him to interpose the good offices and interference of government with the allied powers on the continent, to induce them to aid and assist in this desirable and humane object, by discontinuing and forbidding the same in their respective dominions. In these sentiments both sides of the house expressed their cordial concurrence; but all that the unanimous declaration of the British parliament, seconded by numerous petitions from the people of England, could effect in the cause of humanity, was an engagement on the part of his most Christian Majesty, “to unite all his efforts to those of his Britannic Majesty, at the approaching congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade, so that the

said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years.”*

The distinguished services rendered by Field-marshal the Marquis of Wellington were duly appreciated by his country; and on the 3d of May, the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, conferred upon this illustrious chief the dignities of Duke and Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the style and title of Marquis Douro and Duke of Wellington in the county of Somerset. To support the dignity thus conferred upon the duke, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was voted to him by the unanimous consent of parliament, on the recommendation of the prince regent, in a message presented to both houses on the 10th of the same month, and which, added to the sum of one hundred thousand pounds voted on a further occasion, swelled the amount of the grants placed at the disposal of the duke to half a million sterling. Honours and emoluments were at the same time bestowed upon the duke's companions in arms: Sir John Hope was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Niddry; Sir Stapleton Cotton was created Lord Combermere; Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch; Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Hill; and Sir William Beresford, Lord Beresford; and the dignities of Lords Lynedoch, Hill, and Beresford, were accompanied by a grant of two thousand per annum each.

In addition to the honours conferred upon the Duke of Wellington by his prince, and the pecuniary grants presented to his grace by the senate, both houses of parliament resolved to offer to the hero of their country the highest tribute of respect and applause that can be bestowed upon a subject. On the 28th of June, his grace took the oaths and his seat in the house of peers, on which occasion the lord chancellor communicated to him the thanks of the house, voted on the preceding day, observing, “that in the instance of his grace was to be seen the first and most honourable distinction of a member of that house being, at his first introduction, placed in the very highest and most distinguished rank among their lordships in the peerage.” These dignities, however, had not been bestowed lightly, but were the reward of unparalleled services, and merits, the nature and character of which would render the name of Wellington immortal. To these eulogiums the

* See Additional Articles to the Definitive Treaty of Peace between France and Great Britain, dated May 30, 1814.—Vol. IV. Book IV. Page 58.

duke modestly replied, that the successes which had attended his humble but zealous efforts in the service of his country he had principally to attribute to the ample support which he had received from his prince, his government, and the country, and to the zealous co-operation and assistance which he had received from his gallant and meritorious companions in arms.

That nothing might be wanted to fill up the measure of the Duke of Wellington's honours, the house of commons appointed a deputation of its members to congratulate him on his return to his country; and his grace in reply assured the members of the deputation, that it would afford him the highest pleasure to return his thanks in person to the commons of England for the honour they had conferred upon him. Lord Castlereagh having reported from the committee the duke's answer, the 1st of July was appointed for the solemnity. At about a quarter before five o'clock on that day, the duke, dressed in his field-marshal's uniform, and decorated with his military orders, presented himself at the bar of the house, and bowing repeatedly and respectfully, all the members, uncovered, rose, and enthusiastically cheered his entrance. His grace then seated himself on a chair placed within the bar, and the members having resumed their seats, he rose, and thus addressed the house through the usual medium:—

“MR. SPEAKER,—I was anxious to be permitted to attend this house in order to return my thanks in person for the honour done me in deputation a committee of the house to congratulate me on my return to this country; after the house had animated my exertions by their applause, on every occasion that appeared to them to merit their approbation; and after they had recently been so liberal, in the bill by which they followed up the gracious favour of his royal highness the prince regent, in conferring upon me the noblest gift a subject has ever received; I hope I shall not be thought presumptuous if I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration of the great efforts made by this house, and by the country, at a moment of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support, on a great scale, those operations, by which the contest in which we were engaged has been brought to so fortunate a conclusion. By the wise policy of parliament, government were enabled to give the necessary support to the operations carried on under my directions. The confidence reposed in me by his majesty's ministers, and by the commander-in-chief, the gracious favours conferred upon me by his royal highness the prince regent, and the reliance I had on the support of my gallant friends the general officers, and the bravery of the officers and troops of the armies, encouraged me to carry on the operations in which I was engaged in such a manner as to draw from this house those repeated marks of their approbation, for which I now return them my sincere thanks. Sir, it is impossible for me to express the gratitude I feel. I can only assure the house, that I shall always be ready to serve my king and country in any capacity in which my services may be considered useful or necessary, with the same zeal which has already acquired me the approbation of this house.”

Loud cheers accompanied the delivery of this speech, and at its close, the speaker rising, uncovered, thus addressed the Duke of Wellington :—

“MY LORD,—Since last I had the honour of addressing you from this place, a series of eventful years has elapsed ; but none without some mark and note of your rising glory. The military triumphs which your valour has achieved, upon the banks of the Douro and the Tagus, on the Ebro and the Garonne, have called forth the spontaneous shouts of admiring nations. Those triumphs it is needless on this day to recount. Their names have been written by your conquering sword in the annals of Europe, and we shall hand them down with exultation to our children’s children. It is not, however the grandeur of military success which has alone fixed our admiration, or commanded our applause ; it has been that generous and lofty spirit which inspired your troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them to know that the day of battle was always a day of victory ; that moral courage and enduring fortitude, which, in perilous times, when gloom and doubt had beset ordinary minds, stood nevertheless unshaken ; and that ascendancy of character which, uniting the energies of jealous and rival nations, enabled you to wield at will the fate and fortunes of mighty empires.

“For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer your acknowledgments ; but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor. It owes to you the proud satisfaction, that amidst the constellation of illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we should present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence ; and when the will of heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name an imperishable monument ; exciting others to like deeds of glory—and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate the existence of this country among the ruling nations of the earth.

“It remains only that we congratulate your grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed,* and we doubt not, that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness and temper, our national honour and interests in peace.”

The duke then took his leave, all the members rising and cheering him as he retired ; and it was ordered, in commemoration of the day when the house had had the happiness to witness within its walls the presence of a hero, never excelled at any period of the world, that the eloquent address of the speaker to the Duke of Wellington should be printed, and form a part of the annals of parliament.

Among the topics of parliamentary discussion during the present session, none excited so much general interest as the corn bill, the proceedings concerning which were the subject of much agitation in the country, and produced a vast number of petitions. In the year 1804 the corn laws were revised ; and by an act passed in that year, the importation

* As Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of France.

price of wheat was raised from fifty to sixty-three shillings per quarter ; and the duty payable on importation, when wheat was at that price or higher, was two shillings and sixpence per quarter. By the same law, the exportation price of wheat was advanced from forty-four to forty-eight shillings per quarter, and the duty payable on wheat exported at that price was continued at five shillings per quarter. In the session of 1812-13 a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the corn laws, which had remained unaltered since the year 1804 ; and this committee, which consisted principally of members connected with Ireland, drew up a report relating rather to the agricultural state of that country, than to the general interests of the kingdom. On the 5th of May, in the present year, Sir Henry Parnell, the chairman of the corn committee of 1813, moved that the first of a series of resolutions prepared by him should be referred to a committee of the whole house ; this resolution, which regarded only the exportation of corn, stated it to be "expedient that the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, and flour, from any part of the united kingdom, should be permitted at all times, without the payment of any duty, and without receiving any bounty whatever." This resolution being carried, a second was proposed, to the effect, "that the several duties now payable in respect to all corn, grain, meal, and flour, imported into the united kingdom, shall cease and determine, and the several duties in a schedule to be agreed upon shall be paid in lieu thereof." The schedule, after some emendations, fixed the duty for the importation of wheat at twenty-four shillings per quarter when the average price in this country was at or under sixty-three shillings per quarter ; but when the price in England was eighty-six shillings or upwards, the duty, which was gradually decreased up to that sum, was wholly to cease. Wheat imported from the British colonies in North America was only chargeable with half the duty ; and a similar scale was formed for other grain. The third resolution which, like the first and second, passed the committee, provided, "that all foreign corn, grain, meal, and flour, should be imported and warehoused free of all duty, until taken out for home consumption ; and should at all times be exported free from all duty."

In a subsequent stage of this discussion it was determined to consider the subject of the exportation of corn separate from the duties regarding the importation ; and a separate bill for allowing the free exportation of grain without duty or bounty, founded on the first resolution moved by Sir Henry Parnell, was prepared and passed into a law without any material opposition.

The other resolutions were doomed in their progress to encounter a very animated opposition both in and out of parliament; and on the 6th of June it was determined, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, in consideration of the number of petitions which had been presented against the proposed alteration in the corn-laws, that the petitions should be referred to the consideration of a select committee. This motion, which involved a postponement of the further consideration of the subject to the next session of parliament, was carried by a large majority, and the further consideration of the report of the committee of the preceding year was deferred to that day six months.

In the upper house of parliament, where the corn exportation bill had passed with as much facility as in the commons, a committee was also formed for inquiry into the state of the corn-laws; this committee, of which the Earl of Hardwicke was the chairman, brought up their report on the eve of the prorogation of parliament, stating, that the time had not been sufficient to justify the committee in coming to any final decision on the subject, and recommending that another committee should be appointed early in the next session of parliament.

The interest in the public mind which was so strongly roused in the year 1813 by the vindictive and unmerited persecution pursued towards the Princess of Wales, had begun to subside, when an interdict issued by the prince against the appearance of his royal consort at the queen's drawing-room again called into exercise the national sympathies in favour of her royal highness. A short time before the arrival of the royal visitors, by whose presence this country was honoured in the summer of the year 1814, and when, of course, it was to be expected that the levees and the drawing-rooms would be particularly splendid, the Princess of Wales received a letter from the queen,* acquainting her royal highness, "that she had received a communication from her son the prince regent, in which he states, that her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considers that his own presence at her court cannot be dispensed with, and that he desires it may be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone can be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or in private." The queen, in conclusion, states, that she is thus placed under the painful ne-

* Dated May 23, 1814.

cessity of intimating to the Princess of Wales the impossibility of her majesty's receiving her royal highness at her drawing-rooms.

To this cruel intimation the Princess of Wales replied in a letter to the queen,* that though she could not so far forget her duty to her king and to herself as to surrender her right to appear at any public drawing-room to be held by her majesty, yet that she might not add to the difficulty and uneasiness of her majesty's situation, she should in the present instance yield to the will of his royal highness the prince regent, and should not present herself at the drawing-rooms of the next month." But lest it should be by possibility supposed, that the resolution of the prince regent never to meet the princess, his wife, upon any occasion, either in public or in private, conveyed an insinuation from which she shrunk, the princess addressed a letter to the prince,† demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding which he had thus thought fit to adopt? "I owe it," said she, "to myself, to my daughter, and to the nation, to which I am indebted for the vindication of my honour, to remind your royal highness of what you know, that, after open persecution and mysterious inquiries, upon undefined charges, the malice of my enemies fell entirely upon themselves; and that I was restored by the king, with the advice of his ministers, to the full enjoyment of my rank in his court, upon my complete acquittal: since his majesty's lamented illness, I have demanded, in the face of parliament and the country, to be proved guilty or to be treated as innocent; I have been declared, what I am—innocent: and I will not submit to be treated as guilty. Sir, you may possibly refuse to read this letter, but the world must know that I have written it, and they will see my real motives for foregoing, in this instance, the rights of my rank: occasions however may arise (one I trust is far distant) when I must appear in public, and your royal highness must be present also. Can your royal highness have contemplated the full extent of your declaration? Has your royal highness forgotten the approaching marriage of our daughter, and the possibility of our coronation? The time you have selected for this proceeding is calculated to make it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers are already arrived in England, among others, as I am informed, the illustrious heir of the house of Orange, who has announced himself to me as my future son-in-law; from their society I am unjustly excluded; others are expected, of rank equal to your own, to rejoice with your royal highness in

* Dated May 24, 1814.

† Dated May 26, 1814.

the peace of Europe ; my daughter will, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of this empire ; this season your royal highness has chosen for treating me with fresh and unprovoked indignity, and of all his majesty's subjects, I alone am prevented, by your royal highness, from appearing in my place to partake of the general joy, and am deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but me."

The lamented indisposition of the king having deprived the Princess of Wales of her paternal protector, her royal highness was under the necessity of appealing to parliament against the persecution with which she was assailed from a quarter to which she had a right to look for nothing but kindness and affection. This appeal was made through the medium of the speaker of the house of commons, to whom her royal highness addressed a letter, animadverting on the dangerous nature of the "fixed and unalterable determination of the Prince of Wales never to meet her on any occasion, either in public or private ;" and inclosing for the information of the house, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion.

After the letters had been read, Mr. Methuen moved, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, to pray his royal highness that he would be graciously pleased to acquaint the house, by whose advice he was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or private.'"

To this motion the ministers of the prince objected, that it was not within the province of the house of commons to interfere in this case, and that the frequent family dissensions in the reigns of George I. and II. had exhibited many instances of the exclusion of members of the royal family from the court of the sovereign. The debate, which was carried on with closed doors, terminated in Mr. Methuen's consenting to withdraw his motion, from a hope that the rigorous proceeding announced against the Princess of Wales would not be acted upon at the approaching drawing-rooms. In this expectation the honourable gentleman was disappointed ; but when the subject was again resumed on the 23d of June, Mr. Methuen, instead of insisting upon the indignity and injustice offered to the mother of our future sovereign, dwelt rather upon the necessity of increasing the establishment of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales ! Stating, however, distinctly, that he had had no communication with her royal highness ; and

that he would be the last man to propose an increase of income, were its consequences to be the surrender of any of her rights.

Lord Castlereagh, seizing with avidity this view of the subject, observed, that it was the first time parliament had been told that an increased provision for her royal highness was the object which her friends had in view. His lordship proceeded to state that he had no objection to submit to the house, on a future day, a proposal on this subject ; and in conclusion adverted to a fact not before generally known, namely, that there is in existence an instrument dated in the year 1809, signed by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and approved by his majesty, and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time, is applied, which provides for a distinct establishment for the princess, and admits the fact of the separation.

On the 4th of July, the house being in a committee, Lord Castlereagh rose to propose that such an increase should be made to the income of the Princess of Wales as would enable her to maintain an establishment more suited to her situation in this country ; and he thought the more desirable measure would be to raise it to that point to which it would be advanced in the event of the death of the prince regent ; his proposal therefore was, that the net annual sum of fifty thousand pounds should be granted to the Princess of Wales, and that the five thousand and seventeen thousand per annum which she at present enjoyed should be withheld from the prince regent's income. Mr. Whitbread thought the provision large, much larger than any of the friends of her royal highness could have contemplated, if any such motive as the increase of the princess's allowance could have entered their mind, but for himself he disclaimed all such idea.

In a subsequent stage of this business, Lord Castlereagh called the attention of the house to a letter received by the chairman of the committee from the Princess of Wales, in which she intimated that it would be more satisfactory to her if the vote of the committee for an allowance of fifty thousand per annum was reduced to thirty-five thousand. This suggestion, after some further discussion, was adopted, and a bill was accordingly introduced into parliament, and passed into a law, whereby the net annual allowance of the Princess of Wales was fixed at thirty-five thousand pounds.

The Princess Charlotte of Wales, it was generally understood, had espoused the cause of her mother in the unhappy dissensions which had so long existed in the royal family, and it was probably in some degree owing to this circumstance that she was kept much more retired and private than her rank

and age seemed to require. Those who were appointed to superintend and direct her education were very often changed : and it was rumoured, that from these and other causes, her situation was by no means agreeable. But although the young princess had thus been kept in a state of comparative seclusion, it was now determined that she should marry. The person fixed upon as her husband was the young Prince of Orange, who was recommended by his long residence in this country ; by his acquaintance with the genius of our government, and with the habits and manners of the people, and by the connection between his house and the reigning family of Great Britain. In addition to these recommendations he was favourably known to the British public by the courage which he had displayed in the campaigns of the peninsula, under Lord Wellington. It does not, however, appear that he was ever very acceptable to his intended consort ; but as mutual attachment is seldom deemed requisite in royal marriages, it was imagined that the alliance would proceed to its consummation. The real objections of the princess to her intended husband remain in obscurity, though she certainly expressed a strong unwillingness to leave the country, especially at a time when her mother required her countenance and consolation. This objection it was endeavoured to surmount, by a promise that her absence should be only for a short duration, and that on her return from Holland she should never be asked again to leave the country. In this arrangement her royal highness appeared to acquiesce, and the marriage settlements were nearly ready to be executed ; when suddenly she expressed doubts as to the security tendered to her, that she should not be obliged to reside longer in Holland than she wished, and demanded that a clause should be inserted in the marriage contract prohibiting her from ever quitting the kingdom on any account, or for any time however short. To this proposal the Prince of Orange, who had pledged himself to the Dutch people to take the princess among them for a short time, could not consent, and the matrimonial negotiations were at an end.

One of the effects of this proceeding was to diminish the affectionate feeling between the Princess Charlotte and her royal father, and under such circumstances she naturally looked to her mother for protection and advice. This served still more to widen the breach ; and all the principal persons about her royal highness were removed, either because they were suspected of forwarding her views, or because they either wanted the power or the inclination to exercise that influence over her, which was deemed necessary in order to ren-

der her more obedient to the will of her father. On the 12th of July, at the moment when the prince was engaged at Warwick-House, the residence of the Princess Charlotte, giving instructions to those who had superseded her discarded attendants, the princess took an opportunity of leaving the house in a private manner, and throwing herself into a hackney coach, ordered the driver to convey her to her mother's residence at Connaught House. The Princess of Wales, much embarrassed by this unexpected visit, immediately drove to the house of parliament to consult her friends as to the proper course to be pursued ; and the result was, that at three o'clock the following morning the Princess Charlotte was prevailed upon to accompany her uncle, the Duke of York, to Carlton-House. After remaining at that place for some time, she was removed to Cranbourn-Lodge, in Windsor Forest, where she was placed under the superintendence of the household recently appointed.

Soon after the removal of the Princess Charlotte of Wales to Cranbourn-Lodge, her royal mother asked, and very readily obtained, permission from the prince regent and his ministers to leave this country ; but whether upon a visit to her continental connection, or with the intention of passing the remainder of her life at a distance from a country where she had experienced nothing but mortification and misery, is not clearly ascertained. On the 9th of August her royal highness embarked at Worthing, in the *Jason* frigate, and after having paid a visit to her brother at the the court of Brunswick, she proceeded to Italy, every where receiving the honours due to her rank, and on the approach of winter fixed her residence at Naples.

Every friend to his country and to the cause of public morals must agree in lamenting that each succeeding year, instead of healing, tended only to exasperate the differences existing among the members of the royal family ; and those who are accustomed only to the domestic peace and union which generally exist in the middle ranks of life, conceive it strange, that in a circle so exalted, and where example, either good or bad, is so influential, there should be so little disposition to exhibit to the nation a better model of conjugal affection for their imitation. At the present time, in particular, there were reasons for keeping in the back-ground these lamentable and degrading differences ; but even the visit of the continental potentates and their illustrious associates was not sufficient to subdue, even for the moment, that deep-rooted aversion and hostility which had unhappily taken possession of the mind of the prince regent.

On Monday the 6th of June, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the two sovereigns to whom Europe is so deeply indebted for their share in the overthrow of the military despotism which had enslaved France—and contemplated the subjugation of surrounding nations, landed on the British shores, from the Impregnable and the Jason, under the command of the Duke of Clarence as admiral of the fleet. Their majesties were accompanied by the two eldest sons of the King of Prussia, Prince Frederick of Prussia, Prince Augustus, Marshals Blucher and Barclay de Tolly, Prince Metternich, Baron Humboldt, Counts Platoff, Tolstoi, Hardenberg, and Nesselrode, Baron Anstet, Prince Garldriske, General Czernicheff, and other illustrious heroes and statesmen, whose bravery and talents had rendered them conspicuous in the recent extraordinary events. The royal visitors entered London privately in the afternoon of Tuesday, the emperor taking up his lodgings at the Pulteney Hotel, in Piccadilly, and the King of Prussia in apartments prepared for him in the stable yard St. James's. In the evening of that day the sovereigns waited upon the prince regent at Carlton-House, and received from his royal highness a hearty welcome. At six o'clock Marshal Blucher arrived in St. James's Park, by the Horse-Guards, in the prince regent's open carriage; and in the course of the evening the gallant veteran was publicly invested by the prince in person with a beautiful medallion likeness of his royal highness, richly set with diamonds. The pursuits of the Emperor Alexander, like those of his sister the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, who had previously arrived in this country, afforded evident proofs of praise-worthy curiosity and good taste. His majesty manifested a perfect indifference for shew and ceremony, except upon occasions where they were absolutely necessary for the dignity of the throne. He has too lively a sense of his common nature, as one fellow-creature among many, and one that does not arrogate to himself any super-eminence, to be fond of the usual gorgeous attentions that are shewn to men of his rank. The first visit paid by the Emperor of Russia on his arrival in London was to Westminster-Hall, and the Abbey—the tombs of the illustrious dead. Day and night, during the residence of the royal party, their time was fully occupied by the vast variety of objects that solicited their inspection, and rewarded their gratifying toil. Levees, drawing-rooms, and royal audiences, were succeeded by the amusement of the opera, the theatre, and the parks. The national bank, the mint, the tower, the docks, and the royal arsenals, were all in succession resorted to and explored—not with the vacant eye

of an indifferent spectator, but with that inquisitive exactness which indicated an intention to make the institutions of other nations subservient to the happiness and prosperity of their own.

On the 14th of June, the prince regent and his royal guest honoured the city and university of Oxford with a visit. Previously to their arrival a programma was drawn up, and issued by the chancellor and heads of houses, according to which all under-graduates and bachelors, all masters of arts, proctors, doctors, heads of houses, and noblemen, in short, all the university went out, each in his proper costume, and ranged themselves in lines on each side of the High Street, from St. Mary's Church to the west end of Magdalen-Bridge, to which the seniors were nearest. The yeomanry were stationed between the gownsmen and the footway, which was thus left open for the numerous spectators; and the windows of all the houses in High-Street were crowded with ladies. Soon after ten o'clock an *avant-courier* announced the approach of the prince regent, and after the lapse of about half an hour his royal highness was succeeded by the Emperor Alexander and his amiable and accomplished sister, who were soon succeeded by the King of Prussia and his two sons. The prince regent, having assumed his academic robe, came forth from his rooms in Christ Church, followed by the allied sovereigns, with the princes and nobles in their train. The morning was occupied in visiting and inspecting the colleges, halls, and churches; and in the evening a splendid banquet was prepared in Radcliffe's Library. About two hundred sat down to dinner, fifty of whom were considered as the prince's party, and occupied that part of the table nearest to his royal highness. The tables were loaded with elegant plate; and the dresses of the company were superb, many gentlemen being in court dresses or regimentals, and wearing loosely over them the scarlet academic robe. The beauty of the interior of the building, the ample convenience for the spectators, the rank of the guests, and the unique and classical effect of the academic robes, gave to the *coup d'œil* an effect that was scarcely ever equalled. About eleven o'clock at night the party separated in order to see the brilliant illuminations which at that hour blazed universally through the streets of Oxford.

Before eight o'clock the following morning the ladies' seats in the theatre, which accommodate six hundred, were completely filled. The upper gallery and the orchestra contained at least nine hundred under-graduates and bachelors; and the area received the masters of arts, bachelors of law, &c. and

the strangers admitted by tickets. Soon after ten o'clock the prince regent, preceded by the chancellor and the other officers of the university, appeared, uncovered, upon the threshold, and in an instant peals of applause rang through the lofty domes. Next to his royal highness came the emperor, and after him the King of Prussia, in their robes as doctors of law. Then followed the Duchess of Oldenburgh, accompanied by the Duke of York, the foreign princes and nobles, and the honorary members of the university; the heads of houses and doctors formed the rest of this beautiful and unique procession. As soon as silence could be obtained, the chancellor, Lord Grenville, opened the convocation in his usual dignified and impressive manner. The public orator ascended the rostrum, from whence he addressed the regent and his princely guests in a Latin oration. The regius professor of civil law then delivered the panegyric upon the two great monarchs, whose moderation had been displayed in the midst of victory, and on each of whom the degree of doctor in civil law, by diploma, had been conferred. The chancellor next proposed a diploma degree to the Duke of Wellington, and honorary degrees to Prince Metternich, the Prime Minister of the Emperor of Austria; Count Lieven, the Russian Ambassador, and to Prince Blücher. The three latter were accordingly introduced, and presented by the regius professor of civil law. Eight original and congratulatory addresses, in verse, were then recited, and after the chancellor had dissolved the convocation, the procession withdrew from the theatre in the same manner in which it was entered. The royal party honoured the corporation of Oxford with a visit in the council chamber, and the prince regent conferred on the town clerk, William Elias Taunton, Esq. and Joseph Lock, Esq. the mayor, the honour of knighthood. At one o'clock they visited the observatory, and at two partook of an elegant breakfast at All Souls' College. After breakfast, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, and their party, left the university on a tour to Blenheim and Stowe, highly gratified with their visit to this venerable seat of learning.

On the return of the Emperor Alexander to London he repaired to St. Paul's Cathedral, where he witnessed, with evident emotion, the annual assemblage of six thousand of the charity children belonging to the different parishes of the metropolis.

On the 18th an entertainment was given by the corporation of the city of London to the Prince Regent and the Monarchs of Russia, and Prussia, in a style of splendour and magnificence never exceeded in this country. To give effect to the

scene, the royal procession went in state from Carlton-House to the Guildhall, with the full splendour of the British court. The streets east of Temple-Bar were lined with nearly eight thousand soldiers; the houses were filled and covered with tens of thousands of spectators; and to such a pitch was the public curiosity to witness this splendid pageant excited, that the windows in particular situations, where the procession could be viewed to advantage, were disposed of for the day at the enormous price of twenty or thirty guineas each. On the arrival of the procession at the Guildhall the royal guests were ushered into the council chamber, which had been splendidly fitted up, and a canopy and throne erected for the occasion. The regent being seated on the throne, the recorder delivered an address of the lord mayor and corporate body of London upon his royal highness's visit to the city, which was graciously received. Here the royal and noble visitors promenaded for some time in familiar conversation, and the prince, to evince his respect for the city of London, and his personal esteem for the lord mayor,* created that magistrate a baronet. Dinner being announced, the royal party proceeded to the hall; the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, taking their seats under a grand state canopy in the centre of the table, at which were seated one and twenty personages of the blood royal, including the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh. The appearance of the hall was splendid beyond description, and the constellation of British beauty which occupied the spacious gallery appropriated to the use of the ladies exclusively, shed an exquisite fascination over this magnificent scene.

On the following day, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by the Duchess of Oldenburgh, attended an assembly of a very different description, but of a nature quite as accordant with the simplicity of his manners, and the contemplative turn of his mind; after attending the service of the Greek church, he proceeded to the meeting of the society of friends in St. Martin's Lane! In the course of the day he received deputations from "The British and Foreign Bible Society," the "Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress," and the "Humane Society;" of the latter of which his imperial majesty is a member, in consequence of having restored to life a Polish peasant, apparently dead by drowning.

On the 20th of June, the day on which the proclamation of peace was made in the metropolis, a military review of all the regiments in London and its environs, in honour of that

* William Domville, Esq.

happy event, took place in Hyde-Park. At half past eleven o'clock a royal salute of twenty-one cannons announced the approach of the royal party, and another discharge of twenty-one guns gave intimation of their arrival on the ground. The prince regent, preceded by a small detachment of Cossacks, headed by the Hetman Platoff, was attended on one side by the Emperor of Russia, and on the other by the King of Prussia, followed by Marshal Blucher, and a most magnificent staff, superbly attired. The different lines were soon arranged, and the royal party passed down them, the bands playing "God Save the King." The numerous regiments then passed in review, and this splendid military spectacle was closed by a *fue-de-joie*. In the evening the King of Prussia went to the house of lords, and witnessed the ceremony of passing bills by commission.

The military review was succeeded by a grand naval exhibition, such as, of all the nations of the world, England alone could display. On the 22d of June the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia took their leave of London, and repaired to Portsmouth, at which place the prince regent arrived in his travelling carriage on the evening of that day. Early in the morning of the 23d the royal standard floated in the air over the public buildings of Portsmouth, and the troops were drawn out in front of the Government-House. About eleven o'clock the illustrious company walked from the house of Commissioner Grey, in the Dock-Yard, to the place of Embarkation, where the whole naval procession, headed by the Duke of Clarence, as admiral of the fleet, was ready to receive them. The admiralty barge, with its characteristic ensign, came first; and was followed by the royal barge, with the royal standard; and two other barges, one hoisting the Russian flag of yellow, with the black spread eagle; the other of white, with the sable eagle of Prussia. Into these vessels the regent, the emperor, the Duchess of Oldenburgh, the King of Prussia, his sons and relatives, many German Princes, and the suites of the royal personages, stepped in succession. The procession, headed by men-of-war's barges, commanded by captains, and accompanied by innumerable private vessels, passed along the line of men-of-war, amidst a general salute of forty-two guns from each ship; the ships' yards were all fully manned, and the loud cheerings of the crews, and of the countless company in the surrounding boats, emulated the roar of the cannon. The Duke of Clarence had gone on board the Impregnable, where the procession stopped, and went on board. The royal visitors, after having explored the ship, partook with the ship's

company of their grog and mess with great affability, and afterwards sat down to a sumptuous collation in the cabin. The prince regent, elevated by the display of his country's greatness, witnessed by foreign monarchs, on Britain's own element, declared this to be the grandest sight he had ever beheld. The Duchess of Oldenburgh particularly expressed her delight, and bore the shock of firing with much fortitude. The amiable and meditative Frederick William was wrapped in the sublimity of a spectacle so new to him; and Alexander seemed to dwell upon it with extacy. Leaving the Impregnable, salutes were again fired, after which the whole party repaired to the Government-House, where a grand banquet was given by the regent to one hundred and fifty persons, and the dominion of night was overcome in Portsmouth by the general illuminations, which to the neighbouring heights exhibited a scene splendid beyond description.

The Prince Regent, the Duke of York, and the King of Prussia, with the Prussian and other princes, repaired early on the following morning to the Emperor of Russia, at his lodgings in the Dock-Yard, and from thence proceeded to view the various naval establishments. The numerous objects of curiosity and utility in the yards occupied the whole of the forenoon, and about two o'clock the royal barges, with the rest of the grand aquatic procession, left the King's Stairs, in the same order as on the preceding day, to pay another visit to the fleet in the roads. The fleet formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, in front of the Isle of Wight, and the royal sovereign yacht received the Prince Regent and the King of Prussia, while the Emperor Alexander, attended by the Lord High Admiral, went again on board the Impregnable. The royal visitors were received with a general salute, after which the ships slipped their cables, and were immediately under sail, with a brisk north-east gale. The Royal Sovereign yacht led the van, and they speedily cleared St. Helen's, and were quite out at sea. About five o'clock the whole of the line of battle ships and frigates hove to by signal. On their return the firing was renewed, so as to afford, in some respects, the idea of a naval engagement. In the visit of the 23d the ships lay at anchor with their sails down, but they now displayed before the assembled sovereigns the proudest boast of this sea-girt isle—a British fleet in a state of activity. In the course of the night and morning many private vessels had come in from various parts of the coast, so that the number had considerably increased; and the oldest boatman in the harbour never witnessed before so great a number of vessels collected, or so fine a sight at Portsmouth. The salutes on the departure

of the royal party from the fleet were very imposing on shore and in the harbour, and the discharge of all the artillery round the works of Portsmouth and Portsea, and on the different batteries at Haslar, and along the coast, followed by ten *feux-de-joie* of the many thousand military drawn up, chiefly on the ramparts, was tremendous. Under these thundering demonstrations the sovereigns retired to their several residences, while the multitude assembled filled the royal ears with cries of "Wellington." In the absence of the royal party, the duke, drawn in triumph through the streets by the populace, had arrived at the Government House, attended by Lord Stewart (late Sir Charles Stewart, and was in readiness to receive the prince regent on his return. At night the town was again illuminated, with additional splendour, and the effect was heightened by the brilliant illumination of the Prince, of ninety-eight guns, at her moorings, in the roads. On the 25th of June the allied sovereigns left Portsmouth for Dover, where they embarked on the 27th for Calais, amidst the thundering of cannon, and the enthusiastic cheers of the people.

The impression made upon the English nation by this royal visit was deep and will be lasting. The Emperor Alexander in particular, by his personal qualities, as well as by his exalted rank, attracted universal regard. Fortunately the events of his reign have contributed to assist his natural disposition. The native benevolence of his heart must wonderfully quicken the reflection, that the success of his arms and his negotiations have had a signal share in restoring peace to long distracted Europe. The homage he received in England was directed as much to the man as to the sovereign, and his discriminating mind felt the tribute, while his heart perhaps acknowledged it as one of the most grateful rewards to which his services for the human race are entitled. The first days of this sovereign's reign were signalized by judicious efforts to ameliorate the condition of his vast empire; and his visit to England will, unquestionably, tend to promote this generous design, which it seems to be the business of his life to pursue. The King of Prussia is of a character less fascinating. His reign has been one of unprecedented difficulties; and he is constitutionally rather of a solid than a brilliant disposition. The long calamities of his kingdom, and an irreparable domestic loss, have confirmed that air of thoughtfulness and reserve which marked his countenance even at an early age. His domestic virtues have ever been conspicuous; but the compass and structure of his mind are not of that order which impart to a sovereign the requisite qualification for steering

the vessel of the state through the boisterous ocean of a revolutionary period.

After the departure of the royal visitors, and when the public mind had begun to resume its wonted sobriety, the parliamentary session, which had suffered a temporary interruption, was resumed; and on the 26th of June, the speaker of the house of commons informed that assembly, that he had received a letter from Lord Cochrane, protesting his innocence of certain charges exhibited against his lordship, and of which he had, on the 8th of the present month, been convicted in the court of King's Bench.*

When the matter came under consideration on the 5th of July, the house of commons adjudged by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four voices, that Lord Cochrane should be expelled from that assembly; but the electors of Westminster, under the persuasion of the perfect innocence of their representative, re-elected his lordship, not only without opposition, but in triumph.

The sentence pronounced upon the accused, which, besides fine and imprisonment, comprised the most infamous punishment inflicted by the laws of England—public exposure on the pillory, was generally considered as severe in the extreme; and when applied to Lord Cochrane, a man who, besides hereditary rank, had acquired honours and distinctions in the service of his country, seemed to shock the feelings even of those who were most convinced of his participation in the crime. Against so rigorous an infliction parliament was preparing to raise its

* The charges preferred against Lord Cochrane were, that he, along with Captain Random de Berenger; the Honourable Andrew Cochrane Johnson, his lordship's uncle; Richard Gathorne Butt, a stock broker; Ralph Sandom, a spirit-merchant, at North-Fleet; Alexander McRae; John Peter Holloway; and Henry Lyte; had conspired to defraud the members of the stock exchange, by circulating, on the 11th of February last, false news of Bonaparte's defeat and death, to raise the funds to a higher price than they otherwise would have borne, to the injury of the public, and for the benefit of the conspirators. Of this offence Lord Cochrane, and the other defendants, were found guilty; his lordship, however, with a firmness and constancy that guilt can rarely assume, continued, after his conviction, to declare his entire ignorance of the plot and conspiracy imputed to him, and earnestly implored a new trial. This indulgence the rules of the court did not allow; and on the 21st of June, his lordship, along with Mr. Butt, was sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.* to the king, to be imprisoned twelve months, in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, and during that time to stand one hour in, and upon, the pillory, in front of the Royal Exchange. The same sentence was pronounced on Captain de Berenger, with the exception of the fine; and Sandom and Lyte were ordered to be imprisoned twelve months. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, and Mr. Alexander McRae, failed to appear.

voice, when Lord Castlereagh announced to the house of commons that the crown had taken steps to interpose its mercy, and that the punishment of the pillory would not be inflicted either upon Lord Cochrane or the other parties.

The national income and expenditure, subjects at all times so interesting to the public, and the progress of which will be traced in the annual financial summary, given in that portion of this work devoted to the domestic history of Great Britain,* were, on the 13th of June, brought under the consideration of the house of commons. On the present occasion the chancellor of the exchequer contented himself with stating the several sums necessary to be raised for the service of the year, the ways and means to defray those charges, and the terms on which the loan had been contracted for. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for England he stated at 67,517,478*l.*; and for Ireland, at 8,107,094*l.* making the total expense of the year 75,624,572*l.* This estimate was certainly very high for the expense of what might be regarded as a peace establishment! But it was to be recollected, that the first part of the year had been passed in a state of war, and of exertion beyond any former period; and that we had still a powerful enemy to contend with. To meet the charges upon the public revenue, the taxes and the loans of the year for England would produce 67,708,545*l.* The exports of the

* FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1814.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,325,550	19	10½	8,015,968	19	11½
Excise, - - -	20,805,852	14	1½	18,039,713	19	2½
Stamps, - - -	5,638,155	17	10½	5,344,486	13	11
Land & Assessed Taxes,	7,884,841	3	11½	7,433,496	18	4½
Post-Office, - -	1,938,517	10	6	1,403,000	0	0
Miscel. Permanent Tax,	76,719	6	11	68,039	10	7½
Hered. Revenue, -	115,489	10	5½	40,311	1	5
Extraord. Resources,						
War Taxes { Customs, -	3,818,272	14	9½	3,275,358	5	4½
{ Excise, - - -	6,227,240	13	4	6,073,538	4	5½
{ Property Tax,	14,320,436	17	9½	13,967,402	2	6½
Miscel. Income, -	8,297,033	14	1½	8,264,900	0	7½
Loans, including } 1,600,000 for the Service of Ireland, }	35,050,574	17	9	35,050,574	17	9

Grand Total, *l.*114,498,686 1 6½ *l.*105,976,790 14 3½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
March, 1814. }

(Signed)
R. S. LUSHINGTON.

past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing year at any former period. The total amount of the loan for 1814 was twenty-four millions, being 18,500,000*l.* for England, and 5,500,000*l.* for Ireland, and from the terms upon which the loan had been negotiated, it might be calculated that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest upon it of 4*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* per cent. At the close of this statement the usual resolutions were read, and agreed to, after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that the public interest demanded that the property tax should not be collected after the 5th of April next.

In a subsequent discussion ministers were asked whether they did not acquiesce in the public opinion, that in consequence of the termination of the war with France, the property and income tax should cease? To this view of the subject, there seemed at first some inclination to demur, and it was apprehended, that as we were still at war with America, it would be urged that the tax did not legally expire. But a mere perusal of the terms of the act was sufficient to prove, that the war in which the country was engaged at the time when the tax was imposed, and not any future war, was meant; and ministers, after some delay, declared, that the tax must expire on the 5th of April ensuing. Apprehensions however were still entertained that the tax might be renewed, and the inconclusive replies given by government to the inquiries

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain for the Year ending the
5th of January, 1814.

<i>Heads of Expenditure.</i>	<i>Sums.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Interest, - - - - -	24,055,665	16	0½
Charge of Management, - - - - -	238,827	17	7
Reduction of National Debt, - - - - -	15,521,352	13	4
Interest on Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	2,081,529	10	6
Civil List, - - - - -	1,595,350	6	11½
Civil Government of Scotland, - - - - -	113,176	4	8½
Payments in anticipation, &c. - - - - -	391,056	1	11½
Navy, - - - - -	21,996,624	9	4½
Ordnance, - - - - -	3,404,527	11	11
Army, - - - - -	18,500,985	11	0
Extraordinary Services and subsidies, - - - - -	22,262,951	0	0
Ireland, - - - - -	4,700,416	13	4
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	4,010,349	18	4½
<hr/>			
Deductions for Sums forming no part of the Ex- } penditure of Great Britain, - - - - - }	118,872,813	15	1½
	4,904,202	18	3
<hr/>			
Grand Total,	1,113,968,610	16	10½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, }
March, 1814.

(Signed)
R. S. LUSHINGTON.

made on that subject, excited a very deep and general alarm throughout the country. The first place which took measures to petition parliament against the renewal of the tax, was the city of London; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be heard, finally prevailed.

The state of the sister kingdom had for some time been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity, and on the 8th of July, Mr. Peel, Chief Secretary for Ireland, rose to propose the renewal of a measure, which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. The clause of the insurrection act, which it was now intended to revive, provided, that in case any part of the country should be disturbed, or be in danger of becoming so, two justices of the peace should be empowered to summon an extraordinary sessions of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates; that the lord-lieutenant, in council, on receiving a report from the magistrates so assembled, stating that the district was in a state of disturbance, and that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, should be empowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all resident within the same district to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; that no person should be suffered to remain drinking in a public-house after nine o'clock at night; and further, if any persons should be detected out of their houses at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, they should be liable to be transported for the term of seven years. It was also required that the lord-lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which the persons offending against this law should be tried, and if necessary, the trial by jury should in these cases be dispensed with. Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and to break open doors if denied admission. The right honourable gentleman allowed that these measures would infringe upon the liberties of the subject, but in his opinion—an opinion formed upon extensive information, the present state of Ireland required them, and the house had to decide upon a choice of evils. It was by no means the intention of government to have recourse to this act on ordinary occasions, but only when all other means of quieting disturbances failed. He then referred to the information that had been received of the outrages that were perpetrated in different parts of Ireland. In Queen's county the *Caravats* were nightly levying contributions from the little

farmers, and seizing arms and ammunition where ever they could be found. A set of savages, called *Carders*, were active in the county of Westmeath, and kept the frightened inhabitants in constant dread of assassination, and of having their cabins burnt over their heads. These men derived their name from the operation of applying wool cards, with which they tore the flesh from the bones of the objects of their inhumanity, for no other offence perhaps than for giving a higher rent to the landlords than others, or for refusing to join the lawless banditti. These atrocities were not practised by one sect against another, but catholics and protestants were alike exposed to their horrors.

The bill introduced by Mr. Peel was warmly discussed in its several stages, but it ultimately passed both branches of the legislature, and at the close of the session obtained the royal assent.

Never perhaps in modern history was any war concluded by a treaty which was so generally approved as that which, in the present year, restored peace to Europe. The long protracted and excessive burthens of the war had rendered every one capable of feeling for the general interests of his country, impatient to see its close; and if this impatience was most lively in the breasts of those who had, in all its stages, used their efforts to put a period to the effusion of blood; they, on the other hand, who were attached to the administration by which it was actually concluded, could not fail to regard the peace as a subject of applause. Hence, when the topic was introduced in both houses of parliament, it gave rise rather to conversations and explanations than to debates.

Two days previous to the prorogation of parliament, Lord Lonsdale moved an address to the prince regent, thanking his royal highness for the communication of the treaty with France, and assuring him of the approbation with which that treaty was regarded by their lordships as safe and honourable to all. On the following day a similar motion was made in the house of commons by Lord Lascelles, and in both houses the proposed address passed unanimously. If there was any difficulty in cordially concurring in the address, it arose from the article concerning the slave trade, and on the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, a clause was inserted in the address expressive of an assurance, "that no effort would be wanting on the part of the prince regent to give the fullest and speediest effect which the circumstances of the negociation at the approaching congress might allow, to the wishes so repeatedly declared by this house for the total abolition of the slave trade."

On the 30th of July, the prince regent repaired in state to the house of lords, and being seated on the throne, congratulated parliament on the full accomplishment of all the objects for which the war had been undertaken, or continued, and the final deliverance of Europe, by the combined exertions of this nation and its allies, from the most oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured. The restoration of so many of the ancient governments of the continent afforded, he said, the best prospect of the permanence of that peace which had so happily been restored; and his efforts at the approaching congress might be relied upon for completing the settlement of Europe upon principles of justice and impartiality. Lamenting, as he did, the continuance of hostilities with the United States of America, he was sincerely desirous of restoring peace on conditions honourable to both; but till this object could be obtained, parliament would see the necessity of employing the means placed at their disposal for prosecuting the war with increased vigour. His royal highness, in conclusion, thanked the house of commons for the liberal provision they had made for the service of the year, and assured both houses, that full justice was rendered throughout Europe to that manly perseverance which, amidst the convulsions of the continent, had augmented the resources, and extended the dominion, of the British empire, and had proved in its result as beneficial to other nations as to our own. These distinguished advantages, his royal highness said, were to be ascribed, under Providence, to that constitution which it had now for a century been the object of his family to maintain unimpaired, and under which the people of this realm had enjoyed more of real liberty at home, and of true glory abroad, than had ever fallen to the lot of any other nation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONGRESS AT VIENNA: *Members of the Congress---Its Objects---Projected Incorporation of the Kingdom of Saxony with Prussia---Declaration of Frederick Augustus protesting against the Injustice of this Measure---The Subject left open to further Discussion---Poland---Hanover assumes the Rank of a Kingdom, under the House of Guelph---Confederation of the Swedish Cantons---Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia, re-established on his Throne---Return of Pope Pius VII. to his Capital---Conduct of Ferdinand VII. on re-ascending the Throne of Spain---Incorporation of the Belgic Provinces with Holland under the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands---Restoration of a General Peace.*

THE storm of the French revolution now seemed to have spent itself; and the long agitated states of Europe approach-

ed to a state of repose. Five and twenty years had effected great changes ; an immense mass of discordant interests were to be reconciled, and the congress of Vienna, which had for its object the arrangement of a political futurity,* might be considered as the harbinger of a new æra in Europe. The business of this august assembly was not individual, but national ; Germany, France, Poland, and Italy, all presented their claims for adjustment, and in the capital of the Huns was to be planted either the seeds of a lasting peace, or the germ of future wars. On the 25th of September, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, made their solemn entry into Vienna ; but so multifarious were the previous arrangements which it was judged proper to submit to a commission, called the *Preparative*, that it was not till the 1st of November that the formal installation of the Congress took place. The royal personages congregated on this occasion consisted of the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria, with ambassadors from England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany.†

* See Treaty of Paris, Article XXXII. Vol. IV. page 58.

† LIST OF THE DIPLOMATIC PERSONAGES CONSTITUTING THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA.

For England.---Lord Castlereagh, Messrs. Cooke, Planta, Ward, Merry, Montague, and Morier.

For Russia.---Count Nesselrode, Minister for Foreign Affairs ; the Russian Counsellors Von Anstett, Schroeder, and Bulgakoff.

For Austria.---Prince Metternich.

For Prussia.---The Chancellor Prince Hardenberg ; the Prussian Counsellors, Von Humboldt, Von Stein, Zerboni di Posetti, Von Stage-man, Von Jordan, and Lieutenant-general Von Knesebeck.

For France.---Prince Talleyrand.

For Spain.---The Chevalier Gomez Labrador, with his two Secretaries, Messrs. Machado and Bustillo ; Don Perez de Castro.

Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples.---Count S. Marzano, from Sardinia ; the Prince of Rocco Romana, and the Duke of Campo Chiaro, from Naples ; Cardinal Gonsalvi, from the Pope ; the Commander Ruffo, and the Duke of Sero Capriola, for Sicily.

States of Lombardy.---The Marquis Malaspina di Sanazaro, Deputy from Pavia ; the Marquis Luigi Cavriani, from Mantua ; Count Giuseppe Pietro Porro, from Como ; Marquis Luigi Dati ; and Count Morticelli Strada, from Cremona ; Count Silvio Martirugo, and Mr. Giacinto Mompacci, from Brescia.

Minor German States.---Mr. Von Gagorn, for Orange Nassau ; Mr. Von Gartner, as Envoy from thirty-six German Princes ; the Duke of Saxe Weimar ; the Prince of Salm Kyrburg ; Major Von Zobel, for Saxe Cobourg ; the Electoral Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz ; Mr. Von Marshal, for the duchy of Nassau ; Mr. Gunther Von Berg, for the principality of Schaumburg ; Mr. Von Kirchbauer, for Hohenzollern

Three days after the opening of the congress, Prince Repnin, the Russian Governor of Dresden, notified, in a proclamation to the Saxon authorities, that in virtue of a convention, concluded on the 28th of September, at Vienna, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in concert with Austria and England, had directed, that the administration of the kingdom of Saxony should be placed in the hands of his Majesty the King of Prussia. As a preliminary step, the government of the country was to be consigned to persons provided with proper powers by his Prussian Majesty, in order thus to operate the union of Saxony with Prussia, which would soon take place in a manner more formal and solemn. It was further announced, on the same authority, that it was not the intention of Frederick William to incorporate Saxony with his estates as a province, but to unite it to Prussia, under the title of the kingdom of Saxony ; to change nothing in its constitution ; but to preserve it for ever in its integrity under the Prussian monarchy.

The appearance of this document produced in the mind of his Majesty Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, feelings of grief and astonishment ; and on the 4th of November he issued a declaration from Frederickfeld, in which he appealed to the magnanimity and justice of the allied sovereigns, and announced his firm resolution never to separate his fate from that of his people. “ The conservation and consolidation of legitimate dynasties,” says the Saxon declaration, “ was the grand object of the war which has been so happily terminated : the coalesced powers accordingly repeatedly proclaimed, in the most solemn manner, that, far removed from every plan of conquest and aggrandizement, they had only in view the restoration of the rights and liberties of Europe. Saxony, in particular, received the most positive assurances that her integrity would be maintained. The integrity essentially includes the conservation of the dynasty for which the nation has publicly manifested its constant attachment, and the unanimous wish to be re-united to its sovereign. “ It is therefore before the congress of Vienna, and in the face of all Europe,” says the declaration in conclusion, “ that we protest against

Seigmaringen ; the Baron Von Oerzen, for Mechlenburg Strelitz ; Count Munster, for Hanover ; and the Senator Hach, for Lubec.

For Saxony.---Count Von Elding, Mr. Von Gersdorf, and Counsellor Von Gortz.

For Bavaria.---Field-marshal Prince Wrede.

For Wurttemberg.---Count Von Gorlitz, Counsellor Von Degen, Secretary Pfeiffer, and Count Von Sontheim.

For Switzerland.---Messrs. Laharpe and Renger.

the intention manifested by the court of Prussia, of provisionally occupying our Saxon states, and at the same time publicly reiterate the declaration, communicated some time ago to the allied courts, that we will never consent to the cession of the states inherited from our ancestors, and that we will never accept of any indemnity or equivalent that may be offered to us."

Staggered by this energetic remonstrance, and aware that the crime of adhering to Bonaparte, for which the King of Saxony was to be deprived of his hereditary dominions, had, in turn, been committed by all the sovereigns assembled at Vienna, the congress began to pause; and the courts of Austria and Great Britain, though they had agreed to the provisional occupation of Saxony by Prussian troops, considered its final possession as still open to discussion and future arrangement.

The grand object professed by the congress of Vienna, was to restore Europe as nearly as possible to the condition in which it stood previous to the French revolution; not only to protect the smaller states against the ambition and power of France, but to prevent the recurrence of future wars, and to bestow upon the inhabitants of the great political community of the most enlightened quarter of the globe, a greater portion of national and individual security, independence, and happiness, than it had ever hitherto enjoyed. Having traced all the calamities of Europe to that spirit of ambition by which Napoleon had been actuated, and which had led him to seize upon and to partition neighbouring states at his pleasure; it was to be hoped that Russia, Prussia, and Austria, would now have done away with that first example of despoliation which had served as an excuse for many of his acts of injustice, and that they would have restored Poland to her national independence. From the partition of that country in the year 1793 and 1795, consequences had resulted, not only to those who had participated in the spoil, but to all the kingdoms and states by which they were surrounded, which were little anticipated at the time when that event took place, and which seemed to establish the opinion, that there is a political, as well as a moral retribution. It became therefore the incumbent duty of the sovereigns to whose dominions the territory of Poland was annexed, to do away completely with every vestige of an act of injustice which had infused its deadly poison so deeply and so widely; to seize with avidity the opportunity presented by the congress of Vienna, to prove that they warred not against the person, but against the principles of Napoleon; and to show that they were resolved to make all

the atonement in their power for this great political error, by a practical confession of their misdeeds in the restoration of Poland. Such an act of magnanimity all Europe would have applauded, and its fame would have extended to future ages. On these grounds, as well as on many others, it was desirable to invest Poland with a real independence; but this object, if it ever engaged the attention of the congress of Vienna, failed to terminate in any practical result.

One of the first acts of the congress was to recognise a new regal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover the rank of a kingdom. On the 12th of October, Count Munster, the Hanoverian minister of state, presented a note to the Austrian and other ministers, assembled at Vienna, for the purpose of conveying the declaration of the Prince Regent of Great Britain and Hanover, regarding the title which he had thought it necessary to substitute for that of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. The title of elector, it was observed, had been rendered unsuitable to present circumstances, by the sixth article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed—"that the states of Germany should remain independent, and joined in a federal union." On this ground, several of the powers concurring in the treaty had invited the prince regent to renounce the ancient title, and in its stead to assume the title of king, by which the arrangements required for the future welfare of Germany would be facilitated. The declaration proceeded to observe, that all the ancient electors, and the house of Wirtemberg, having erected their states into kingdoms, the prince regent could not derogate from the rank which Hanover had held under the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Europe, before the subversion of the German empire; and that he had, therefore, resolved to erect his provinces, formerly the country of Hanover, into a kingdom, and to assume for its sovereign the title of King of Hanover. As an act of grace, the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of the new king, invested the provinces with the power of forming themselves into a general diet by means of representatives, and appointed the 15th of December as the day on which the high council of the nation should, for the first time, assemble. Thus, in Hanover, as in several other parts of Europe, the events which produced, as well as those which contributed, to destroy the French revolutionary spirit, have conferred lasting advantages on the people, and have convinced rulers that both their interest and their duty consists in benefiting and enlightening their people, and in confiding to them a due participation in the management of public affairs.

While the greater part of the subordinate states of the European continent were waiting in suspense, and under provisional occupation, the decision of the congressional assembly convened at Vienna, the Swiss confederacy was employed in settling, at a national diet, the terms on which they were hereafter to exist as an independent community. On the 8th of September the federal compact was signed at Zurich by the deputies of all the nineteen cantons; and by this constitution the principle was acknowledged, that there should no longer be any subject in Switzerland, or in other terms, that no particular class of citizens of a canton should enjoy exclusive rights or privileges.

In Italy, the territories formerly possessed by the sovereign house of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and by a protocol, signed in the congress of Vienna, on the 14th of December, the territory forming, before the French revolutionary wars, the venerable republic of Genoa, was definitively united to the states of his Sardinian Majesty. The annexation of all the other districts in the north of Italy to the Austrian dominion followed almost as a matter of course; and the republic of Venice, so long the mistress of the Adriatic, seemed doomed to become a maritime dependency of the house of Austria.

Of all the sovereigns whom the subversion of the French empire under the Napoleon dynasty restored to their dominions, no one appears to have resumed his authority with a firmer resolution to exercise his prerogatives to their former extent than Pope Pius VII. In his proclamation, issued at Cezena, on the 5th of May, previously to his return to Rome, his holiness applied to himself the ancient title of "God's Vicar on earth," and spoke of his temporal sovereignty as essentially connected with his spiritual supremacy. On resuming his functions, one of his first acts was the public restoration of the order of jesuits; and a few days afterwards followed the promulgation of an edict for the reinstatement of the monastic communities. Thus, after an interregnum of five years, the papal power again resumed its wonted activity; but neither the character of the sovereign pontiff, nor the spirit of the times, warrants the expectation, that the See of Rome will again be restored to its former influence in the affairs of Europe.

Although the return of Ferdinand VII. to his kingdom was hailed by the general voice of the Spanish nation, yet it soon became obvious that this unanimity was only external, and that two discordant parties existed, the one consisting of those who supported the political reforms that had taken place, and

the other of those who either decidedly opposed, or who only gave them a feigned and hollow countenance. Scarcely had Ferdinand entered Spain before it was discovered to which party he meant to attach himself. The re-establishment of civil and religious tyranny, if possible, more complete and firm than it had existed before the invasion of the French, was his favourite object; all the labours of the cortes for the liberty of their country were overthrown; and those men who had been most instrumental in achieving the liberation of Spain, and to whom consequently both the sovereign and the people owed the greatest obligations, were treated with cruelty and injustice. By a strange perversion of every feeling of gratitude and honour, the restored monarch seemed decidedly of opinion, that Spain had been polluted by those statesmen and warriors who stood forth in his cause; while he took into his confidence many of those who had betrayed him into the hands of Napoleon, and nominated to the head of his ministry the Duc de San Carlos, the person who signed the treaty of Valency. To crown this abhorrent tyranny, a decree was published at Madrid, dated the 21st of July, re-establishing the supreme council of the inquisition, and all its other tribunals, in all their power, ecclesiastical and civil, according to the ordonnances in force in 1808! And what was the conduct of the Spanish nation under these circumstances? Did they manfully assert their liberties? Did that genuine and enlightened love of independence, for which they had obtained credit while resisting the tyranny of Bonaparte, rouse them to resist the tyranny of Ferdinand, or loudly to express their disapprobation of his proceedings? Far from it: they in general applauded all his measures, and hailed the suppression of the cortes, and the re-establishment of the inquisition, with as much fervour as they had displayed on the restoration of their king. To complete the ingratitude of Ferdinand, he imputed the schisms of his subjects to the "sojournment of foreign troops of different sects among them," and interposed all the obstacles in his power against the introduction of British produce and manufactures into his kingdom. Such conduct, though revolting to every generous and enlightened mind, may not be without its advantages; the Spanish colonies in South America are advancing in their way to independence, and it is scarcely probable that they should surrender their infant liberties into the hands of such a government as that established in the mother country by King Ferdinand.

Hitherto the Prince of the Brazils has not returned to Portugal; but in the mean time, that country under the regency

government, seems disposed to derive benefit from her past sufferings ; and the Brazils are advancing, though with a slow and hesitating step, in political and commercial importance.

In the grand settlement of Europe, which became the object of the allied powers, after they had expelled from his throne the person whose ambitious plans had so long been employed in overthrowing all former barriers, there were few points more important than the adjustment of the future condition of the ten Belgic provinces, usually distinguished by the name of the Catholic Netherlands. Modern history is filled with the wars and negociations of which the disputed possession of these rich and fertile countries formed the source ; they were among the first conquests of the French from the house of Austria in the revolutionary wars ; and they had been declared integral parts of the French empire. When France was to be reduced to her former limits, and Holland restored to its pristine independence, the disposal of the Catholic Netherlands became a matter of immediate urgency. On the principle of restitution there could be no doubt but that they reverted to the Austrian dominion ; and provisional possession of them was confided to an Austrian general, as military governor. But the Emperor Francis, like his imperial predecessor, wished to divest himself of a detached territory which had long been rather a burthen than an advantage, and the future defence of which could only be secured by a strong and expensive line of fortresses. It is therefore probable that a change in the occupation of these provinces had come early under deliberation in the councils of the allied powers, and on the 1st of August a proclamation was put forth by Baron de Vincent, the Austrian governor, by which the people were informed that Belgium was to be given up into the hands of the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. " This union," says the general, " cemented as it is by a common origin, and a reciprocity of interests, and secured by the firmest guarantees that human power can impart, will be rendered indissoluble." The same sentiments were reiterated in a proclamation issued by the Prince of Orange, who assured his new subjects that the destination of these provinces was only a part of a system by which the allied sovereigns intended to insure to the nations of Europe a long period of prosperity and repose. The country as far as the Maese was now evacuated by the Russian and Prussian troops. English corps, and Germans in British pay, poured into Brussels and the principal towns of the Netherlands ; and it became manifest that Great Britain meant to take upon herself the chief

share in securing the Belgian frontier till the final adjustment of the affairs of Europe. In the course of the same month, a treaty was formed by the plenipotentiaries of the Prince Regent of England and the Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands, by which it was stipulated that Great Britain should retain the Cape of Good Hope, Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice ; and that Batavia, and all the rest of the conquests made from the Dutch, during the late war, namely, Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustatia, should be restored to them. Ceylon, as being ceded to England before the war, to remain in her possession.

To consummate the important history of the year 1814—one of the most momentous epochs in the annals of the world, peace was concluded on the 24th of December between Great Britain and America, and for the first time during a period of a quarter of a century, with the exception of the feverish truce of Amiens, a general peace prevailed in both hemispheres, and the temple of Janus was for the present closed.







Stuart pinx.

Edwin sc.

Capt. ⁿ Isaac Hull.

of the United States Navy.

BOOK V.

1812.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICAN ANNALS: *Causes of the War*---*State of Parties*---*Outrage at Baltimore*---*Naval and Military Force of the United States*---*Invasion of Canada*---*Surrender of General Hull*---*Public Spirit of the Western States*---*Siege of Fort Wayne*---*Expeditions of Generals Tupper and Hopkins*---*Northern Army*---*Affair of Queenstown*---*Operations of General Smyth*---*Naval Events*---*Cruise of Commodore Rodgers*---*Capture of the Alert*---*Escape of the Constitution*---*Capture of the Guerriere*---*of the Frolic*---*of the Macedonian*---*of the Java.*

WHILE every nation of Europe, from the Baltic to the Tagus, had by turns experienced the miseries of war, the United States of America, separated by an immense ocean from the intrigues and ambition of monarchs, cultivated the arts and enjoyed the blessings of peace. The political constitution of the union, one of the happiest that human wisdom ever devised, had, by vesting the solid power of government in the people, secured them from the operation of many of the fruitful causes of foreign war. The family compacts of kings, the ambition of military monarchs, the desire of upholding or overturning particular dynasties, motives which have so often deluged Europe in blood, are fortunately unknown and unfelt in a republic. The expensiveness of war, the cost of which in the end falls always upon the people, is sufficient, in the absence of other reasons, to deter them, except in cases of urgent necessity, from playing at that brilliant and seductive game. In the French revolution, therefore, the citizens of the American republic saw nothing to induce a departure from their pacific attitude. They had no interests to sustain in requiring the continuance of monarchy in France, nor any passions to gratify at the expense of that unfortunate country; and although, from a knowledge of the blessings of freedom, they wished others to partake of it, yet they did not consider

it incumbent upon them, with an untried constitution, and deficient means, to enter the lists with the monarchs of Europe, as the champions of French emancipation. The determination of remaining at peace was maintained through a series of aggression and insult from England and France, which would have driven any other nation less prudent and calculating, to hostilities. It began to be evident, however, that America had reached the utmost limits of endurance. The system of restriction upon her own commerce, of embargoes and non-intercourse and non-importation, had been tried in vain, and nothing was left but an appeal to the last resort of nations. The French decrees had insulted her dignity as an independent nation, and furnished a justifiable and sufficient ground of war; but they were generally inoperative, from the maritime situation of that country, and had war been declared against her, it would from the same cause have been merely nominal. The injuries received from England, were both more numerous and more flagrant. The causes of complaint against that country resolved themselves into four: the vexatious arrests and search of American vessels—the impressment of American seamen—the extension of the system of blockade—and the rigorous execution of the orders in council. The rise and progress of these aggressions have been noticed in a preceding part of this work, and it only remains to be added, that after enduring for years every species of outrage upon its commerce and dignity, America terminated the dispute by a formal declaration of war, on the 18th of June, 1812, the act declaring which, passed the senate by a vote of 19 to 13, and the house of representatives by 79 to 39.

Party spirit, the inseparable concomitant of a free government, raged at this period with great violence in the republic. The division of opinion had been of long standing, but turned now upon the propriety of the measures adopted by the government in relation to foreign powers. By the party who styled themselves federalists, every measure of opposition or defence against the encroachments of England had been systematically condemned; and while at one period they ridiculed the pacific and self-denying expedients of embargoes and non-importations, and called loudly for more energetic measures; at a subsequent time, when hostilities were approaching, they contended with equal warmth that sufficient causes of war did not exist. This inconsistency, and their uniform and undeviating system of opposition to the measures of the government, with their apparent insensibility to the insults received from England, cannot fail to excite the censure of posterity. In their zeal to obtain the places of their opponents, they ap-

pear too often to have forgotten the cause of their country, and to have been disposed to sacrifice its best interests at the shrine of ambition or revenge. The republican, or democratic party, on the other hand, was in possession of the reins of government, which they had held since the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency in the year 1801. They were accused by their political opponents of a subserviency to the views of the French Emperor, in compliance with whose wishes they now, it was said, endeavoured to involve the republic in hostilities with England. No proofs however were adduced of any preconcert between the American government and that of France, and it is the duty of an impartial historian to add, that the tenor of all the official papers published exhibits the utmost fairness and openness of conduct towards both belligerents.

The exasperation of party feelings led immediately after the declaration of war, to an event of the most unfortunate and disgraceful nature. A political journal called the Federal Republican, published in the city of Baltimore, had distinguished itself by its uniform and violent opposition to the measures of the government, and thus rendered itself obnoxious to a great majority of the inhabitants of that city, who were warm supporters of the administration. On the evening of the 20th of June, on which day some severe strictures on the recent declaration of war had appeared in its columns, the printing office of the newspaper was attacked by a number of persons, and the types, books, and furniture destroyed. The outrage became immediately the subject of legal investigation, and the publication of the paper was suspended for a short period, when it was resumed at Georgetown, in the district of Columbia. The proprietor of the journal, however, apparently determined to persevere in the exercise of his legal rights, returned to Baltimore, and with a number of his friends, who were provided with weapons and means of defence, took a house in that city from which a paper containing violent and inflammatory remarks was issued on the 28th of July. In the course of the evening, a number of boys collected in front of the house, and by 9 o'clock a considerable mob had assembled. Stones were thrown at the windows, and attempts made to force the door. A volley was then fired from within, by which one man was killed, and several wounded. This event greatly irritated the populace, who brought up a carronade with the intention of battering the house; but some of the police and other respectable citizens having interposed the garrison agreed to surrender, on a promise of protection, and were escorted to the gaol about seven o'clock in

the morning of the 29th. To preserve the peace of the city, a detachment of militia was called out, for the purpose of protecting the gaol, but such was the disposition of the people, that a very small number assembled, and there being no appearance of tumult, they were soon afterwards dismissed. Soon after dark, however, a crowd assembled in the vicinity of the prison, with an apparent determination of inflicting exemplary punishment on the offenders. Notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the mayor of the city, they succeeded in forcing admittance, and rushed upon the objects of their fury. Several of the prisoners succeeded in escaping, but the greater part were severely beaten or wounded, and General Lingan, a grey headed veteran of the revolution, expired beneath the blows of the sanguinary assailants. For the credit of the republic, it were to be wished that the event could be blotted forever from her annals. The liberty of the press is the corner stone of freedom in modern times, and however violent or unpatriotic the language of the editors of the Federal Republican might have been, no excuse can be offered for the outrage upon law and humanity that ensued. The conduct of the city police appears to have been timid and undecided, and no doubt can exist, that if proper legal measures had been resorted to, this disgraceful scene might have been effectually prevented.

Before we enter into a narrative of the events which succeeded the declaration of war, it is proper to take a brief view of the means possessed by the government of prosecuting it. From the election of Mr. Jefferson to the presidency in 1801, to the year 1808, the whole regular army of the United States, consisted of no more than three thousand men. In the latter year, an augmentation of 6000 men was directed; but no further addition was made to this force, until a short time previous to hostilities. On the 11th of January, 1812, an act was passed authorising the President to raise ten regiments of infantry, two of artillery, and one of light dragoons; making a total of twenty-five thousand men, to be enlisted for five years. On the 6th of the following month, an act authorising the President to accept the services of any number of volunteers not exceeding fifty thousand, was passed into a law; and on the 10th of April, authority was given him to call upon the governors of the respective States, for their quotas of militia, one hundred thousand of whom, were directed to be held in readiness for service. A large nominal force was thus created, but the greater part of it existed only in name. Of the regular troops, scarcely one fourth could have been enlisted when hostilities commenced; and these were necessarily raw and undisciplined. Few even of the officers, were well acquainted

with the art of war. Most of those who had served in the revolution were no more, and in the long period of peace which had elapsed, little opportunity was offered of an acquisition of military science. Of the volunteers, a very small proportion of the expected number came forward, and the embodying and organization of the militia, was attended with great difficulty and inconvenience. Most of the systems by which the militia of the different states were regulated, were injudicious and defective. Both officers and men were undisciplined, and so short was their term of service, that they had barely time to make themselves acquainted with the rudiments of military knowledge, when their places were supplied by others, who had the same course of instruction to go through. More serious difficulties however, occurred with respect to the militia of some of the eastern states. The constitution of the United States gives to congress power "to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions,"* and declares that the President shall be "Commander-in-chief of the militia of the several states when called into the service of the United States."† From the construction given to these articles by the national, and most of the state governments, it was supposed that the power of determining when the exigencies existed in which the militia were to be called forth, was vested in congress, and that the right of commanding the whole militia being given to the President, the right of commanding a portion of it equally belonged to him, which power he might lawfully delegate to any other officer, provided he were not inferior in rank to the commander of the drafted militia. A different view, however, of the case was taken by the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, in which they were supported by the decision of the judges of the supreme court of Massachusetts. They maintained that the state governments had a right to exercise a discretion on the subject of calling forth the militia, and to determine when the necessity existed; and while it was admitted that the President had the power of commanding, if present, it was denied that he could constitutionally devolve the command upon another. The arguments by which these opinions were supported, were more specious than solid: the danger of a consolidation of the militia in the hands of an ambitious leader was dwelt upon, while the more immediate and urgent danger of invasion and devastation was overlooked. The militia of these states were therefore withheld from the pub-

* Article 1. Section viii.

† Article 2. Section ii.

lic service at this important crisis, by men who at a subsequent period, did not hesitate to threaten the whole national fabric with dissolution.

At the moment when America declared war against the most powerful maritime state in the world, her own naval force did not include a single ship of the line ;* and the utter annihilation of her frigates and smaller vessels was confidently predicted in England. Even in America, little hope was entertained of an acquisition of glory from a contest with the vessels of a nation which had obtained for some time the undisputed sovereignty of the ocean, both by its numerical force and the skill and valour of its seamen. And however great the bravery of the American sailors, they were supposed to be wanting in that discipline which their adversaries had acquired by their frequent wars.

To the operations therefore of the land forces the public attention was at first more particularly directed. The territory of Canada, the only part of the British empire which could at this period be conveniently assailed by the armies of the republic, had been for some time threatened with invasion. The capture of that province had been a favourite theme with many American orators, and the design of invading it was

* PUBLIC ARMED VESSELS OF THE UNITED STATES,
at the commencement of hostilities, in 1812.

IN ACTUAL SERVICE.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>	<i>Guns actually mounted.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Constitution,	44	52	Captain Hull.
United States,	44	52	Decatur.
President,	44	52	Rodgers.
Congress,	36	49	Smith.
Essex,	32	40	Porter.
John Adams,	20	26	Ludlow.
Wasp,	16	18	Jones.
Argus,	16	18	Sinclair.
Syren,	16	18	Lieut. Caroll.
Hornet,	16	18	Captain Lawrence.
Vixen,	14	16	Lieut. Gadsden.
Enterprise,	14	16	Blakeley.
Nautilus,	14	16	Crane.
Viper,	10	12	Bainbridge.

On Lake Ontario.

Oneida,	16	18	Commandant Woolsey.
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IN ORDINARY.

Chesapeake,	26	49
New-York,	36	49
Adams,	32	40
Boston,	32	40

Bombs Vengeance, Spitfire, Etna, Vesuvius.

openly avowed in congress long previous to the declaration of war. The British government had therefore ample opportunity to put it in a state of complete defence, and to supply it with regular troops from England, independent of the local militia and volunteers, of which no inconsiderable force might be assembled. The American troops, destined for the invasion of Canada from the northwestern frontier, amounted to about twenty-five hundred men; one half of whom were drafted militia from the state of Ohio, and were placed under the command of Brigadier-general Hull of the regular army. After a long and toilsome march, this officer arrived with his army at Detroit on the 5th of July, and on the 12th, crossed the river which divides the territory of Michigan from Upper Canada, without opposition, and fixed his head-quarters at Sandwich. From this place he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to remain at their homes, promising them freedom and protection; but threatening a war of extermination, in case of the employment of the Indian tribes by the British government. The tomahawk, however, had been already raised by the savages, who, in this war as well as in that of the revolution, were subsidized by the enemy, who appears to have used no effort to restrain their vindictive cruelty. In consequence of a fatal and censurable neglect in the general government or its officers, they had already been successful in an important enterprise. Fort Michilimackinac, situated on Lake Huron, the most northern military post of the United States, which had been found of great service in overawing the Indian tribes in the vicinity, was surprised on the 17th of July, by a large body of British and savages, and its commander, who was ignorant of the commencement of hostilities, compelled to surrender. This unfortunate event had a material influence on the operations of General Hull, by deciding most of the Indian tribes in that quarter to hostilities with the United States.

In the mean time, the main body of the American army had lain inactive at Sandwich. On the 16th, Colonel Cass, with about 300 men, advanced to the river Aux Canards, within five miles of Malden, where he found a strong body of the enemy posted for the defence of the bridge. He immediately attacked them, and after a short conflict, drove them across the river with some loss. He then returned to camp, and on the succeeding day it was discovered that the enemy had returned, destroyed the bridge, and thrown up an intrenchment on the south bank of the river. From this period no movement was made in advance by the American general. Instead of planting his standard on the walls of Malden, he began to find his

own situation a critical one. His advance to Sandwich without leaving in his rear detachments sufficiently strong to keep open a communication with the country from which his supplies were to be drawn, was a radical error. The only practicable road which led from the settlements in Ohio to the American head-quarters, passed through Brownstown, almost within cannon-shot of Malden, and was, therefore, completely under the command of the enemy. Early in August, information was received at Sandwich, that an escort of provisions had arrived at the river Raisin on its way to camp, and that a detachment of British and savages had crossed to Brownstown, for the purpose of intercepting it. Major Vanhorn, of the Ohio volunteers, was then despatched with about 200 men to open the communication. In the vicinity of Brownstown he fell into an ambuscade, the consequence of his disregard to military rules, and was totally routed, with the loss of many valuable officers and men. The main body of the American army had now recrossed to Detroit, and evacuated the Canadian territory, but its difficulties on the score of provisions still existed. Another attempt was therefore made on the 8th, to obtain supplies, by a detachment of about 600 men, chiefly regulars, under Lieutenant-colonel Miller. The enemy's corps, which was found posted behind an intrenchment near Brownstown, was charged with great gallantry, defeated and pursued to some distance. Colonel Miller then advanced to Brownstown, but being short of provisions, he was compelled to halt there until a supply could be obtained from the camp. On the 14th, Colonel M'Arthur was sent with 300 men, to endeavour by a circuitous route to open a communication with Raisin, but after marching twenty-four hours this detachment was entangled in a marsh, and it was judged expedient to return. But in the mean time affairs at Detroit had been brought to a crisis.

On the retreat of General Hull, the British army, which now amounted to about 1300 men, under the command of General Brock, advanced to Sandwich, and erected batteries opposite to the American post, having sent in a summons to General Hull, to which an immediate refusal was returned. Early on the 16th, their whole force crossed the Detroit and advanced against the Americans. The latter, who were advantageously posted, appear to have been anxious to encounter the enemy, but to their utter astonishment, an order was received from the commander, directing the whole corps to return within the fort, where their arms were stacked and the artillerymen forbidden to fire. In this situation, crowded in a narrow compass, almost every ball from the enemy took effect,

and shortly afterwards, the general ordered a white flag to be hung out in token of surrender. A capitulation was soon agreed upon, by which the whole army, including the detachments under Colonel M'Arthur, were made prisoners of war, and an immense quantity of ammunition, with thirty-three pieces of cannon, became the spoils of the victors.

Thus terminated the first endeavour of the American forces to obtain a footing in Canada. The plan of the campaign appears to have been injudicious at the outset, and it is doubtful whether under any officer, much ground could have been gained. The public mind in America was nevertheless strongly agitated by the conduct of General Hull. A deficiency of courage, as well as of judgment, was imputed to him, and even the charge of treason made part of the accusation on which he was subsequently tried by a Court Martial. After an impartial hearing, he was condemned to death by the court, but in consideration of his age and revolutionary services the punishment was remitted by the President, who directed his name to be stricken off the rolls of the army.

However mortifying to the American people the surrender of General Hull, it produced no symptoms of despondency, nor abated their zeal in support of the war. In the states of Ohio and Kentucky especially, from which the late army had been chiefly drawn, a desire to retrieve the character of their country, manifested itself in all classes. Previous to the surrender of Detroit, preparations had been made in Ohio for the formation of an additional army. Twelve hundred men, the remainder of the detached militia, were ordered to be immediately embodied and marched to Urbanna, under Brigadier-general Tupper. The whole quota of Kentucky consisted of volunteers, who were organized into ten regiments, three of which, with the 17th United States regiment, amounting together to about 2000 men, were assembled at Georgetown, under Brigadier-general Payne, and on the news of the surrender of Detroit the remaining seven regiments were called into actual service. The whole quota of Kentucky was thus embodied, and the chief command conferred on William Henry Harrison, the Governor of the Indiana territory, who was subsequently appointed by the general government a Major-general in the regular army. To this force was soon added a draft from the Virginia militia of fifteen hundred men, and one from Pennsylvania of two thousand. A considerable part of these forces being assembled at Cincinnati, on the 28th of August, a detachment of 500 men was sent by General Harrison to the relief of Fort Wayne, an important post on the Little Miami, then invested by a body of Indians ;

and on the 6th of September, the remainder of the troops were put in motion for the same place. The whole force amounting now to about 2200 men, arrived at Fort Wayne on the 12th, the besiegers having precipitately retired on their approach. The troops under the command of General Harrison were now formed into three divisions ; the right, composed of Pennsylvania and Virginia militia, were to advance by Upper Sandusky ; the centre, of 1200 Ohio militia, by Fort M'Arthur, the route of General Hull ; and the left, under General Winchester, had proceeded as far as fort Defiance, where it experienced great difficulties from a want of provisions. On the 4th of October, an expedition under General Tupper was despatched from the fort for the purpose of dispersing the enemy. It returned, however, without effecting its object, in consequence of want of energy in their commander, and of subordination in the men. The same officer was shortly afterwards directed to take command of the centre division, with which he proceeded to Fort M'Arthur, and there projected another expedition to the rapids of Miami, from which, although great bravery and patience was displayed by the troops, little of importance resulted.

While these events took place in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, an attempt was made by a large body of Indians on Fort Harrison, a post on the Wabash, in the Indiana territory, garrisoned by about sixty men, under Captain Taylor. The attack and defence were conducted with unusual obstinacy, and terminated in the retreat of the assailants. The intelligence of the investment of this fort, called out a host of volunteers from among the brave and adventurous people of Kentucky. A force of about 2000 men arrived at Fort Harrison soon after the retreat of the enemy, and on the 14th of October, Major-general Hopkins, their commander, set out with an expedition for the purpose of destroying the Kickapoo and other Indian towns. Such however was the insubordination of this assemblage, that after a few days march, they returned, contrary to the orders of the commander, without having seen an enemy. Disappointed in this object, General Hopkins determined upon another enterprise, which terminated more successfully. On the 11th of November he left Fort Harrison with about 1200 men, and completely destroyed two Indian towns, after a skirmish in which he lost about eighteen men. The troops then returned to Fort Harrison, having conducted themselves with great propriety.

The northern frontier was, during this period, the scene of hostilities, which though more honourable to the American arms, were yet hardly less disastrous. The chief command

of the troops in that quarter had been given to Major General Dearborn of the regular army, under whom were Brigadier Generals Bloomfield and Smyth, the former of whom was stationed at Plattsburgh, and the latter at Buffalo. The militia of the state of New York then in the service of the United States, were commanded by Major General Van Rensselaer, and amounted to about twenty-four hundred men, most of whom were stationed at Lewistown, in the vicinity of the Niagara. The season was far advanced before the Americans could collect and organize a sufficient force to commence military operations. At length General Van Rensselaer, yielding to the earnest desires of the militia, who threatened to return to their homes if hostilities were not attempted, determined to make an attack upon the British post at Queenstown. The morning of the 11th of October was fixed upon for this purpose, but owing to the inclemency of the weather the attack was postponed until the 13th. At dawn of that day, the advanced party, consisting of 300 regulars, under Lieut. Col. Christie, and of a like number of militia, led by Colonel Van Rensselaer was embarked, but in consequence of the eddies in the river, the boats were in many instances carried below the point of landing, and exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy, who it appeared had received intelligence of the meditated attack, and was fully prepared to meet it. Colonel Van Rensselaer nevertheless, with about 100 men, succeeded in gaining the shore, where he received several severe wounds, while encouraging his small party to advance. Shortly afterwards Colonel Christie landed with an additional force, which increased this small body to about 600 men. The enemy were also powerfully reinforced by the arrival of General Brock with 600 regulars. Notwithstanding this disparity of force, the American commander led on his detachment with the bayonet, and after a short contest, in which General Brock was mortally wounded, the British troops were forced to retire. Being reinforced by a large party of Indians they again advanced to the attack, and were again routed by the cool intrepidity of the Americans, whose numbers was now augmented to about one thousand men. Considering the victory now as gained, General Van Rensselaer, who had crossed to the Canadian side for the purpose of fortifying his position, again recrossed, to accelerate the movements of the militia. To his surprise and mortification he found that a great majority of this force, who had before appeared so eager to meet the enemy, now refused to pass the boundary, on the plea of constitutional privilege. This disgraceful pretext destroyed all hope of being able to retain the position at Queenstown, and

such had been the dispersion of the boats that few could be found to bring back the troops already landed. In the mean time this small but valiant party was engaged in a desperate contest with the enemy, who, reinforced by a strong body of regulars and Indians from fort George, had renewed the attack. At length, being driven to the water's edge, and finding no means of embarkation, they were compelled to surrender, to the number of 386 regulars and 378 militia. The whole American loss, including prisoners, has been estimated at about 1000 men; that of the enemy was said by themselves not to have exceeded 100. This number is however manifestly underrated. The issue of the affair of Queenstown, reflected the deepest disgrace upon the main body of the militia, who at the moment when their brethren were falling under the superior numbers of the enemy, availed themselves of their constitutional privilege to remain idle on the American shore. The honour of their country was however sustained by the troops actually engaged, both regulars and militia, who did their duty against the enemy, and only surrendered when opposition became hopeless. The loss of General Brock was a severe blow to the British army, by whom his bravery and skill were highly estimated. The American prisoners were well treated by their Christian conquerors, but the conduct of the Indians towards them, is said to have been barbarous in the extreme.

Shortly after this disastrous event, the command of the forces in this quarter, devolved upon General Smyth, in consequence of the resignation of General Van Rensselaer, and this officer immediately made preparations for another expedition to the Canadian shore. In a boastful and inflated proclamation which he issued on the 12th of November, he called upon "the men of New-York" by every motive which can actuate freemen, to lend their aid to the enterprise. Numbers flocked in consequence to his head-quarters, which were established at Buffaloe, on the east end of Lake Erie, and by this and other means a force of about 4500 men was assembled, consisting of regular troops and volunteers from New York, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore. After several attempts the first day of December was fixed upon for the attack, which it was now determined should be made upon Queenstown and fort George. When the embarkation however was completed, it was found that the number of men by whom the descent was to be made did not exceed 1500. A council of officers was then called, who decided unanimously that it was not expedient to proceed. The troops were therefore again debarked, and informed that the invasion of Canada was abandoned for

the season. The caprice of their commander naturally excited great discontent in the minds of the militia and volunteers, and led to some violent and irregular proceedings. He contended however in his vindication, that the British force far exceeded his own, that the term of service of the volunteers had nearly expired, and that many of the militia had deserted, or manifested a spirit of insubordination and mutiny.

If the operations of the American land forces during this campaign, terminated in a manner little creditable to the republic, the issue of the naval conflicts shed a blaze of glory round her arms, equally brilliant and unexpected. The ocean had been for centuries the theatre of British triumph; there in the language of one of her poets was "her home," and on that element she was supposed to be invincible. From the days of Blake, the republican admiral of Cromwell, to those of Nelson, her reputation and skill had increased in a rapid progression, to which history had previously offered no parallel. Navy after navy had fallen before the disciplined valour of her seamen, and at the period of the American war her vessels rode without a competitor, and with all the pride and insolence of triumph, over what was once considered the great highway of nations. Against an enemy whose great superiority of force was thus fortified by the moral influence of former victories, the American seamen, untried and unknown to each other, were now to contend, and there were few even among the most sanguine, who did not look to the issue with apprehension. The first opportunity for an encounter between the hostile vessels, occurred immediately after the declaration of war. A squadron composed of the frigates *President*, *Commodore Rodgers*, *United States*, *Captain Decatur*, *Congress*, *Captain Smith*, and sloops of war *Hornet* and *Argus*, sailed from New York on the 21st of June, in quest of a convoy of merchantmen from Jamaica. On the 24th, a sail was discovered which proved to be the British frigate *Belvidera*, of 49 guns; chase was immediately given by the *President*, which however proved ineffectual. The superior sailing of the enemy enabled him to escape, though not without some loss, while the unfortunate bursting of a gun on board the *President*, killed or wounded sixteen persons. After a fruitless cruise, which was continued as far as the British channel, the squadron returned to the United States on the 31st of August. An event occurred about the same period which displayed in a strong light the confident presumption of British officers in their own prowess. The frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain David Porter, sailed from Sandy Hook on the 3d of July. Nothing of importance occurred

until the 13th of August, when the *Alert*, a British sloop of war of 20 guns, ran down on the *Essex's* quarter, and commenced an action, which was terminated in eight minutes, by her surrender, with seven feet water in her hold. The skill and enterprise of the American seamen was shown by another event, which must have convinced the British officers that they had different antagonists to encounter, from those they had formerly conquered. The frigate *Constitution*, Captain Hull, being on a cruise on the American coast, was discovered on the 17th of July, and chased by an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line of battle ship, four frigates, a brig, and a schooner. The wind was very light, and every expedient that naval experience could suggest, was resorted to by the enemy, to get up to the *Constitution*, but the superior and admirable skill of her officers baffled the pursuers, and after a chase of three days, she arrived in safety at Boston.

From this port she again sailed on the 2d of August, on a cruise, the result of which has rendered imperishable the fame of this gallant ship, and broke, probably forever, the spell of invincibility which seemed to hang over the British navy. On the 19th of August, at three in the afternoon, a vessel was observed standing under easy sail, and was soon discovered to be the British frigate *Guerriere*, of 49 guns, a ship which above all others it had been the desire of the American officers to meet, as she had long ridden in arrogant triumph on the American coast; but especially as her commander had recently sent in a challenge to either of the American frigates, requesting in laconic language the favour of "an interview" with them. Both parties were therefore desirous of and prepared for the contest; the first which had occurred since the revolution between American and British vessels of equal force. As soon as his ship was cleared for action, Captain Hull bore down upon the enemy, his crew giving three cheers, and requesting to be laid along side of her. After some manœuvring on the part of the *Guerriere*, the American frigate succeeded in obtaining an advantageous position on her beam, and at six o'clock commenced a heavy and well directed fire, which terminated in thirty minutes by her surrender, with the loss of all her masts, and of fifteen killed, and sixty-three wounded. The *Constitution* received little essential injury, and had only seven killed, and a like number wounded. Her antagonist, however, had been so disabled, that it was found necessary to destroy her, and on the succeeding day she was blown up.

Such was the issue of this memorable conflict. The joy and triumph it excited in the bosoms of the American





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Commodore Stephen Decatur?
of the United States Navy.

people, unused to conquest and uncertain of their own powers, were displayed in the reception of the victors, who returned to the United States shortly after the engagement. The thanks of Congress, and of many of the States, were voted them, and all parties united in giving proofs of their gratitude to men who had so signally benefitted their country. In England, on the other hand, the intelligence was received with surprise and mortification. The trifling disparity of force was not sufficient to account for the rapidity with which the victory was gained, and the imagination was tasked to discover reasons for so unlooked for an event. The size and strength of the Constitution were exaggerated, while it was pretended that a great part of her crew were Englishmen, and that the *Guerriere*, from the defective condition of her masts, was not in a fit state for a contest. It was forgotten, however, or concealed, that the captain of the English frigate had invited the combat; and upon the whole, this engagement was considered, even in England, as laying the foundation in America of a great naval power.

If indeed any doubt could have been entertained of the ability of the republican navy to contend successfully with that of England, it was removed by the result of another engagement which took place no long time afterwards, between two vessels of similar force to the Constitution and *Guerriere*. The frigate *United States*, Captain Decatur, sailed from Boston on the 8th of October, in company with the *President*, *Congress*, and *Argus*, and separated from them on the 13th. On the 25th, being off the Western Islands, she fell in with the British frigate *Macedonian*, of 49 guns and 300 men, a vessel newly built and in a perfect state of equipment. Being to windward, the latter had the advantage of choosing her distance, and as the *United States* was in a great part armed with carronades, she was thus prevented from making use of a considerable portion of her force. In consequence of this circumstance, the action lasted an hour and a half, but when the American frigate was enabled to bring her opponent to close quarters, the engagement was soon terminated. The mizen-mast and most of the spars of the *Macedonian* being shot away, she surrendered, with the loss of 36 killed and 68 wounded. That of the *United States* was only 4 killed and 7 wounded; among the former of whom was Lieut. John Musser Funk. The damage sustained by the *United States* was not so great as to render it necessary for her to return to port, but it was deemed proper to accompany her prize into the United States, where both vessels arrived on the 4th of December. The reception of Captain Decatur and his brave of-

ficers was not less flattering than that of their predecessor in victory ; and the remembrance of his former exploits in the Mediterranean added to the public gratitude on this occasion.

Nearly at the same period of time, another brilliant victory was gained by an American vessel, after an engagement in which the superiority in force and in the number of men lay on the side of the British. The United States sloop of war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, sailed from the Delaware on the 13th of October, on a cruise, during which nothing of importance occurred until the 18th, when a convoy of six merchantmen, protected by a sloop of war, was discovered. The *Wasp* instantly bore down, and at half past eleven commenced a warm fire upon her antagonist, which was maintained at so short a distance that in one instance the rammers of the *Wasp's* cannon were struck against the side of her enemy. The fire of the British vessel soon slackened, and after a sanguinary action of forty-three minutes, it was determined to board her. The boarders were led by Lieut. Biddle, and when they reached the enemy's deck, they found no person alive on it except three officers and the seaman at the wheel. The colours were hauled down by Lieut. Biddle, and possession was taken of the British national brig *Frolic*, of 22 guns, commanded by Captain Whinyates. Few actions on naval record have been more bloody than this. The decks of the British vessel were crowded with the dead, and disabled, many of whom were crushed by the falling of her spars. Thirty of her crew are said to have been killed, and about fifty wounded ; both of her masts were shot away, and at the close of the engagement she was reduced to the state of an unmanageable wreck. The *Wasp* also suffered severely in her spars and rigging, but her loss of men was comparatively trivial, only eight having been killed or wounded. The victors were unfortunately not destined to carry their well-earned prize into port. The engagement had hardly ceased, when a large vessel of war was discovered. In the crippled state of the *Wasp* and her prize, escape or resistance were equally hopeless ; they were therefore obliged to surrender to the British ship *Poictiers*, of 74 guns, by which they were carried into Bermuda. Being some time afterwards exchanged, Captain Jones received, in addition to other rewards, the command of the frigate *Macedonian*, which had been purchased and added to the navy of the United States.

The close of this year was distinguished by another victory not less brilliant than the preceding. After the return of the frigate *Constitution* to Boston, Capt. Hull resigned the command for the purpose of attending to his private concerns, and was



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of the United States navy.

succeeded by Captain William Bainbridge. Accompanied by the sloop of war *Hornet*, the *Constitution* sailed towards the end of October on a cruise to the coast of South America. On the 29th of December, after parting with the *Hornet*, which was left to blockade a sloop of war of equal force, and while near the Brazils, two sail were discovered, one of which bore away, and the other stood for the American frigate. The enemy was soon discovered to be the British ship of war *Java*, of 49 guns, and preparations were made on both sides for action. At two P. M. the action commenced with great vigour, the enemy keeping at long shot, but the fire of the *Constitution* was directed with so much precision that the *Java* was soon disabled in her spars and rigging, and Captain Bainbridge having taken a position nearer to his opponent, her fire was completely silenced about four o'clock. Concluding that she had struck, he passed ahead to repair the rigging, but finding shortly afterwards that the British flag was still flying, he took a raking position on her bows, and was about to commence a destructive fire, when the enemy called out that he had surrendered. It was soon perceived that the *Java* had been fought with so much obstinacy that she was not in a condition to be preserved as a trophy of American victory, and Commodore Bainbridge having removed her crew and stores, destroyed her on the succeeding day. The loss of this vessel was a severe blow to the British. She was commanded by Captain Lambert, an officer of merit and experience, who was unfortunately killed during the action, and had on board one hundred supernumerary seamen for the East India service, beside a lieutenant-general, and other officers, and contained also stores of immense value. The loss of men was exceedingly great: sixty were killed and upwards of one hundred wounded; while on board the *Constitution* nine only were killed, and twenty-five wounded. The damage, however, received by the latter, and her decayed state, made it necessary for her to return to the United States. After landing her prisoners at St. Salvador, on parole, she arrived in Boston on the 8th of the succeeding month. In this, as well as all the preceding actions, the difference between the loss of men on board the vessels engaged, was strikingly conspicuous. In none of the engagements between the English and their European antagonists, had the disproportion been so manifest. The British writers, astonished at the result, accounted for it by supposing that riflemen were stationed in the tops of the American vessels, whereas in reality it is to be attributed to the great skill and experience in the act of firing possessed by the Americans of all classes, and the pains that had been taken

to discipline them in the use of the great guns. If the bravery of the American seamen was conspicuous in these encounters, their generosity and humanity to their captives were no less strikingly evinced. The official letters of the British officers bore strong testimony to this fact, but while they acknowledged the delicacy and liberality of their enemy, they were not restrained in any one instance by similar feelings from exaggerating the force of the Americans and diminishing their own.

Six months had now elapsed since the commencement of hostilities, during which almost every national vessel of the United States had been on the ocean without any serious loss. Three small vessels only had been captured by the enemy : the *Wasp*, as we have seen, by a 74 gun ship ; the schooner *Nautilus*, of 12 guns, by a squadron of frigates ; and the *Vixen* gun-brig, by the frigate *Southampton*. With neither of them, therefore, was any honour lost to the republic, while the brilliant victories which we have related animated the nation with confidence, rendered the war more popular with all parties, and laid the foundation for a great naval force. On the other hand, the number of merchant vessels taken from the enemy previous to the month of November, is said to have exceeded two hundred and fifty, and more than three thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the American cruisers.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN ANNALS (continued): Armistice rejected—Meeting of Congress—President's Message—Increase of the Army and Navy—Presidential Election—Dissolution of Congress—Operations on the north western Frontier—Capture of Frenchtown—Massacre of Raisin—Siege of Fort Meigs—Ontario Frontier—Capture of Ogdensburgh—of York—of Fort George—Affair at Stony Creek—at the Beaver Dams—Attack on Sackett's Harbour---War in the Chesapeake Bay---Capture of the Peacock---of the Chesapeake---of the Argus---of the Boxer---Privateers---Squadrons under Commodores Rodgers and Decatur.

THE revocation of the orders in council, a measure produced by a knowledge of the misery it occasioned in England, rather than by a feeling of respect for neutral rights, took place, as has been previously observed, a few days after the American declaration of war, but before intelligence of that event could have reached Great Britain. The existence of those orders was one of the principal causes of war, and had their abrogation taken place a few months earlier, it is probable the

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American government would not have deemed it expedient to resort to hostilities. But coming, as it did, after the sword had been unsheathed, and with other and weighty causes of war unredressed, it was not considered in America a sufficient reason for a cessation of arms. Immediately after the declaration of war, Mr. Russell, the agent of the United States at London, was instructed to communicate to the British court the readiness of his government to conclude an armistice, on condition that the orders in council should be repealed, and that the practice of impressment should be discontinued. As an inducement to the British government to consent to the latter proposition, Mr. Russell was authorized to declare that a law would be passed to prevent the employment of British seamen in vessels of the United States, by which measure it was conceived the necessity of impressment would be in fact done away. To this, and a subsequent overture, made after the news of the repeal of the orders in council had reached America, a cold and repulsive answer was given by Lord Castlereagh, and the negotiation terminated by the return of Mr. Russell to the United States.

Soon after this period, a proposal for an armistice from the Governor-General of Canada, founded on the repeal of the orders in council, was received at Washington, but rejected on the ground of its being too indefinite, and as not providing for the other causes of complaint. A subsequent proposition made by Admiral Warren, who had recently arrived on the American coast with a powerful fleet, produced no more favourable result. The great question of impressment, it was conceived by the government of the United States, should be satisfactorily adjusted before a suspension of hostilities was agreed to, and as the powers of the British admiral did not appear to extend to that subject, the negotiation ceased, and preparations were made on both sides for a continuance of the contest.

While the affairs of the country were in this condition, the Congress of the United States assembled at Washington, on the 2d. of November, 1812, after a recess of only four months. In his customary communication to both houses, at the opening of the session, the President took a general view of the civil and military operations of the past year. The expedition under General Hull was represented as a measure of forecast and precaution, with a general view to the security of the Michigan territory, and in the event of a war, to such operations in Canada as would intercept the hostile influence of Great Britain over the savages; obtain the command of the lake on which that part of Canada borders; and maintain co-

operating relations with such forces as might be most conveniently employed against other parts. This expedition, though favoured with the prospect of an easy and victorious progress, terminated unfortunately, and the cause of these painful reverses was under the investigation of a military tribunal. A distinguishing feature of the operations which preceded and followed the surrender of General Hull and his army, was the use made by the British of the merciless savages under their influence, in violation of the laws of honourable warfare, contrary to the benevolent policy of the United States, and against the most sacred feelings of our nature. The misfortune at Detroit however, it was said, was not without its consoling effects ; it was followed by signal proofs that the natural spirit rises with the pressure on it. The message then adverted to the unfortunate issue of the affair at Queenstown, in which the American troops, although raw and unexperienced, were for a time victorious over veterans, but not receiving the expected support, they were compelled to yield to numbers. On the lakes, preparations were making to secure a naval ascendancy, so essential to a permanent peace with, and control over the savages. Among the incidents of the measures of the war, the President then felt himself constrained to notice the refusal of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut to furnish the requisite detachments of militia, the consequences of persisting in which, were strongly commented upon. On the coasts and on the ocean the war had been as successful as circumstances, inseparable from its early stages, could promise.—The enemy had become sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. The American commerce had been protected by the squadron under commodore Rodgers ; and the capture of the *Guerriere*, had obtained an auspicious triumph for the skill and bravery of American seamen. The negotiations, subsequent to the declaration of war, were then presented to the view of congress, and, after a brief notice of the relations of the republic with foreign nations, the attention of that body was directed to the insufficiency of the existing provisions for filling up the military establishment. Additional pay, and inducements to enlist were recommended, as well as an increase of the general officers, and a better organization of the staff department—and an enlargement of the navy was also suggested. The receipts into the treasury during the year, ending on the 30th of September, were said to have exceeded sixteen millions of dollars, including a sum of nearly six millions received on account of loans authorised by congress, which were sufficient to defray all the demands on the treasury to that day,

including a reimbursement of near three millions of the public debt. The whole sum contracted for, on loan, amounted to eleven millions—the residue of which, with the current revenue, would, it was supposed, be sufficient to defray the expenses of the year. The message then concluded with expressions of confidence in the final success and prosperity of the republic, founded on what was considered the flattering state of its pecuniary resources, and on the strength and spirit of the nation.

One of the first objects to which the attention of congress was turned, was the army; both the amount and organization of which had been found defective. After considerable discussion it was determined, that the President should be authorized to raise by enlistment such number of regiments of infantry, not exceeding twenty, as, in his opinion, should be necessary—the recruits to serve for one year, unless sooner discharged; and to receive a bounty of sixteen dollars each, with the same pay as those of the former military establishment, which, by another act, was increased two dollars per month. The laws previously passed in relation to volunteer corps were repealed, it having been found that little substantial benefit was derived from them; and at a later period of the session, authority was given to the executive to raise ten additional companies of rangers. The regular force of the United States was now increased to about fifty-five thousand men, and a correspondent augmentation of the general officers being necessary, the President was authorized to appoint six additional major-generals and six brigadiers, and to the departments of adjutant, inspector, and quarter master general, were added a considerable number, and greater variety of officers. The navy became next the subject of legislative provision. The recent exploits of its gallant officers had done much to remove the prejudices which had been for some time entertained against that species of force, and created a desire in the public mind to see its capacity more commensurate with its enterprise. A bill was therefore introduced and adopted by both houses, though not without a strenuous opposition, which directed the construction of four ships of seventy-four guns, and six frigates of forty-four guns each. Another act authorized the building of six additional sloops of war, and such number of vessels on the lakes as the public service might require. In testimony of their sense of the gallant conduct of captains Hull, Decatur, Jones, and the other officers, congress directed medals to be presented to them, and, besides purchasing the vessels captured from the enemy, directed a suitable remuneration to be made for those which had been destroyed.

In the negotiations which took place between the American and British governments, soon after the declaration of war, we have seen that a proposition was made by the former to exclude British seamen altogether from its service. During this session a law to that effect was passed, which it was conceived would remove an important obstacle in the way of peace. Having increased the army and navy, it became necessary to procure means for defraying the augmented expense. The receipts for the ensuing year were estimated at about twelve millions, while the necessary disbursements, it was supposed, would exceed thirty-one millions. To provide for the deficiency, the President was authorized to borrow a sum not exceeding sixteen millions, and to issue treasury notes to the amount of five millions. The loan was subsequently effected on terms very unfavourable to the government, in consequence of the want of sufficient provision for the payment of the interest. The returns of the general election for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States having been counted during this session, it appeared that James Madison and Elbridge Gerry had the highest number of votes, and were therefore duly elected to fill those offices. Its term of service having expired, Congress adjourned on the 3d of March, 1813.

Until the close of the year 1812 few events of material importance occurred on the northwestern frontier. The task which had been devolved on General Harrison of carrying on the operations of the war through an intricate and difficult country, with his divided and undisciplined force, was one of a very arduous nature. He had been directed by the administration to attempt the recovery of Detroit, and the capture of Malden, without delay; but at this season of the year an expedition for that purpose was attended by almost insurmountable obstacles. Not the least of them was the difficulty of obtaining provisions. The Michigan territory afforded no species of supplies, which must necessarily have been brought through a swampy wilderness of near two hundred miles, at an enormous expense. The sufferings experienced by the troops, at this inclement season, were of the most painful nature. Many of the militia were without covering to their feet, and a fine body of regulars was nearly destroyed for want of clothing. In his despatches to the government, General Harrison strongly insisted upon the necessity of obtaining the command of the lake before any effectual operations could be carried on, on its borders, and the administration now began at last to turn its attention to that object. The whole force destined for the opening of the campaign was estimated at ten thousand men, but from the ex-

treme rigour of the season it did not much exceed six thousand, all of whom were infantry. The plan now laid down by General Harrison was to occupy the rapids of the Miami, with between four and five thousand men, to collect provisions there, and from thence to move with a select detachment, and making a feint upon Detroit, to pass the strait upon the ice, and invest Malden. The force which it was proposed to assemble at the rapids, was to advance from Fort Defiance, Fort M^cArthur, and Upper Sandusky. To the latter place General Harrison proceeded about the 8th of January.

General Winchester, whom in the last chapter we left at fort Defiance, moved forward from that place, in conformity with his orders, on the 30th of December. During his march he received from the commanding general information of the presence of a large Indian force on the Wabash, and was recommended to fall back to Fort Jennings, but this advice not being imperative on him, he continued his movement and arrived at the Rapids on the 10th of January, where he immediately formed a fortified camp on an eminence surrounded with prairies. While at this place intelligence was received that a body of Indians was in the vicinity of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, and had threatened to destroy the village and massacre the inhabitants. It was therefore determined, by a council of war, that a strong detachment should be sent on to that place. Accordingly, on the 17th, Colonel Lewis was despatched with about 650 men. On his march he received information that the Indian force at Frenchtown amounted to about five hundred men, and he resolved to dislodge them before the arrival of an expected reinforcement from Malden under Colonel Elliot. The enemy were found in a state of preparation, and a warm contest ensued, which ended in their being driven out of the town, from which they were pursued about two miles. They consisted of one hundred whites and four hundred Indians, the whole being under the command of Major Reynolds of the British regulars. The news of this success being communicated to General Winchester, he immediately advanced with a reinforcement of two hundred and fifty men to Frenchtown, where he arrived on the night of the 20th, and encamped in an open lot on the right of Colonel Lewis's detachment, which was protected in its encampment by some close garden pickets. Late on the succeeding evening information was given to General Winchester, by a person who had recently left Malden, that a large force of British and Indians was about to march from that place. To this intelligence little attention appears to have been paid; the whole army seems to have thought itself perfectly secure, and such

was the negligence of the American commander, that no picket guard was placed on the road by which the enemy was to be expected. The latter was thus enabled to approach the camp without discovery, and to station their cannon behind a small ravine, at a distance of only three hundred yards. At daylight on the 22d, they opened a heavy fire from these pieces, and made at the same time a general charge on the American line. The reinforcement which had arrived on the preceding evening being totally unprotected, were soon routed, and retreated in disorder across the river. In their flight they passed down a long and narrow lane, on both sides of which the savages were stationed, by whom they were shot down in great numbers, officers as well as men. Colonel Allen and Captains Simpson and Mead were killed, and General Winchester and Colonel Lewis made prisoners. That part of the force, however, which had been stationed behind the pickets maintained its post with great bravery. The British and their allies had been more than once repulsed by this small party, when about eleven o'clock a flag of truce was received, conveying an order from General Winchester, then in the power of the enemy, to surrender. This order had been issued by the American general on an assurance from the British commander, that nothing but an immediate capitulation could save the remaining Americans from massacre. Finding that there was no prospect of relief or retreat, the party within the picket consented to lay down their arms on condition of being protected from the Indians, and that the sick and wounded should be sent to Amherstburg the next day. Colonel Proctor, the British commander, having acceded to these conditions, marched at 12 o'clock with his prisoners, leaving Major Reynolds, with some others, in charge of the wounded.

The Indians who had participated in the engagement, left Frenchtown with their allies, but proceeded only a few miles on the road to Malden, and at sunrise on the succeeding day returned to the village. Then began a scene of cruelty and outrage unparalleled in the history of modern times. The houses in which the unfortunate wounded were confined were entered, and most of them massacred in cold blood by the unfeeling savages, or destroyed by the flames to which the dwellings were soon afterwards committed. Neither officers nor men were spared. Majors Graves and Woolfolk, Captain Hart, inspector-general, and Captain Hickman, are enumerated among the victims of this dreadful day. The number massacred has never been actually ascertained. Of the whole American force previous to the engagement, only thirty-three escaped to the Rapids. Five hundred and forty-seven were

taken prisoners by the British, and forty-five by the Indians. Two hundred and ninety were killed during the battle, or put to death subsequently, or were never afterwards heard of. It is difficult to allude to the part which the British officers bore in this transaction, without overstepping the tempered language of history. Posterity will hardly credit the fact, that these cruelties were perpetrated without the slightest interference on their part, and in violation of their most solemn promises. They were perpetrated too, not upon savages who had themselves violated the laws of humanity, but upon civilized and honourable men, whose warfare had been marked by the most scrupulous regard to those laws, upon men who bore the same complexion, spoke the same language, professed the same religion, and descended from a common origin with themselves. Had they no other claims on the humanity of the British officers, their wounded and helpless state ought to have been of itself sufficient to protect them from outrage. In the softened code of modern war, those who are disabled, as well as those who, by their sex or age, are incapacitated from bearing arms, are exempted from the sword of the conqueror. It was reserved for a British army to set the first example of a violation of this honourable rule, a precedent which they may hereafter have full occasion to lament.*

General Harrison in the mean time did not receive intelligence of the intended advance of General Winchester from the Rapids until the 16th of January, when he immediately gave orders for the movement of the artillery, accompanied by a guard of 300 men, to the latter place. He himself proceeded to Lower Sandusky, where he directed a brigade under General Perkins to move to the Rapids, and on the 20th arrived in person at that place. Here he found that General Winchester had already advanced to Frenchtown, leaving behind him about 300 men; and having despatched an order to him to hold his position, he set out on the 22d with a reinforcement to his support. The news of the melancholy and irretrievable defeat of the preceding day met them on the road, and nothing was left but a return to the Rapids, which was accomplished without loss. The force now assembled at this place did not exceed 900 men, with only one piece of artillery, and it was determined by a council of war that it would be expedient to fall back. On the succeeding day the army retired as far as

* It will hardly be credited that the assembly of Lower Canada, in passing a vote of thanks to Colonel Proctor for his conduct on this occasion, complimented him for his "exemplary humanity!" and yet such is the fact. Even the British historian who records it, confesses his astonishment at this resolve.—See *Christie's History of the late War*.

Portage river, eighteen miles in the rear, where it remained until the 2d of February, when a reinforcement being received, which increased its numbers to about 1700 men, it again advanced to the rapids, and encamped on the southeast side of the river. This position General Harrison now determined to fortify, and under the direction of Captain Wood intrenchments were thrown up, and the whole camp, about 2500 yards in circumference, protected by pickets. The post thus fortified was denominated Fort Meigs.

The enemy, it had been evident for some time, was preparing for an attack on this position, and as the term of service of the militia was now nearly expired, General Harrison was earnestly employed in increasing his force, which was reduced, on the beginning of April, to about seven hundred men. An additional draft of three thousand men was made from the militia of Kentucky, in pursuance of an act of the legislature, which was organized into four regiments, and placed under the command of Brigadier-general Green Clay. A reinforcement of about four hundred men arrived at the fort on the 12th of April, and was followed a short time subsequently by a battalion of the new Kentucky draft. The remainder of that force had proceeded as far as Fort Defiance on the 3d of May, when intelligence was received that the enemy had invested Fort Meigs. On the 28th of April a large body of British and Indians was discovered within a few miles of the fort, and as soon as their ordnance was landed, it was completely invested. The cannonading commenced on the 1st of May, and was continued for several days without producing any important effect, except the death of Major Stoddard, of the regular army, an officer of great merit; but the fire of the Americans was more economized on account of the scarcity of ammunition. In the mean time a reinforcement of 1200 Kentuckians, under General Clay, was descending the river with the hope of being able to penetrate into the fort. Hearing of their approach, General Harrison sent directions to General Clay to land about 800 men from his brigade, on the left bank, about a mile from the fort, to storm the batteries, spike the cannon, and cross to the encampment. The remainder of the approaching party were ordered to land on the right side, and fight their way through the Indians into the fort. During this operation General Harrison intended to send a party from the fort to destroy the batteries on the south side.

The landing of General Clay's command was effected in conformity with this plan. The party on the left bank surprised the British batteries, but in consequence of the fatal want of proper authority or direction in the officer command-

ing, they were suffered to loiter away their time without spiking the cannon or destroying the carriages. In spite of the orders and entreaties of General Harrison, they remained until a reinforcement arrived from the British camp, by whom they were speedily routed, and of this fine body of men about five hundred were killed or fell into the hands of the enemy. The party on the right bank succeeded in gaining the fort, though not without considerable loss, the consequence of their own imprudence. The sortie made from the fort was, however, attended with much more success. The assailing body consisting of about three hundred and fifty men, under Colonel Miller of the regulars, stormed the British batteries, drove back their opponents, who were supposed to be double their numbers, and having spiked the cannon, returned with forty prisoners. From this period until the 9th, no event of importance occurred. The British commander had not succeeded in making an impression on the fort, and at length, finding that his Indian allies became weary of the length of the siege, he embarked his whole force, and retreated with little molestation from the garrison.

The operations of the war on the northern frontier during the early part of the spring of 1813, were not remarkable for important events. A species of partisan hostility had been carried on about the close of the winter, between small bodies of troops stationed on either side of the St. Lawrence. In the month of February, an incursion was made into Canada by Major Forsyth, an enterprising officer, who with a party of riflemen and volunteers, surprised an enemy's post, captured fifty-two prisoners, besides a large quantity of military stores, and returned without the loss of a man. In retaliation for this exploit, a large British force attacked the town of Ogdensburgh, in two columns of six hundred each, on the 21st of February, and after a sharp contest, drove the American troops out of it, and having sacked the place, retired on the same day.

About the middle of April, a large portion of the regular army was concentrated at Sackett's Harbour, under the immediate command of Major-general Dearborn, and it became evident that some attempt on the opposite shore was in contemplation. The squadron under Commodore Chauncey, was also assembled at this place for the conveyance of troops as soon as the ice would admit of naval operations. The navigation of the lake being open, the army, to the number of about 1700, was embarked on board the squadron, and sailed from Sackett's Harbour on the 25th of April. On the 27th they arrived off the town of York, the capital of Upper Ca-

nada. In consequence of the freshness of the wind they were unable to land at the point originally intended, and when they at length reached the shore, they found themselves opposed by the whole force of the enemy, which consisted of seven hundred regulars and militia, and about one hundred Indians. The landing was, however, effected by the riflemen under Major Forsyth, who for half an hour made a stand against the greatly superior numbers of the enemy. The main body, under General Pike, then debarked, and after a sharp contest, drove their opponents before them to the British batteries, which they carried by assault. Led by its gallant commander, the American column was then moving on to the main works, when a sudden and violent explosion took place from the magazine, which made a dreadful havoc in the ranks, and for a moment checked their progress. Numbers were killed by the falling of the stones and timber ; among whom was their brave leader, General Pike.* The command then devolved upon Colonel Pearce ; General Dearborn having remained on board the squadron. The enemy's regular troops in the mean time had effected their retreat, leaving the town of York to be defended by the militia, who soon afterwards entered into a capitulation with the American commander, surrendering the town with all public property. The enemy had time, however, previous to their retreat, to destroy a large quantity of stores, and a frigate nearly completed. The prisoners taken amounted to forty officers and two hundred and fifty-one non-commissioned officers and privates, the greater part of whom were of the militia. The loss of the enemy was estimated by General Dearborn at one hundred killed, and three hundred wounded, exclusive of the prisoners. The British accounts acknowledged to have lost only one hundred and thirty in killed and wounded.

* It has been pretended by some British writers, that this explosion was the result of accident, and Mr. Baines, in the London edition of this work, declares the imputation of its having been intentional, to be "calumnious and unfounded." On the other hand, General Dearborn, in his official despatches, calls it a preconcerted measure, and a late British author, who is in general sufficiently favourable to his own countrymen, confirms this idea by the following expressions. "The land forces under General Pike advanced through a little wood to the main works ; when at the distance of sixty rods from them, a tremendous explosion took place from a magazine *previously prepared*, which discharging an immense quantity of rubbish, spread havoc among their troops, and killed a number of their officers and men." Account of the war, &c. by Robert Christie, p. 104. As a suitable accompaniment to this tragedy it may be added, that a *human scalp* was found suspended over the chair of the Speaker, in the house appropriated to the sittings of the legislature of Upper Canada !

The capture of York was dearly purchased by the Americans. Besides the loss of three hundred and twenty men, thirty-eight of whom were killed, and two hundred and twenty-two wounded by the explosion of the magazine, the death of General Pike was a serious calamity. This gallant officer, possessing at once the enterprise and ardour of youth, and the skill and coolness of a veteran, promised to become one of the brightest ornaments of the American army. His reputation was already high; although a strict disciplinarian, he had made himself the idol of the soldiery, who followed him with an enthusiasm and a confidence in his abilities that could not fail to insure them success. He perished the victim of a perfidious and unmanly stratagem; but retained to his last moments that love of honour and that devotion to the interests of his country, which had marked every action of his preceding life.

Having in a great measure accomplished the object of its expedition, the troops were re-embarked on board the squadron, which sailed for Sackett's Harbour on the 10th, and having landed the wounded and received a supply of provisions, it again left that port on the 24th, with a reinforcement of about 350 artillery and some ordnance. The reduction of Fort George was next to be attempted. The squadron being anchored within musket shot of the shore, commenced a heavy fire, by which the enemy's batteries were soon silenced. The troops then proceeded to the beach in three divisions, and landed under a heavy fire from the enemy. The latter speedily gave way on the advance of the Americans, and retreated with precipitation to the fort, but finding it untenable from the heavy fire of the ships, they again retired and dispersed in various directions, having previously endeavoured to fire the magazine without success. They were pursued to a considerable distance by the American light troops. The British loss on this occasion was estimated at 108 killed, 160 wounded and 615 prisoners; that of the Americans was 39 killed and 110 wounded. The conduct and discipline of the American troops on this occasion, were such as to entitle them to the highest praise, and led the public to draw flattering anticipations of subsequent triumphs. In these hopes however, they were destined to be disappointed, from the ignorance or mismanagement of some of their commanders.

After their defeat at Fort George, the British troops under General Vincent, retired to the heights of Burlington, near the head of Lake Ontario, where they were joined by reinforcements from Fort Erie and Chippewa. For the purpose of dislodging them from this post, the brigades of Generals

Chandler and Winder were detached on the 1st of June. On the 5th they advanced to Stony Creek, and encamped on its bank for the night, having taken the usual precautions against a surprise. In this position the enemy, whose situation had become dangerous, determined upon a nocturnal attack. At two o'clock in the morning of the 6th, a column of about seven hundred regulars having bayoneted the sentinels and passed by the advanced guard without notice, made a furious assault upon the centre of the American encampment. The line of the latter was soon formed, and a heavy fire opened upon the enemy, who profiting by the darkness of the night, moved to the left, where the artillery was stationed, and driving the men from their pieces, succeeded in capturing four cannon, which they turned upon the Americans. Ignorant of the cause of this firing, Generals Chandler and Winder advanced to the spot, and were both taken prisoners. The day was now dawning, and the American troops being able to discover the position of their assailants, were commencing a fire upon them, when they retreated with their booty, though not without considerable loss. On the same morning the former, instead of pursuing an enemy so far inferior in numbers, fell back to a position ten miles in the rear. The issue of this affair, while it reflected great discredit on the commanding officers, lost the troops generally no reputation. They received the enemy with great bravery, and a degree of coolness which would have done honour to men who had seen more service. The loss of the British was considerable. One hundred prisoners were taken by the Americans. One hundred and fifty-four of the latter, were killed, wounded or captured. On the 8th, the whole force, which began now to be pressed by the enemy, was concentrated in Fort George, under the orders of General Dearborn. That officer having learned that a body of the enemy was stationed at the Beaver Dams, about seventeen miles from Fort George, detached Colonel Boerstler on the 24th, with about six hundred men, for the purpose of dispersing them. At a short distance from Queenstown the detachment was assailed by a party of Indians, who were speedily assisted by a small force of British regulars. The Americans were formed into a close column, and returned the fire of the enemy until their ammunition was expended. In this situation they were called upon to surrender by the British commander, who informed Colonel Boerstler that his force was greatly superior in numbers. Yielding perhaps too ready an ear to this statement, the latter consented to capitulate. His troops were surrendered prisoners of war, and laid down their arms at the head of the British column.

It afterwards appeared that the whole force of the enemy, including regulars, militia and Indians, did not exceed three hundred and fifty men. When the superior numbers of the American detachment are considered, this affair must necessarily be regarded as highly disgraceful to the arms of the republic, and following so soon after the unfortunate event at Stony Creek, it produced great mortification in the minds of the American people, and led to a change in the chief command of the forces on the Ontario frontier. Shortly after the surrender of Colonel Boerstler, General Dearborn was directed to withdraw, and was succeeded in the command at Fort George by Brigadier-general Boyd.

While the spirit and reputation of a brave body of troops were thus frittered away in a succession of ill directed and disastrous engagements, the enemy had met with a signal repulse, in a conflict in which he had every reason to look for success. Sackett's Harbour, the most important post on the American shore of Lake Ontario, as being the deposit of immense quantities of military and naval stores, and the place at which the vessels of war were constructed, was left by General Dearborn, at his departure for York, under the command of Brigadier-general Brown, of the New-York militia. Availing himself of the absence of the greater portion of the American troops, the enemy determined to make an attack on this post. On the 27th of May, the British squadron was discovered off the port, and every exertion was made to put it in a state of defence. Only about a thousand men could be collected, one half of whom were raw militia hastily assembled, the remainder was composed of regulars, seamen and volunteers. This motley force was stationed by General Brown in as convenient an order for defence as the shortness of the time would admit. The militia and volunteers under Colonel Mills, were posted behind a breast-work, hastily thrown up near the supposed landing place. The regulars under Colonel Backus, formed a second line, and the seamen under Lieutenant Chauncey, were stationed at the navy point, with directions to destroy the buildings and stores in case of a defeat of the troops. On the morning of the 29th, the enemy's force consisting of one thousand picked men, under the immediate command of Sir George Prevost, was landed after a heavy fire from the militia in the battery. This fire however was all that the latter attempted in the way of defence; on the enemy's approach they were seized with a sudden panic, and fled in the utmost confusion, while their brave commander Colonel Mills was killed in the attempt to rally them. The first obstacle being thus easily removed, the British column advanced

towards the village, where they fell in with the line of regulars, assisted by a few of the militia whom General Brown had with some difficulty collected. Here too the American troops gave way, being overpowered by superior numbers, but they retreated in good order to the village, and took possession of the houses, from which they opened so destructive a fire upon the British column, that it began to give ground. Perceiving this hesitation, General Brown had recourse to a stratagem which soon decided the flight of the enemy. Collecting together a number of the fugitive militia, he marched them silently in the direction of the enemy's rear, but so as to be observed by him. Conceiving that his retreat was about to be cut off, Sir George re-embarked with so much rapidity as to leave behind most of his wounded and some prisoners. The Americans, satisfied with having obtained this advantage, did not molest him in his retreat. The loss of men was much greater on the part of the enemy, than was supposed by the American commander in his official report. It was admitted in the British official accounts to consist of forty-seven killed, one hundred and ninety-seven wounded, and sixteen prisoners; and as upwards of thirty prisoners were actually taken by the Americans, we shall probably be not far from the truth in estimating their whole loss at near three hundred men, almost one third of their whole force. The American loss amounted to one hundred and fifty-six in killed, wounded, and missing. The able dispositions and skilful manœuvres of General Brown, gained him great and deserved credit, and laid the foundation of the high character in military affairs he afterwards acquired. Had the enemy succeeded in obtaining possession of this post, the most disastrous consequences must necessarily have ensued. His naval superiority on the Lake would then have been firmly established, and any further attempt on Canada for a long time impeded. No event of the war was therefore of more importance to the republic than the defence of Sackett's Harbour. The joy of this triumph was however somewhat clouded by the unfortunate destruction of part of the barracks and stores, in consequence of a false report of the defeat of the Americans having been communicated to Lieutenant Chauncey.

While on the Canada frontier the American arms were thus experiencing an alternative of misfortune and victory, the inhabitants of many parts of the Atlantic coast were suffering under a heavy share of the calamities of war. The great naval superiority of the enemy, the exposed and defenceless situation of the numerous maritime towns, and the facilities of annoyance afforded by the broad and deep rivers of the

United States, presented advantages of which the British government was not slow in availing itself. Its first step was to declare the bays of the Chesapeake and Delaware in a state of blockade, which by a subsequent order issued on the 20th of March, 1813, was extended as far north as the ports of Rhode-Island. This discrimination between the eastern and middle sections of the union, was the consequence of the warm and decided opposition to the war, displayed by the legislatures of the former states, which the British government hoped would, under their protecting auspices, terminate in a division of the union. The notice of the blockade of the Chesapeake and Delaware was speedily followed by the arrival of a naval force in each of those bays. The squadron which entered the Delaware, consisted of the *Poictiers* of 74 guns, the frigate *Belvidera*, and some smaller vessels. Nothing of importance was undertaken until the 16th of March, when the British commodore caused a demand of provisions to be made on the inhabitants of Lewistown, a small village on the bay, offering at the same time to make payment for what was received, and threatening on the other hand the destruction of the town, if the request was not complied with. The inhabitants having returned a decided refusal, a bombardment of the place was commenced on the 10th of April, from a number of launches and sloops, supported by the *Belvidera*, but fortunately without effect, no injury being done to the town, and not a man lost on the part of the Americans. Several attempts were afterwards made to land, with equal ill success. On the 29th of July an engagement took place between part of the squadron and a small flotilla of gun-boats, which ended in the capture of one of the latter; but during the remainder of the year, nothing of interest occurred in this bay. The squadron in the Chesapeake however, displayed much more activity in the marauding species of warfare it pursued, its success in which is supposed to be mainly owing to the peculiar talents and disposition of its commander, Admiral Cockburn. During the long period in which the waters of the Chesapeake were visited by a British fleet, scarcely a day passed in which the genius and enterprise of that officer were not eminently displayed. With an uncommon degree of sagacity, and a nice taste in discovering the most valuable plunder, he possessed an equal share of dexterity in removing and appropriating it, and a happy insensibility to the compunctious visitings, with which minor adventurers are sometimes afflicted. To his comprehensive capacity nothing was too valuable and nothing too insignificant, and whatever could not be conveniently removed was com-

mitted to the flames. Whether these proceedings arose from an innate propensity to plunder, or from a determined animosity to the Americans, it is not perhaps material to enquire. We are inclined to believe that they are to be attributed to the first cause; and it is a striking proof of the inconsistency of human principles, that the same actions, which when perpetrated on a small scale, consign their author to infamy and punishment, should, when performed at the head of a few hundred men, be followed by preferment and reward. Had not Admiral Cockburn entered the British navy, there can be little doubt to which species of vocation his genius would have inclined him, and although it is probable that success would have attended his exploits, yet as his 'operations,' would have been comparatively more circumscribed, it would have been better upon the whole, for the interests of humanity. It was on the 4th of February, that this celebrated officer entered the Chesapeake, with a squadron consisting of two ships of seventy-four guns, three frigates, a brig, and a schooner. Immediately upon his arrival, was commenced that series of depredations upon farm houses, and country seats, churches, and cabins, which have made memorable his name and character. It is needless to encumber our pages with a minute detail of these transactions. It is sufficient to say, that wherever a landing could be effected on that unprotected shore, without danger, the opportunity was taken to plunder the nearest cottages, to maltreat the inoffensive inhabitants, and to arm the slaves against their masters. On the banks of the beautiful and romantic streams, which flow into the Chesapeake, were several peaceful villages, the tranquil and inoffensive pursuits of whose inhabitants, and their simple poverty, promised to secure them from the ravages of war. They knew little however of the character or disposition of the British commander, who argued that these circumstances would protect them from his resentment or cupidity. The first object which excited his attention, was the village of Frenchtown, at the head of the Elk river. On the 29th of April, he landed in person, with about five hundred men, and driving before him the few militia, assembled for its protection, proceeded to the destruction of this unfortunate place. The store houses, in which a quantity of merchandise was deposited, were committed to the flames. Many private houses and small vessels shared the same fate, and having witnessed the ruin of a principal part of the town, the British admiral hastily retired, on the approach of a body of militia. On the 3d of May, the town of Havre de Grace, on the Susquehanna, experienced a similar visit, some slight preparations had been made for defence, but the

attack being made before dawn, the inhabitants were surprised in their beds, and the invaders entered the town with little molestation. The scene of unmanly spoliation that then ensued, would have disgraced the legions of Attila or Tamerlane. Rapine and outrage entered the most private dwellings, and the most sacred receptacles. Furniture, clothing, and at last the houses in which they were contained, were committed to the flames, and when nothing was left to destroy in the town, the surrounding country was scoured, and even a church of the Christian religion was profaned by their sacrilegious plunder. Having satiated itself with this work of destruction, the detachment re-embarked, and a few days afterwards inflicted a similar fate upon the villages of Frederickstown, and Georgetown, situated on opposite banks of the river Sassafras. Both were pillaged, and both subsequently committed to the flames.

Soon after these events, a powerful reinforcement arrived in the Chesapeake, conveying a large body of troops, under the command of Sir Sidney Beckwith. The naval armament now consisted of seven ships of the line, twelve frigates, and a proportionate number of smaller vessels; and was commanded by Admiral Warren. The land forces were supposed to amount to about four thousand men; and were composed chiefly of deserters from the French and foreign armies, which had been embodied by their new employers, and of the worst species of British troops. Such was the kind of force which the British government thought proper to let loose on the shores of a kindred nation: their conduct, as we shall presently see, was conformable to what might have been expected of them. The arrival of so considerable a force naturally led to the conclusion that an attack was meditated upon some important place. Baltimore, Annapolis, and Norfolk, were alternately supposed to be the object; but it was soon discovered that the latter was to be first assailed. Preparations were therefore made with great energy to receive the invaders. Nearly ten thousand militia were assembled in the vicinity of the town, and the defences on the continent and islands materially improved.

The first obstruction to the enemy's advance, was Craney Island, situated at the mouth of Elizabeth river. In expectation of the attack, a body of about one hundred seamen had been stationed at a battery on the north west side, and the gun boats were placed so as to impede the approach on the opposite quarter. On the morning of the 22d of June, the British barges were seen advancing to the island from round the point of Nansemond river. As they approached within reach of

the batteries, so heavy a fire was opened upon them, that many of the boats were cut in pieces and sunk, and the remainder were compelled to seek safety in flight. A similar fate was reserved for another party, which had landed on the continent, and attempted to cross to the island over a narrow inlet to the west. A body of about five hundred Americans was stationed here, with two twenty-four pounders, and two sixes ; and their fire was opened with such effect that after an ineffectual attempt to advance, the enemy was compelled to retreat with great loss, and soon afterwards rejoined the squadron, leaving behind them upwards of two hundred men, many of whom were killed or wounded. Thus terminated the attempt upon Norfolk, the result of which was highly honourable to the small party of Americans, and displayed in a striking manner their skill and precision in the art of firing. Foiled in this attempt, the British commander now resolved upon another enterprise. Hampton is a small town, distant about eighteen miles from Norfolk, and was at this time garrisoned by four hundred men, with four twelve-pounders, and three sixes, under the command of Major Crutchfield. On the 25th, a combined attack from the land and naval forces was commenced by a bombardment from the barges and tenders, led by Admiral Cockburn, while Sir Sidney Beckwith, at the head of about two thousand men, landed a few miles below. The fire of the barges was returned with so much effect from the battery of twelve-pounders, that the enemy soon retired and sheltered himself behind a point of land. The troops under Sir Sidney, however, advanced, though severely annoyed by riflemen in their march through a wood, and Major Crutchfield, who feared that his retreat would be cut off if the seamen effected a landing, determined to make an attack on the enemy's column with his small force, but so superior were their numbers, that he effected his retreat with great difficulty. Captain Pryor, who had been left in command of a battery, being almost surrounded, cut his way through the British force with great bravery, and shortly afterwards the enemy entered the town.

The proceedings of the British troops in the predatory incursions we have heretofore had occasion to notice, although sufficiently at variance with the rules of civilized hostility, and the principles of humanity, were not marked by any flagrant injury to the persons of the inhabitants. Plunder appeared to be their object, and if that could not be obtained they generally satisfied themselves with the destruction of property. But in Hampton, new passions were to be gratified, and a deeper and darker tragedy acted. We spare our readers the revolt-

ing detail of the crimes and misery that followed the entrance of the enemy into that unfortunate town. It is sufficient to observe that neither age nor sex escaped their indiscriminate brutality, and that all the excesses that have sometimes followed the storming of a fortified place, were inflicted on the unoffending inhabitants of Hampton. The evidence of these enormities rests upon testimony too strong to be doubted. They were in a great measure admitted by the British commander, who alleged in extenuation, that they were committed by the foreign troops, whom it was found impossible to control. This pretext, like that made use of with respect to the allies of the British at Raisin, is too fallacious to require refutation. The British commander was responsible for the conduct of all under his orders, and those who cannot be restrained, ought not to be employed. He gave assurances, however, that they should not be again landed, and the promise appears to have been adhered to. Admiral Cockburn, indeed, proceeded soon after this event to the shores of North-Carolina, and renewed at the town of Portsmouth the scenes of Frenchtown, and Havre de Grace. Having loaded his vessels with the spoils of this village, and brought off a great number of slaves, he left the coast.

While these operations were taking place, the ocean had been the theatre of many sanguinary engagements between the vessels of the two nations. Mortified by the result of the first naval campaign, the British government had turned its attention to discover the causes of their unexpected humiliation. The confidence with which their previous victories over the European marine had inspired them, had led, it was supposed, to a considerable degree of relaxation in discipline, and carelessness in firing, which they now laboured strenuously to remove. The utmost exertion was made in the selection of crews, and in the practice of manœuvres to render them more fit to cope with the American vessels. The size and force too, of the latter, having been greatly exaggerated, it was determined by the British admiralty that a new species of vessel should be sent out to meet them. Seventy-four-gun ships were therefore deprived of a small part of their armament, and cut down to the appearance of heavy frigates. From this last circumstance they derived the name of razees. They were, however, far superior in size, strength, and force, to the largest American frigates.

After blockading an English sloop of war of equal force, the United States ship *Hornet* was compelled, by the appearance of a seventy-four gun ship, to take refuge in the harbour of St. Salvador, from which she escaped in the night, and

continued her cruise. Off Demerara, on the 22d of February, her commander, captain Lawrence, observed a large man of war brig standing towards him. The *Hornet* was immediately cleared for action, and at twenty-five minutes past five the engagement commenced within half pistol shot, and was terminated in fifteen minutes by the surrender of the enemy, with six feet water in her hold. The prize proved to be the British sloop of war *Peacock*, of twenty guns and two swivels, with one hundred and thirty men. Her commander, captain Peake, was killed at the close of the action. So severe had been the fire of the *Hornet*, that it was found impossible to keep her afloat until all the prisoners were removed, although the most strenuous exertions were made for that purpose. Nine of her crew, and three from the *Hornet*, who were generously endeavouring to save them, went down in her. The loss of the British in this action was very severe; of the Americans, only one was killed and two wounded. The humanity displayed by the crew of the *Hornet*, towards their prisoners, was as honourable to them as their bravery in battle. From the sudden removal of the latter, they were left destitute of suitable clothing, and the fact was no sooner made known to the American seamen, than they immediately divided with them their own equipment, while the public acknowledgments of the captured officers shewed that they had received an equal share of generosity and liberality.

On his return to the United States, captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in the harbour of Boston. The British frigate *Shannon*, of equal force, was at that time cruising off the port, and being in a high state of equipment, with a crew selected for the purpose, her commander, captain Broke, sent to captain Lawrence a letter, in which he requested a meeting of the two vessels—stated fully the force of his own, and pledged his honour that no other ship should interfere. Unfortunately the challenge never reached the latter. He had already determined to encounter the *Shannon*, and had sailed previous to its receipt. Had he received it, he might have made preparations more conformable to those of his enemy. Many of his crew were newly enlisted, and all were unacquainted with their officers, while considerable discontent prevailed with respect to their prize money. Added to this, the first lieutenant was unable to join the ship from indisposition, and several others had been recently promoted from the grade of midshipmen.

Under these discouraging circumstances the *Chesapeake* sailed from Boston early on the 1st of June, and found her antagonist laying to, to receive her. At half past five in the



JAMES LAWRENCE ESQ^R

Late of the United States Navy



afternoon the action commenced by a broadside, which proved remarkably fatal to the officers of the American ship. In a very few minutes the sailing master was killed, and three of her lieutenants dangerously wounded. Shortly afterwards captain Lawrence received a severe wound, without quitting the deck. The fire of the Chesapeake was directed against the hull of the Shannon, while that of the latter was aimed at the rigging of her antagonist with such effect, that in a short time she fell on board the Shannon, which then poured a raking fire into her. Seeing that her decks were nearly swept of her crew, captain Broke now boarded at the head of his marines, and at this moment captain Lawrence received a mortal wound and was carried below. The loss of these officers caused great confusion among the Americans. No one appeared to head them: the few who were able to make resistance were soon driven below, and in twenty minutes after the commencement of the action the British flag was hoisted on the Chesapeake. Attempts were still however made at defence in some parts of the vessel, during which captain Broke and one of his lieutenants were severely wounded. His victory was dearly purchased, with the loss of twenty-three men killed and fifty-six wounded. The slaughter on board the Chesapeake was unusually great. Three lieutenants, the master, three midshipmen, and about seventy men were killed, and two lieutenants, the chaplain, four midshipmen, and ninety men were wounded. The regret occasioned by the loss of the Chesapeake, was greatly aggravated by the death of her brave and honourable commander. His gallantry and enterprise had raised him high in the estimation of his fellow citizens, while his humanity and generosity were the theme of praise even from the enemy. He remained on deck, though suffering from a severe wound, until he received his last and mortal one, and while they were carrying him below, he gave the memorable order, 'don't give up the ship,' which has since become so justly celebrated. He survived the capture of his vessel only four days, and was buried at Halifax with every mark of respect and honour.

The intelligence of the capture of the Chesapeake was received in England with great rejoicing. The victory of captain Broke was considered as establishing the maritime superiority of that nation, which preceding events had somewhat shaken, and the honours showered upon that officer evinced the light in which it was viewed. The result of another engagement which took place not long afterwards, tended to confirm this impression. The United States sloop of war *Argus*, of twenty guns, commanded by captain William Henry Allen,

being on a cruise in the British channel, fell in with the British sloop of war Pelican, of somewhat superior force, which had been fitted out expressly for the purpose of engaging her. The action, which took place on the 14th of August, was maintained for an hour and a half with great ardour on both sides, when the captain and first lieutenant of the Argus being severely wounded, and many of her seamen disabled, her rigging shot away, and the enemy about to board, her flag was struck by the remaining officers. She was carried into England, where her commander shortly afterwards died. He had been first lieutenant of the United States, at the capture of the Macedonian, and bore a high character in the naval service.

The tide of success appeared now to set in favour of the British; but shortly after the capture of the Argus, an engagement took place which added fresh honour to the American flag. The United States brig Enterprise of sixteen guns, commanded by lieutenant Burrows, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of September. On the 4th a vessel of war was discovered, which stood for her, having four ensigns hoisted. After a warm action of forty minutes, the enemy ceased firing and surrendered. She proved to be the British armed brig Boxer of sixteen guns, commanded by Captain Blythe, who was killed early in the action. She was admirably prepared for the contest, and her colours were nailed to the mast previous to the engagement. The gallant commander of the Enterprise received a mortal wound about the same time that his antagonist fell, but refused to quit the deck until the sword of the British commander was brought to him, when clasping it in his hands, he exclaimed 'I die contented,' and soon afterwards expired. The bodies of the two commanders were interred at Portland at the same time, with every mark of respect that can be shewn to the remains of brave and honourable men.

The private armed vessels of the United States continued during this year to harass the commerce of the enemy, and carried into every quarter of the globe, proofs of American skill and enterprise. Perhaps no instance in the annals of naval warfare, can be pointed out of a more desperate action than that fought by the privateer Decatur, of seven guns and one hundred and three men, with the British government schooner Dominica, of fifteen guns and eighty-eight men. After a well sustained action of two hours, the latter was carried by boarding. The combat was maintained on her deck for a considerable time, when her captain and most of her officers and crew being disabled, her colours were struck by the crew of the Decatur. It is proper to add that the crew of the Dominica





Waldo Pinx!

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O. H. Perry Esq.^r

of the United States Navy.

fought with uncommon bravery and firmness. Sixty men and every officer, with the exception of the surgeon and one midshipman, were killed or wounded.

The enterprise of commodore Rogers was displayed in a cruise of five months in the frigate *President*, which terminated on the 26th of September without any material success. The *United States* and *Macedonian* had lain in the harbour of New-York until the beginning of May without being able to get to sea. About that period they made an ineffectual attempt to pass the blockading squadron, in company with the sloop of war *Hornet*. The vigilance of the enemy (whose superior force rendered any contest hopeless,) obliged them to put into the port of New London, where they were compelled to continue during the remainder of the war.

CHAPTER III.

AMERICAN ANNALS (continued): North western Frontier—Fort Meigs again Besieged---Defence of Sandusky---Capture of the British Fleet on Lake Erie---Battle of the Thames---Expedition to Mackinaw---Operations on the St. Lawrence---Affair at Williamsburg---Failure of the Expedition---Operations of General Hampton---Affair at La Cole---Burning of Newark and Devastation of the Frontier---Engagements on Lake Ontario---Operations on that Frontier---Capture of Fort Erie.---Battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater---Siege of Fort Erie---War with the Southern Indians---Expedition of Generals Jackson, Cocke and Coffee---Civil History---Meeting of the 13th Congress---Internal Taxes---Hostages---Repeal of the Restriction System---Increase of the Army---Financial Affairs---Mission to Gottenburgh---Adjournment of Congress.

WITH the retreat of the British troops from fort Meigs, began a new æra on the north western frontier. Defeat and disaster had too long accompanied the operations of the American arms in that quarter. The patriotism and valour of the western people had been squandered in a series of ill judged and mismanaged enterprises, of which it is difficult to say whether they were most detrimental to the public purse, or the public reputation. A brighter scene was now opening: the territory of the republic was to be freed from the presence of an enemy; and the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, from the murderous incursions of the savage.

The repulse of the allies from Fort Meigs, did not however deter them from a renewal of the attempt. Small bodies of Indians were seen at times in the vicinity of that place; and on the 20th of July a considerable force under the orders of the celebrated Tecumseh, including a number of British

regulars, encamped below the fort. Its commander, General Clay, despatched information of the meditated attack to General Harrison, who was at that time at the Seneca towns, engaged in organizing and preparing his forces. Before any reinforcements however could be sent, the enemy had raised the siege. On the 28th they embarked on board their vessels and sailed round to Sandusky bay, with the view of attacking the fort at that place.

Fort Stephenson, on the river Sandusky, was at this period garrisoned by about one hundred and sixty men, under the command Major Croghan. His means of defence were very feeble, being little more than a picketing, surrounded by a ditch nine feet in width and six in depth ; and so untenable was the place considered, that on the intelligence of the second retreat from Fort Meigs, General Harrison despatched an order to him to set it on fire, and repair with his command to head quarters. The express did not reach the fort until noon of the 30th, and the Indians having by that time surrounded it, Major Croghan did not consider it advisable to comply with the order. On the 1st of August the enemy's regular troops, with a howitzer, were landed from the gun-boats. The whole besieging force now consisted of about five hundred regulars, with eight hundred Indians, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Proctor. After summoning the garrison to surrender, and receiving a decided refusal, a fire was opened upon the fort from the six-pounders in the gun boats, as well as from the howitzer, which was continued during the night with little injury. The only piece of artillery in the fort was a six-pounder ; and as the fire of the enemy was principally directed against the north-western angle, it was placed in such a position as to enfilade that angle, in case, as it was supposed, an attempt was made to storm that point. The garrison was not deceived in this supposition. After cannonading all the next day, and until late in the evening, the enemy advanced in two columns to the assault. A feint was made on the southern angle, but the main body, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, proceeded to the attack of that at the northwest. In consequence of the smoke and darkness, they arrived to within twenty paces of the fort without being discovered ; but as soon as their approach was perceived, a heavy fire of musketry was opened upon them. The column nevertheless continued to advance, and its leader, Colonel Short, leaped into the ditch, followed by a number of his men ; when at that moment, the embrasure was opened, and so destructive a fire poured into them from the six-pounder, that their commander and many men were killed outright ; and those who were not wounded

made a hasty and confused flight. The other column, led by Colonel Warburton, was received with an equally severe fire, and at length broke and took refuge in a wood. The loss of one hundred and fifty men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was the result of this unavailing attempt, while of the garrison, only one was killed and seven wounded. The wounded of the enemy were conveyed into the fort by the garrison, at the risk of their own safety, and received every attention that the most liberal generosity could dictate. About three in the morning, after this repulse, General Proctor hastily re-embarked, leaving behind many valuable trophies to adorn the triumph of his youthful antagonist. The defence of Fort Stephenson must be considered as one of the most brilliant events of the war, when we take into view the force of the contending parties. Major Croghan was shortly afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and received the thanks of Congress.

General Harrison was now assiduously employed in the formation of an army competent to retake the territory in possession of the enemy, and if success should attend the squadron on lake Erie, to pursue ulterior operations in Canada. The number of regulars under his command on the north-western frontier, did not exceed two thousand. The invasion of the State of Ohio, had induced Governor Meigs to call out the militia en masse; and crowds of volunteers consequently flocked to the camp of General Harrison, the greater part of whom he was compelled to dismiss, retaining only about one thousand men. Having received the necessary authority from the war department, he called upon the governor of Kentucky for a draft of militia, not to exceed two thousand men. Isaac Shelby, a distinguished officer of the revolution, held at this period the executive office of that state, having been invited from his retirement, when, after the surrender of General Hull, the conduct of affairs required experience and patriotism. On receiving the requisition from General Harrison, he immediately issued a proclamation, calling for a body of mounted volunteers, and promising to lead them himself against the enemy. Such was the influence of his name, and the unabated ardour of the people, that many more than the required number soon assembled. A regiment of mounted men under Colonel Johnson, which had been recently disbanded, was now reorganized and disciplined with great care. The remainder of the Kentucky volunteers, to the number of about three thousand five hundred men, arrived at Upper Sandusky on the 12th of September, under their venerable commander, who soon afterwards received directions from Gene-

ral Harrison to proceed to Lower Sandusky. The latter was at the Seneca camp, waiting the issue of an encounter which it was supposed had by this time taken place on lake Erie.

The necessity of possessing a strong force on lake Erie, had been strenuously urged to the government by General Hull, even before the declaration of war; and it was evident to the meanest apprehension, that it would be difficult to retain the position at Detroit, much more to attempt the invasion of Canada with any prospect of success, while the enemy had command of its waters. There appears nevertheless, to have been a very censurable neglect on the part of the administration, in not taking measures sufficiently early to effect this purpose. The earnest representations of General Harrison however, at length awakened them to a proper sense of its necessity. In the month of March, the building of two brigs and several schooners was commenced at the port of Erie, under the direction of Captain Perry of the navy, and continued with great activity, until the 20th of July, when the enemy's squadron appeared off the town, with an apparent intention of attacking it; but finding preparations made for defence, soon afterwards retired. The equipment of the vessels being completed, they were launched on the 2nd of August, and buoyed over the bar in presence of, and without molestation from the enemy, who then returned to Malden, to await the completion of a large ship then building. Having received his compliment of sailors, and being joined by a company of infantry and some volunteers who acted as marines, Commodore Perry sailed in quest of the British Squadron, which he found lying in the harbour of Malden, augmented by the launching of their new vessel.

On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy's vessels were discovered standing out of Malden, with the wind in their favour. They consisted of—

Ship Detroit,	19 guns and 2 howitzers,	Commodore Barclay,
Queen Charlotte,	17 1	Captain Finnis,
Schr. Lady Prevost,	13 1	Lieutenant Buchan,
Brig Hunter,	10	
Sloop Little Belt,	3	
Chippewa,	1 2 swivels,	
In all 63 guns, 4 howitzers, and 2 swivels.		

The American squadron was composed of—

Brig Lawrence,	20 guns,	Commodore Perry,
Niagara,	20	Captain Elliott,
Caledonia,	3	Lieut. Turner,
Schr. Ariel,	4	
Scorpion,	2	
Somers,	2 2 swivels,	
Sloop Trippe,	1	
Tigress,	1	
Porcupine,	1	
In all 54 guns 2 swivels.		

At ten o'clock the wind changed so as to give the latter the weather-gage. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and bore down upon the enemy. At a few minutes before 12 the action commenced by a heavy and well directed fire upon the *Lawrence*, from the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, which she was unable to return, in consequence of possessing only carronades. The lightness of the wind preventing the remainder of the American squadron from getting up, she was compelled to sustain the fire of the enemy's vessels for upwards of two hours, when having lost a great number of men, and most of her guns and rigging being disabled, it was evident she must soon surrender. The fate of the day appeared already decided, when Commodore Perry, with singular gallantry and enterprise, resolved upon a measure which retrieved his doubtful fortunes. Leaving his ship the *Lawrence*, he passed in an open boat to the *Niagara*, which a lucky increase of wind had enabled Captain Elliott to bring up. The latter officer now volunteered to carry the smaller vessels into action, while Commodore Perry, with the *Niagara*, bore up and passed through the enemy's line, pouring into the ships on each side a most destructive fire. The American schooners and gun-boats having soon afterwards got within a suitable distance, opened a heavy and well-directed cannonade upon their opponents, and after a short contest the whole British squadron surrendered.

The enemy not having been able to take possession of the *Lawrence*, whose colours had been struck soon after Commodore Perry left her, she again hoisted them before the conclusion of the conflict.

Never was a victory more complete, and more glorious to the victors, than this. The American vessels were inferior in force to their opponents; the number of men on board the latter was greater; the American officers had never witnessed the manœuvring of a squadron, while the British commander had acquired experience under the eye of Lord Nelson, and yet not one vessel of the enemy was left to bear the tidings of defeat. The surrender of the flag-ship of a squadron has in former engagements generally decided the fate of the battle; here, although it made the force of the enemy superior by thirty-three guns, it only served to animate the Americans to new and more desperate exertions. The result of the engagement was attributed by the British commander to a deficiency of competent seamen, to the unprecedented loss of officers on board the *Queen Charlotte* and *Detroit*, and to the superior weight of metal on board the American vessels. The loss of men, however, on each side, was pretty nearly equal. Of the

British, three officers and thirty-eight men were killed, and nine officers and eighty-five men wounded. Of the Americans, three officers and twenty-four men were killed, and four officers and ninety-two men wounded. Among the wounded of the enemy was Commodore Barclay, who was compelled to quit the deck of his vessel.

If the victory on lake Erie was honourable to the American arms, its consequences were no less important to the western country. The allied army had derived its supplies of provisions through the agency of the British squadron, and would now be compelled to abandon the American territory, and run the risk of an engagement with the superior forces of General Harrison. The intelligence of the victory being communicated to the latter, his whole force, with the exception of Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment, which was to proceed by the way of Detroit, was marched to Lower Sandusky for the purpose of embarkation on board the squadron. On the 16th, the army, including Governor Shelby's command, reached that place, where the squadron was found with the British prisoners, which to the number of about three hundred were marched into the interior. On the 27th the troops were all embarked, and at three in the afternoon landed on the Canadian shore. The line of march was immediately taken up for Malden, from which the British had previously retired, having first destroyed the fort and military stores. The victory of Commodore Perry had determined General Proctor upon a retreat as soon as the advance of General Harrison should be ascertained. On the day preceding the arrival of the latter, the whole British force, amounting to about twelve hundred regulars and one thousand Indians, independent of militia, abandoned Malden, and retired along the bank of the river Thames. It was now resolved by General Harrison and Governor Shelby to pursue the enemy without delay. On the 28th the army moved forward to Sandwich, where it was joined by Colonel Johnson's regiment, and leaving a strong detachment under General M'Arthur to keep the Indians in check, the main body continued its march on the 2d of October. The strength of the advanced force has been estimated at about three thousand five hundred men, of whom about one hundred and forty were regulars. On the 3d of October they arrived at the Thames, where a party of the enemy was captured while destroying a bridge. On the succeeding day a large quantity of arms and public stores was captured, and on the 5th, at noon, information was received that the enemy was lying at a short distance awaiting their approach.

The position taken by the allied army was a very favourable

one. It was drawn up across a narrow isthmus formed by the Thames on the left, and by a swamp running parallel to the river on the right. The regulars were posted with their left on the river, supported by the artillery, while the Indians, under Tecumseh, were placed in a thick wood, having their right on the swamp. It was at first intended by General Harrison to attack the British troops with the American infantry, while the mounted volunteers should turn the right flank of the Indians. The nature of the ground, however, he soon perceived would prevent the execution of the latter part of the design, and induced him to adopt another plan equally novel and successful. Finding that the enemy's regulars were drawn up in open order, he conceived the bold idea of breaking them, by a charge of the mounted infantry. The latter were accordingly formed in four columns, of two files each, and in this order advanced upon the British line, receiving a heavy fire, from which their horses at first recoiled, but quickly recovering themselves, they dashed through with so much impetuosity, that the enemy's ranks were immediately broken. They then wheeled round on his rear, and delivered a heavy and well directed fire from their rifles. Surprised and disconcerted by this manœuvre, the whole British force, to the number of about six hundred men, threw down their arms and surrendered. Their commander, General Proctor, and about three hundred men, escaped with difficulty. This signal advantage was gained by the first battalion of the mounted volunteers alone, the infantry not having arrived in time to participate in the honour. The second battalion in the mean time had been engaged in a more arduous and protracted conflict with the Indians. The ground being unfavourable to their operations as cavalry, they were obliged to dismount, and engage the enemy on foot. A severe contest now ensued, but at length the militia under Governor Shelby advancing to their aid, the Indians broke and fled in all directions.

A complete and decisive victory, was thus gained over the allied army, and with very little comparative loss on either side. Twenty-nine of the Americans, and thirty-four of the British, were killed or wounded. Of the Indians, thirty were killed, and among that number was their celebrated leader, Tecumseh, whose valour and activity were conspicuous to the last. He was seen in the thickest press of the conflict, and at the conclusion of the battle, his body was found on the spot where he had resisted the charge of the mounted regiment. With him perished the confederacy of savages from which so much injury had accrued to the American cause. Many of the tribes sent deputations to General Harrison, to

sue for peace, immediately after the battle, which was granted to them on condition of their raising the tomahawk against their late allies. Twenty-five officers, and about six hundred men, chiefly of the 41st regiment, together with six pieces of cannon, which had been surrendered by General Hull, were, besides this, the fruits of the victory.

The British force in this quarter, having been thus completely subdued, the American troops commenced their march for Detroit on the 7th. On the 10th, they arrived at Sandwich, and soon afterwards the Kentucky militia returned home and were discharged. General Harrison, in the mean time, being without orders from the war department, resolved to proceed to the Ontario frontier in the fleet. Accordingly, on the 22d of October, he sailed from Erie with General M'Arthur's brigade and a battalion of riflemen, and arrived at Buffalo on the 24th. From this place he marched to Newark, where he received orders from the war department to send the brigade to Sackett's Harbour, and was informed that he had permission to return to his family. This intimation, the meaning of which it was not difficult to understand, was complied with, and he soon afterwards resigned his commission.

Before we leave this quarter, it is proper to advert to an event which took place at a somewhat later period. The fort of Mackinaw was now the only one remaining of the British conquests in the west. In the spring of 1814, an effort was made by Lieutenant-colonel Croghan, jointly with Commodore Sinclair, who commanded the flotilla on Lake Erie, to obtain possession of it. A landing was effected on the island, but the strength of the place was found to be so great, that the troops were re-embarked, with the loss of Major Holmes, several other officers, and about sixty men. Two of the American schooners were subsequently captured by boarding, with great slaughter.

While on the northwestern frontier, the disgrace of former campaigns, had been repaid by an ample harvest of victory, the American people were doomed to experience fresh disappointment and mortification in another quarter, from the want of judgment in the administration, or of energy in the commanding officers. The retirement of Generals Dearborn and Lewis had left the command of the army at Fort George in the hands of General Boyd, who was restricted by the government from engaging in offensive operations, as it was intended to confide the command to other officers. Generals Wilkinson and Hampton were called from the southern section of the United States for this purpose. To the former

was given the command of the forces on the shores of the Ontario, while the latter was assigned to the northern army, then encamped at Plattsburg. The public voice called for some more decided and energetic measures than had as yet been taken. The strength and spirits of the army had been wasted in a succession of petty attacks upon unimportant places, while the two great posts of Kingston and Montreal remained secure and unthreatened.

It was now determined by the administration that one or both of these should be assailed by the respectable force which towards the month of August had been assembled, and for the purpose of maturing the plan and superintending its execution, the Secretary of War, General Armstrong, proceeded to Sackett's Harbour. After considerable deliberation, the arrangements of the campaign were finally agreed upon. It was determined that the army should fall down the St. Lawrence in boats; that it should be joined by the force under General Hampton at the most convenient point of junction, and should thence proceed to attack Montreal, which at this period was supposed to be defended by a very small force. General Wilkinson, who arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 20th of August, had been for some time after that period diligently employed in collecting and organizing the scattered detachments of the army, which were gradually concentrated on Grenadier Island, near the head of the St. Lawrence. Although the advanced state of the season rendered it necessary that the greatest expedition should be used, yet the difficulties attending this measure were so numerous that it was not until the 23d of October that a sufficient force could be assembled. The army thus collected, consisted of about seven thousand men. The strength of the enemy at Kingston, was estimated at about four thousand. To favour the idea of an attack being intended on this place, a post on the St. Lawrence, contiguous to it, was fixed on for the rendezvous of the army, to which the advance under General Brown was despatched. On the 3d of November, the rear, with the commanding general, arrived at this spot, and every thing being in readiness, the whole flotilla got under way and proceeded down the river on the 5th.

It was soon discovered that a passage down the St. Lawrence was not to be effected without difficulty. At every narrow pass artillery and musketeers were stationed, and the enemy, relieved of apprehension on the score of Kingston, had despatched a force of fifteen hundred men, and a squadron of armed vessels, to hang upon the rear. It became necessary, therefore, that a party should be landed, to remove the obstructions in front, for which purpose Colonel Macomb

was detached with about twelve hundred men, and was subsequently reinforced by General Brown's brigade, while the brigade under General Boyd acted as a rear-guard. After surmounting various obstacles, the flotilla arrived on the 10th, in the vicinity of a large and dangerous rapid. Here an attack was made on the rear of the flotilla, by the enemy's gun-boats, who were not driven back until a battery of eighteen pounders was erected. On the 11th, information was received from General Brown, that he had repulsed the force opposed to him, and had taken a position at the foot of the rapid. It was determined, therefore, to attempt the passage, when information was received from General Boyd, that the British were advancing in column to assail him. He was immediately directed to anticipate the attack, by moving against the enemy with his whole force. The latter was advantageously posted behind the deep ravines which intersected the plain. The attack was commenced by driving back a strong party of the British, posted in the wood. General Covington then advanced on the right of the enemy, with his brigade, while Colonel Ripley assailed his left flank, with the 21st regiment, after having routed with the bayonet a superior number opposed to him. The attack on the enemy's right, was not attended with success. The fall of General Covington, who was killed while bravely leading his brigade to the charge, and the want of ammunition, caused that part of the Americans to retire. In its retreat, a piece of artillery was captured by the enemy, in consequence of the difficulty of the ground. At length, after a contest of two hours, the Americans retired and re-occupied the ground from which they had originally driven the enemy, while the latter fell back to their camp. The infantry were soon afterwards embarked on board the flotilla, and the dragoons and light artillery proceeded by land to the foot of the rapid.

The numbers engaged in this action, have been variously represented. From the British official accounts, it would appear, that their own force did not exceed eight hundred, while that of their adversaries is stated at four thousand. This palpable exaggeration is of a nature to throw discredit upon their whole report. It is known that the force of General Boyd did not exceed seventeen hundred men, and it is probable the numbers of the enemy were not inferior. Both parties claimed a victory. The American commander contended that the object of his attack had been gained in the repulse of the enemy, and the occupation of the ground previously possessed by him. The British, on the other hand, maintained that the capture of a piece of artillery, and the

retreat of the Americans to their boats, left all the advantage on their side. It must be acknowledged that the advantages, if any, gained by the Americans, were not sufficient to compensate for the loss of men they sustained. One hundred and two were killed, including General Covington, and two hundred and thirty-seven wounded. The enemy, according to their official report, lost twenty-two killed, one hundred and forty-seven wounded, and twelve missing, they claimed also to have captured upwards of one hundred prisoners.

On the succeeding day the flotilla got under way, and having passed the rapid, without loss, arrived near St. Regis, where the advance, under General Brown, was found. Here it was that General Wilkinson expected to meet the army of General Hampton, in conformity with orders despatched on the 6th from Prescott. Instead of these troops, a messenger was found from the latter officer, conveying information that in consequence of the state of the roads and the scantiness of provisions, he was unable to undertake the contemplated movement. A council of war was then called by General Wilkinson, composed of the chief officers of the army, who gave it as their unanimous opinion that it would be unadvisable to make an attempt on Montreal, at that advanced period of the season. The Canadian territory was accordingly evacuated, and the troops went into winter quarters at French Mills, near to St. Regis. Thus terminated this ill contrived and disastrous expedition. Great expectations had been formed by the American people, but it was perhaps fortunate that it terminated at St. Regis. The enemy had taken every precautionary measure of defence, the river was of difficult navigation, the season was very far advanced, the indisposition of General Wilkinson prevented his directing the operations in person, and the stock of provisions was found to be insufficient for any considerable period. Under these circumstances, had the army been reinforced by the junction of that of General Hampton, and had it even obtained possession of Montreal, it is highly probable that a fate similar to that of the French in Russia, would have befallen it.

The strength of the northern army, under General Hampton, was about four thousand men, all regulars, by whom it was intended, as we have seen, that a junction should be made with the troops from Sackett's Harbour. Accordingly, in the month of September, General Hampton moved from Plattsburgh towards the Canadian frontier, which he crossed on the 21st of October. The route of the army, which had been obstructed in every possible way by the enemy, lay along the left bank of the Chateaugay river, by which it advanced with great

difficulty until the 25th, when it being ascertained that the enemy, under Sir George Prevost, was in considerable force behind a wood, which separated the army from the open country, General Hampton determined upon endeavouring to cut them off. Colonel Purdy was, therefore, detached to the right bank with the 1st brigade, that he might gain the rear of the enemy by a ford about twelve miles below, while their attention was engaged by the 2d brigade in front. Unfortunately, from the darkness of the night, and the ignorance of the guides, the first part of the plan entirely failed. The 2d brigade advanced on the 26th, and soon after learned that the enemy was posted behind a ravine, at the distance of two miles. The 10th regiment, consisting of 237 men, from the report of that day, was moved forward, and after a march of half an hour, fell in with a body of the enemy, which they soon routed, and drove from the ground. The rest of the brigade did not appear until after the termination of the action, and to the great regret of the army the 1st brigade was about that time perceived on the opposite bank, it having been unable to advance further from the causes we have stated. On the same day the whole force retired, about two miles, to the spot where the baggage had been halted, without molestation from the enemy, who were secured behind intrenchments and abattes.* At this place the army remained until the 28th, when intelligence having been received, which led to the conclusion of General Wilkinson having abandoned his descent of the St. Lawrence, a council of war was called, by which it was unanimously decided to retire to such a position as would secure its communication with the United States. The troops were accordingly put in motion, and on the 2d of November reached their former post, at the Four Corners, within the

* This account of the advance of General Hampton is taken from some particular details which appeared in the *Analectic Magazine*, for October, 1818, and were evidently written by an eye-witness. Nothing can be more gross or disgraceful to their national character, than the mis-statements made by English writers of the engagement here mentioned. The official report of the British commander estimated the American force engaged at 7500 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 10 field pieces. Now, no fact is better authenticated than that the whole of General Hampton's army did not exceed 4000 men of every description, and that the force engaged was only the 10th regiment, numbering 230 men. The British admit that their advanced party consisted of 300 men, and it was probably much greater. This body was driven back by inferior numbers, and the ground it originally stood on occupied by the Americans. Patriotism is an excellent virtue, and the English deserve credit for their general love of country, but true patriotism never requires the utterance of such enormous falsehoods as we have adverted to.

territory of the United States. Here General Hampton received the despatch from General Wilkinson, directing a junction of his force on the St. Lawrence. He immediately returned an answer, stating, as we have already mentioned, his opinion of the impracticability of the measure, in consequence of the want of provisions, and soon afterwards fell back to Plattsburgh, where the troops went into winter quarters. General Hampton then resigned his commission, leaving General Izard in command.

The two sections of the northern army remained in winter quarters, at these posts, until the month of January, when General Wilkinson received orders from the war department, to detach General Brown with two thousand men to the Niagara frontier, and to fall back with the remainder of his force to Plattsburgh. This order was complied with, and the remaining force being concentrated at the latter place, nothing of importance occurred until the end of March, when General Wilkinson, hearing that the enemy had collected a considerable force near the lines, resolved to dislodge them. He accordingly moved from Plattsburgh on the 30th of March, with about four thousand men, and found the main body of the British posted at La Cole Mill, a strong and extensive stone building, which had been fortified for the purpose. The state of the roads did not admit of the heavy ordnance being brought up, and an attempt was made to batter the walls with two smaller pieces, but they were found to be too solid to be shaken, and after repeated endeavours, the American commander drew off his forces, having suffered a loss of one hundred men in killed and wounded. He subsequently retired to Odletown, and in consequence of the discontent excited in the public mind by the result of this and the preceding expedition, he was removed from the command, which devolved upon General Izard.

We return now to the Ontario frontier, which, during the close of the year 1813, was visited by some of the severest calamities of war. After the departure of General Wilkinson, on his ill-fated expedition to Montreal, the command of Fort George devolved upon Brigadier-general M'Clure, of the New-York militia. The force of this officer having been reduced on the 10th of December, by the expiration of the term of service of the militia, to about one hundred men, it was deemed expedient to abandon the place. On the 12th the troops were accordingly removed, having previously destroyed the fort and public property, and it is painful to add, the flourishing village of Newark. This outrage upon humanity, and the laws of civilized warfare, perpetrated at an inclement sea-

son of the year, and without any sufficient motive, excited, as it deserved, the indignation of the American people. It was immediately disavowed by the government, in an official communication made to the public authorities in Canada, but before the disavowal reached the latter, a severe and excessive measure of retaliation had been taken. On the 19th, at midnight, the enemy crossed the river with about six hundred men, surprised Fort Niagara, and massacred nearly the whole garrison, consisting of about three hundred men, chiefly invalids. From Fort Niagara they proceeded to Lewistown, and after routing a considerable body of militia, burnt that village, Manchester, Young's town, and the Indian settlement of Tuscaroras. On the 30th of the same month a party of regulars, militia, and Indians, to the number of about seven hundred, landed at Black Rock, and advanced to the town of Buffalo, to defend which a body of about twenty-five hundred militia was stationed. On the approach of the enemy, however, these men fled without firing a musket, to their lasting disgrace, and the unfortunate village was soon taken, and immediately reduced to ashes, after which the British returned to Canada. In thus devastating a whole frontier, which but a little while before had been the scene of happiness and prosperity, they unquestionably exceeded the bounds of a just retaliation, had even the conduct of General M'Clure received the sanction of the American government. In this case ; in the employment of the savages ; and indeed in many other instances, the British officers appear to have been governed by a vindictive and unrelenting spirit, incompatible with the relations of civilized states, and with the principles of religion and morals.

The naval warfare on Lake Ontario, although not marked by the same brilliant events as that on Lake Erie, was yet not devoid of interest. Each party had, at different times, a numerical superiority of force, and as the one government increased the number and force of its vessels in exact proportion to the other, it came to pass that before the conclusion of the war, ships of the largest magnitude in naval architecture floated over those waters, which, till then, had borne only the light skiff of the Indian, or the slendour shallop of commerce. This alternate preponderancy of force, gave occasion to the display of the highest skill and seamanship by the two commanders ; and notwithstanding the narrow limits of the lake, neither party was able to boast of signal success over the other. In the month of August, 1813, an encounter took place between the two squadrons, which, after being productive of a variety of manœuvres, terminated in the capture of





J. Wood pinxt.

D. Edwin sc.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY ESQ.^R

of the United States Navy.

two of the smaller American vessels, in consequence of the superior sailing of the British ships. No important event occurred subsequently to this period until the beginning of October. Both squadrons were then on the lake, but the prudent caution of the British commander, whose force was then inferior, induced him to avoid a general action, while the efforts of Commodore Chauncey were generally crippled by the dull sailing of his small vessels. On the 5th, however, after a fruitless chase of the British squadron, he succeeded in capturing four transports, on board of which were about three hundred officers and privates of the regular army. The winter and spring of 1814 were chiefly occupied in augmenting the force of the two fleets. At the commencement of the season, the superiority was on the side of the enemy, and as a frigate of the largest size was then building at Sackett's Harbour, he availed himself of his command of the lake to destroy as much as possible the American means of warfare. On the 5th of May an attack was made upon Oswego, a small village near the border of the lake, which had become the deposit of considerable naval stores, and was defended by a fort containing five guns and about three hundred men, under Colonel Mitchell. The enemy made an attempt to land from fifteen boats, but so heavy a fire was opened upon them from the fort that they were compelled to retire. On the succeeding day the whole fleet having taken a position to cannonade the fort, the British troops succeeded in effecting a landing, advanced and took possession of the village, from which the naval stores had principally been removed through the vigilance of Colonel Mitchell. Disappointed in their object, the British retreated on the 7th, with the loss of about one hundred men. They are supposed to have amounted to about fifteen hundred, and were under the command of General Drummond. The American loss was about seventy.

The launch and equipment of the new American frigate, compelled Sir James Yeo to withdraw his squadron to Kingston, leaving a number of gun-boats on the lake. The opportunity was then taken, by the American officers, to remove the stores from Oswego to Sackett's Harbour by water. Accordingly on the 28th of May captain Woolsey, of the navy, left the former port with eighteen boats, accompanied by major Appling, with about one hundred and thirty of the rifle regiment, and an equal number of Indians. Having arrived off Sandy Creek they discovered the enemy's gun-boats, and in consequence entered the stream. The riflemen and Indians were landed, and posted in an ambuscade. The enemy, as was expected, ascended the creek and landed a party, which

was moving up its bank, when the Americans rose from their ambush and opened so destructive a fire upon them, that in ten minutes they surrendered, to the number of about two hundred, including two post captains and six lieutenants.— With these also were captured three gun-boats, and several smaller vessels. Of the Americans only one man was killed. Shortly after this event, commodore Chauncey having completed the equipment of his new frigate, again sailed from Sackett's Harbour, but as he had now a superiority of force, the British commander did not think proper to venture an engagement.

The campaign on the borders of Lake Ontario, did not commence until near midsummer. We have seen, in a preceding part of this chapter, that general Brown was detached by order of the government, from the northern army to Sackett's Harbour, with about two thousand men. After his arrival at the latter place, he remained for some time employed in disciplining and organizing his troops, until he received directions from the war department to move to Black Rock and Buffalo, with a view to future operations in the peninsula. The army under his command, when concentrated at Buffalo, amounted to between three and four thousand men, and was composed of two brigades of infantry under Generals Scott and Ripley, a detachment of artillery, and a body of volunteers from New York and Pennsylvania, under General Porter. On the morning of the 3d of July, this well appointed and gallant force landed in the vicinity of the British fort of Erie, opposite to Black Rock. Preparations were immediately made for an assault, but before the artillery could be planted it surrendered, and the garrison, to the number of one hundred and thirty-seven, were made prisoners of war.

Having placed a small garrison in Fort Erie, General Brown advanced on the succeeding day to within two miles of Chippewa, on the heights, near which the enemy's troops, to the number of about three thousand, were intrenched. On the morning of the 5th, General Porter was detached with the volunteers to drive back the enemy's skirmishers; and, by cutting off their retreat, to bring on a general engagement. The enemy was not slow in manifesting a disposition to meet the Americans. About noon General Riall, who commanded the British forces, moved out of his works, and commenced an attack upon General Porter's command, to support which, the first brigade and part of the artillery was now advanced, and took post on its right. The determined onset of the British regulars, soon compelled the raw troops under General Porter to give way, and thus exposed the flank of General Scott's brigade.

To prevent the enemy from profiting by this advantage, General Brown now ordered up General Ripley's brigade, with directions to skirt the wood on the left of the line, and to gain, if possible, the rear of the British right. After a severe struggle Major Jessup, with the left flank battalion of the first brigade, succeeded in reaching a position, from which he opened so galling a fire as to compel that portion of their troops to retrograde ; while, at the same time, the remainder of the brigade continued to press forward. The enemy now finding his efforts ineffectual on every point, gradually fell back until he reached the sloping ground in the vicinity of Chippewa, where being hard pressed by the victors, his retreat became a rapid and disorderly flight. The further advance of the American troops was checked by the enemy's batteries ; and the day being now too far spent for an assault, general Brown drew off his forces and returned to camp.

The battle of Chippewa was undoubtedly the best fought action that had yet occurred in the progress of the war. The numbers on both sides were nearly equal ; the troops engaged were chiefly of the regular army, and the field was won by fair and open fighting. The Americans had been for some time earnestly employed in perfecting themselves in discipline, under zealous and enlightened officers, who were anxious to wipe off the stigma which successive defeats had attached to the American arms. The British troops, on the other hand, were veterans, and many of them had recently arrived, flushed with the conquest of the first soldiers of Europe. To have beaten them therefore, by dint of superior skill or bravery, was a source of great triumph to the American army, and excited unbounded joy in the republic. The loss of men was nevertheless unusually great, and shewed the obstinacy with which the battle had been contested. The official report of General Brown, stated the killed, wounded, and missing, of the American army, at three hundred and twenty-eight. That of the British commander, represented his whole loss to have amounted to four hundred and ninety-nine, among whom were many officers of rank.

Soon after his defeat, General Riall abandoned the works at Chippewa and fell back to Queenstown, while the American army occupied the former place, and no operation of material importance ensued for some days. On the 25th, however, General Brown being informed that an attack was meditated by the enemy upon Schlosser, a place on the American side of the Niagara, where the sick and baggage of the army had been sent, resolved to draw him off, if possible, from this attempt. General Scott was accordingly despatched at four in the after-

noon, with his own brigade, Towson's artillery, and the dragoons. After proceeding about two miles, the enemy was found posted on an eminence, with the Queenstown road in their front, and defended by a battery of nine pieces of cannon. A narrow strip of wood intervened between the two armies. After despatching an express for reinforcements, General Scott resolved to attack the enemy. The action was commenced by captain Towson's artillery, and was supported for an hour by the first brigade alone, against the greatly superior force of the enemy. The right of the brigade was occupied by Major Jessup, with the 25th regiment. This gallant officer finding the road which led to the British rear unoccupied, threw himself upon it with impetuosity, and succeeded in capturing General Riall and many other officers and men. The ranks of the Americans were however rapidly thinning under the severe fire from the enemy's batteries, while the British were continually receiving reinforcements. The day was now spent, when General Ripley with the second brigade arrived at a critical moment. He was directed by General Brown to form on the right of the first brigade, but perceiving that by this step he should subject himself to a similar fate, he resolved to disobey his orders, to place himself between the enemy and the first brigade, and to attack the heights on which their battery was placed, without the possession of which, it was plain the Americans had nothing to hope. He therefore formed the two regiments of which his brigade was composed, in front of General Scott's line, and leading the 23d in person, he directed colonel Miller, with the 21st, to assault the enemy's battery. The order was executed by the latter with the utmost gallantry. After a short contest, in which many of the artillerymen were bayoneted at their pieces, the enemy's cannon were carried, and at the same moment General Ripley, with the 23d, drove the infantry from the crest of the eminence. The British troops being thus forced from their position, the American line was formed in front of the captured artillery. The conflict was, however, not yet over. The enemy being reinforced by a large body of fresh troops, brought up his whole force, and made three resolute and determined attacks upon the Americans, in each of which, after a close contest of bayonets, he was repulsed and driven down the hill. It was now midnight. The command of the American army had devolved upon General Ripley, in consequence of the wounds of Generals Brown and Scott. Previous to retiring from the field, the former had given directions to General Ripley, to collect the wounded and return to camp. These orders were now obeyed, but unfortunately, from the circumstance of

most of the horses being killed, it was found impossible to remove the captured cannon. They were therefore left on the field, having been previously spiked.

In this sanguinary engagement, the superiority of numbers was unquestionably on the side of the British; only one half of the American army was engaged at one time: the first brigade having been put almost *hors de combat*, before the arrival of the second. The enemy on the other hand, received continued accessions of fresh troops, after the commencement of the action. The palm of victory was claimed by both parties. If occupying the position of an enemy, after previously driving him from it, obtaining possession of his artillery, and retaining it in opposition to his repeated efforts to recover them, be not a victory, it is impossible to say to what actions that expression can be applied. The British troops had been withdrawn from the field, before the Americans retired to their camp, and every appearance of opposition had ended. The loss of men was great on both sides. Of the British, eighty-four were killed, including five officers, five hundred and fifty-nine wounded, among whom were Generals Drummond and Riall and thirty-nine other officers, and two hundred and thirty-five missing, of whom one hundred and sixty nine, were taken prisoners. Of the Americans, eleven officers, and one hundred and sixty non-commissioned officers and privates, were killed, fifty-four officers, and four hundred and seventeen non-commissioned officers and privates wounded, and eight officers, and one hundred and nine non-commissioned officers and privates missing.

On the succeeding morning, General Ripley, in conformity with orders from General Brown, put his troops in motion on the Queenstown road, but having soon afterwards learned that the enemy was in great force, at no considerable distance, while his own strength did not exceed sixteen hundred effectives, he again resolved to disobey his instructions. He therefore broke up the camp at Chippewa, and destroying the bridges in his rear, retreated to Fort Erie, the defences of which were immediately repaired, and strengthened. The enemy to the number of about five thousand men, followed his footsteps, and encamped about two miles from fort Erie; to which they now laid a regular siege. On the day after the commencement of the siege, General Gaines arrived from Sackett's Harbour, and took the command. From this period until the 14th of August, a heavy cannonade was maintained against the American works, and the approaches of the besiegers were gradually drawn nearer. At length, at two in the morning of the 15th, the British troops moved to the

assault, in three columns. The right under Colonel Fisher, advanced to within a short distance of the American left, which was defended by the 21st regiment, and Towson's artillery, when it was received with so destructive a fire, that after four successive attempts to advance, it broke and fled. The left column under Colonel Scott, was received by the 9th regiment, Captain Douglas's artillery, and two companies of volunteers, and retreated after the first fire. The centre column led by Colonel Drummond, advanced under cover of a ravine, without loss, to the wall, against which they placed scaling ladders, and after a sanguinary struggle established themselves for a short time on the bastion; at this moment a sudden explosion took place under the platform, which destroyed numbers of both armies, and put the remainder of the enemy to flight. The remains of the British columns then retired to their camp. The loss of the assailants was very severe. Colonels Scott and Drummond, with fifty-four others, were killed, three hundred and nineteen wounded, and four hundred and thirty-nine missing, most of whom were killed or wounded. The American loss amounted to but eighty-four in all.

The besieging army lay comparatively inactive for a considerable period after this repulse. Fresh troops were constantly arriving, and a heavy cannonade was continued against the fort. The fire from the enemy's batteries proving very severe and destructive, General Brown who had resumed the command, resolved on a sortie, for the purpose of effecting their destruction. The British force at this time consisted of three brigades, of about fifteen hundred men each, one of which was alternately stationed at the batteries, while the others remained at the camp, two miles distant. At noon on the 17th of September, the party destined for this enterprise, moved out of the fort in two divisions. The left under General Porter, advanced through a wood with so much celerity that the enemy were completely surprised; a short conflict ensued, which ended in the capture of the batteries and garrison, with the loss of Colonels Gibson and Wood, who fell gallantly fighting at the head of their men. The right division under General Miller, had been stationed in a ravine, with directions not to advance until General Porter should have gained the enemy's flank. The noise of the firing being heard, General Miller immediately moved forward, and after a close and severe contest, the whole of the enemy's batteries were carried. The cannon were then spiked, and the troops having accomplished their object, returned to the fort, carrying with them three hundred and eighty prisoners. Besides this loss, one hundred and fifteen of the enemy were killed, and one hun-

dred and seventy-eight wounded. The American loss was also very severe. Seventy-nine were killed, among whom was General Davis, of the New-York militia, two hundred and thirty-two wounded, and two hundred and sixteen missing.

The success of this enterprise compelled the British commander to raise the siege, and fall back behind the Chippewa. The American army was also soon afterwards strongly reinforced by the arrival of Major-general Izard, with five thousand men from Plattsburgh. Having taken the chief command, that officer immediately advanced towards Chippewa, where he found the enemy strongly intrenched, and vainly endeavoured to entice him into the field. The season being far advanced, it was determined to withdraw the army to the American shore. Fort Erie was therefore destroyed, and the troops went into winter quarters at Buffalo, Black Rock and Batavia.

While the inhabitants of the northern frontier were thus suffering under the difficulties and privations of war, those of the south were not exempt from similar calamities. Previous to the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain, differences had existed between the Indians of the Creek and Seminole tribes and the United States, arising from depredations committed on the frontier settlers, which the latter were not slow in retaliating. The war with England encouraged the savages to hope for assistance from that nation, and affairs soon bore the appearance of regular hostility. In the month of September 1812, Colonel Newman, with about one hundred and twenty volunteers from Georgia, was attacked by a body of Indians, and after various success, was compelled to retreat. No event of great importance occurred subsequently to this, until the ensuing summer, when a most sanguinary and ruthless massacre filled the southern settlements with consternation. The threats of the Indians had caused many of the inhabitants on the Alabama to take refuge in the temporary forts which had been erected for the protection of the frontier. In one of them, called Fort Mimms, about one hundred and fifty men, and the same number of women and children, were collected. On the 30th of August, this unfortunate party was surprised by a large body of savages, and of the three hundred individuals, only seventeen escaped the tomahawk or the flames. The ruin and devastation of the neighbouring settlements followed this inhuman outrage, and it now became evident, that nothing short of the most exemplary punishment could restrain these ferocious savages. The legislature of the state of Tennessee immediately ordered a draft of thirty-five hundred men, of the militia, which were

placed under the command of General Jackson. With about two thousand of this draft and five hundred mounted men, under the command of Colonel Coffee, that officer immediately set forth for the Seminole country. On the 2d of November, Colonel Coffee was detached with nine hundred men against a body of the Indians posted at Tallushatchee, whom he attacked with fury, and drove into their town. Here a desperate conflict was maintained, the savages neither asking nor receiving quarter, until nearly every warrior perished. One hundred and eighty-six were killed, the remainder, consisting principally of the wounded, and women and children, became prisoners. Soon after the return of this detachment, General Jackson determined to proceed with his whole force, consisting now of twelve hundred infantry, and eight hundred mounted gun men and cavalry, to the relief of Talladega, a fort of friendly Indians, then invested by the enemy. Having made a rapid march, he arrived on the 8th of December within a short distance of the fort, and drew up his force so as nearly to surround the savages. A sharp conflict ensued, but part of the American infantry giving way, the main body of the enemy escaped; leaving three hundred warriors dead on the field, and many more are said to have been killed in the pursuit. After this victory, General Jackson led his forces back to the vicinity of Tennessee, where he was soon involved in difficulties from the want of subordination in his troops. The term of service of the militia was about expiring, and the volunteers claimed a discharge, from a misunderstanding of the law under which they were received. All the efforts of this popular and able commander were insufficient to restrain the mutinous spirit of his men; and he was at length compelled to march them back to Tennessee, where they were discharged.

In the mean time, the Indians were suffering in another quarter an ample measure of retribution. General White, with a body of East Tennessee militia, fell upon a town of the Hillabee tribe, which he destroyed, together with about sixty of their warriors; and returned with two hundred and fifty prisoners. About the same period General Floyd, with a party of the Georgia militia, obtained a signal victory over a body of the enemy on the Tallapoosa. Two hundred of the latter were killed, after a contest of three hours, in which they fought with desperate bravery. The loss of the Georgians was trivial in comparison.

A small number of the militia still remained with General Jackson, and having received a reinforcement of one thousand mounted volunteers, who were engaged for sixty days only,

he resolved to lead them against the enemy, a considerable body of whom was posted at a bend of the Tallapoosa. On the 21st of January he arrived in the vicinity of this place, and encamped in a hollow square. At dawn the next morning, the American encampment was attacked by the Indians in several quarters with the utmost fury. They were only repulsed at one point to renew the assault at another ; but the vigilance of General Jackson at length triumphed, and the enemy returned to their fortified post with great loss. The loss of the Americans too was considerable, and as provisions began to be scarce, General Jackson resolved to retrace his steps to the Coosa. His march was annoyed by the Indians, and on arriving at a dangerous defile near the crossing of the Enotichopco Creek, his rear-guard was attacked, and put to a shameful flight. The gallant behaviour, however, of a company of artillery, retrieved the credit of the army, and saved it from destruction. The Indians were in their turn routed and pursued to a considerable distance.

Soon after their return to Fort Strother, on the Coosa, the time of service of the volunteers expired. A draft was then made of twenty-five hundred militia, for three months, and on the 6th of February, they were joined by a regiment of regulars, six hundred strong. The want of provisions prevented General Jackson from undertaking any enterprise until the 14th of March, when he set out with the intention of attacking the enemy's post on the Tallapoosa, near New Youcka. The Indians had displayed an unusual degree of judgment and skill in the selection and fortification of this post. It was surrounded on three sides by the river, and the only passage by which it was accessible was over a narrow strip of land, on which a breastwork, about six feet in height, with a double row of port holes, had been thrown up. The number of warriors with which it was garrisoned was supposed to amount to about one thousand. General Jackson's force, although considerably reduced by detachments, was three times as numerous. On the 27th of March, he reached the vicinity of Tohopeka. His plan of attack was soon arranged. General Coffee, with the mounted infantry, was directed to gain the southern bank, and encircle the bend ; while the remainder of the forces were drawn up in front of the breastwork. As soon as it was announced that General Coffee had reached his station, the assault was commenced ; for some moments a destructive contest was maintained at the intrenchment, but at length the assailants having scaled the rampart, the savages were in a short time driven to the bank. Here they encountered General Coffee's force, and finding

their retreat cut off, they endeavoured to take refuge behind the brush on the lofty banks of the river, from which they occasionally fired upon the whites. The victory being now gained, General Jackson sent a flag with an interpreter to summon them to surrender. From misunderstanding the nature of the offer, or more probably from a determination to refuse quarter, they fired upon and wounded one of the party. They were, therefore, given up to destruction. Five hundred and fifty warriors were found dead upon the peninsula, besides a great number who perished in the river. Only four men, with three hundred women and children, were taken prisoners. Fifty-five of the Americans were killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded; among the former was Major Montgomery of the regulars, a young officer of great promise, who was killed while mounting the enemy's intrenchments.

With this irretrievable defeat, terminated forever the power of the Creeks. While we condemn their barbarities, and admit the propriety of retaliation, it is impossible not to admire their valour and fortitude, and to regret that their lawless disposition required such exterminating severity. Their unconditional submission was the price of a treaty of peace concluded not long after this event. They agreed to retire to the rear of the army, and occupy the country east of the Coosa, while a line of American posts was established from Tennessee and Georgia to the Alabama.

It is now time to turn the attention of the reader to the proceedings of Congress, of which however, our limits forbid us to give more than a rapid sketch. In the midst of unusual violence and asperity of parties, the 13th Congress assembled at Washington on the 24th of May, 1813. The most important part of the message of the President related to financial affairs, of which the picture was not very flattering. The expenditures consequent upon the state of the country, would, it was supposed, fully equal the receipts, and to sustain the credit of the Treasury, it was imperiously necessary that some certain and adequate source of revenue should be provided. In conformity with the recommendation of the the President, bills levying internal duties, were introduced into the House of Representatives on the 10th of June, and were subsequently passed by both houses. By the first, a direct tax on lands and houses to the amount of three millions, was authorised. The remainder imposed duties on distilled liquors, refined sugars, retailers licences, sales at auction, carriages, and bank and other notes. The proceeds of the whole were estimated at five and a half millions. A loan of seven and a half millions for the service of the year 1814, was sub-

sequently authorised. After despatching other business of minor importance, Congress adjourned on the 2d of August.

On the 2nd of December that body again convened. In his message to both houses, the President called their attention to a subject of considerable interest. Among the prisoners taken by the British in the course of the war, were several natives of Great Britain, who had emigrated to America long previous to hostilities. On the principle set up by the British government, that no person can expatriate himself, they had been sent to England for trial as traitors. The American government immediately placed in confinement an equal number of British soldiers, with a notification that they would experience a similar fate with the American prisoners. In retaliation for this step, American officers and non-commissioned officers, double in number to the British soldiers, were imprisoned, and a similar punishment threatened. The American government on the other hand, selected a like number of British officers, to be held as hostages for the Americans. Affairs were in this state when the President's message was delivered. An arrangement was however effected in the spring of 1814, between the two governments, which provided that all prisoners, including those placed in confinement as hostages, should be exchanged, with the exception of those originally sent to England for trial, it appearing that no proceedings had been instituted against them. The right of retaliation was notwithstanding reserved by the American government in case any punishment should be inflicted on its citizens.

The great and unexpected revolution of power in Europe, which has been narrated in a preceding part of this work, had the effect of throwing open the long closed ports of that quarter to commercial adventure. The continuance of the restrictive system in America, could therefore no longer effect the British nation, which was now also to derive its supplies from, and export its manufactures to the Continent. Other reasons also, it was supposed, concurred to induce a repeal of the embargo and non-importation laws; and this measure, which was recommended by the President, was adopted by both houses in the early part of April.

The increase and better organization of the army, were, however, subjects which required more of the attention of Congress. The inducements to enlist had been previously found insufficient, and were now greatly increased. An act was passed early in the session, offering a bounty of one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, to every able bodied person who should thereafter join the regular army, and a

premium of eight dollars to every person who should provide a suitable recruit. By a subsequent act, the President was authorised to re-enlist for five years, fourteen regiments of infantry, which had been originally engaged to serve for twelve months, and to raise three additional regiments of riflemen. To the naval force, little addition was made.

The annual report of the state of the treasury, was not calculated to give a favourable opinion of the financial affairs. The expenditures for 1814 were estimated at upwards of forty-five millions, while the ways and means, it was supposed, would not exceed sixteen millions. To provide for the balance, two acts were passed by Congress. The first authorised the President to borrow a sum not exceeding twenty-five millions, and the second empowered him to issue Treasury notes to the amount of five millions additional. Only a part however, of the amount proposed to be borrowed, could be obtained, and that on terms very unfavourable to the government.

Early in the year 1813, an offer had been made by the Emperor of Russia to mediate between America and Great Britain. The proposal was accepted on the part of the former; and three commissioners, John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard, were appointed by the President and senate to treat with the British government. The latter however, refused to submit the subject to mediation, but professed its willingness to negotiate at London or Gottenburg. In consequence of this intimation, two additional commissioners, Henry Clay, speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jonathan Russell, were authorised, in conjunction with those already appointed, to treat with the British plenipotentiaries.

Congress adjourned on the 18th of April, after a session of uncommon length.

CHAPTER IV.

AMERICAN ANNALS (*continued*): *Naval Events—Cruise of Commodore Rodgers—Cruise and Capture of the Essex—Capture of the Epervier—Of the Reindeer—Of the Avon—Of the Levant and Cyane—Of the President—Of the Penguin—War on the Coast—Capture of Eastport—Attack on Stonington and Castine—Battle of Bladensburg—Capture of Washington—Attack on Baltimore—On Plattsburgh—Engagement on Lake Champlain—War in the South—Attack on Mobile—Capture of Pensacola—Invasion of New-Orleans—Battles of New-Orleans—Capture of Fort Bowyer—Civil History—Hartford Convention---Congressional Proceedings---Negotiation at Ghent---Treaty of Peace---Conclusion.*

THE naval history of the United States, bears abundant proof of the enterprise and activity of the American marine. Courage and skill are admirable features in the character of seamen, but without a daring spirit of enterprise, the vast superiority of the enemy would have condemned the republican navy to a perpetual blockade, as it had already done the navies of Europe. One of the most enterprising, though least successful of the American officers, was Commodore Rodgers; who in his frequent cruises, had visited almost every portion of the globe. In the month of February, 1814, he returned with the frigate *President* to the United States, after a cruise of seventy-five days. Off Sandy Hook he fell in with the British ship *Plantagenet* of 74 guns, and believing that he would not be able to escape, he lay to for her to approach. She nevertheless declined an engagement, and Commodore Rodgers pursued his course to New-York. The mutinous state of his crew, was subsequently alleged by the British commander, as a reason for not bringing the *President* to action.

About the same period, the cruise of Captain Porter in the frigate *Essex*, remarkable for its extent, and the adventurous spirit with which it was conducted, was terminated by the capture of that vessel. The *Essex* sailed from the Delaware in October, 1812, under orders to join the squadron of Commodore Bainbridge, off the coast of South America. After touching at the Cape de Verds, Captain Porter arrived on the coast of Brazil in November, and not finding the *Constitution*, proceeded round Cape Horn, which he doubled during tremendous storms in the month of February. He then put into the port of Valparaíso, and having procured the necessary supplies, sailed for the Gallipagos islands. Here he cruised for the space of six months, during which he inflicted incalculable injury on the enemy's commerce. The whole of

the British vessels at that time on the Pacific, were captured, to the number of twelve; three of them were sent to Valparaiso, three to the United States, and two given up to the prisoners. Of the remainder, one was converted into a vessel of war, on which he mounted twenty guns, and named her the *Essex Junior*, and with her, and the other three, he proceeded to the Marquesas islands, for the purpose of provisioning and repairing his frigate. At Nooakeva one of this group, he met with a very hospitable reception from the natives in general, but the hostile conduct of the Typees, one of the tribes, led to a conflict with them which ended in the destruction of their villages, with circumstances of severity deeply to be regretted.

In company with the *Essex Junior*, Captain Porter sailed from Nooakeva on the 12th of December, and arrived at Valparaiso shortly afterwards. They had not been here long, when a British frigate, the *Phœbe*, Captain Hillyar, with the *Cherub* sloop of war, appeared off the port, having been fitted out expressly to meet the *Essex*. Their united force was much greater than Captain Porter's, the *Essex Junior* being a mere store-ship. After a blockade of six weeks, he at length made an attempt to get to sea; unfortunately in rounding a point, a squall carried away his main-top-mast, and thus precluded all hope of getting out. Returning to the harbour was equally impracticable, and Captain Porter therefore ran into a small bay, within pistol shot of the shore, where the laws of war ought to have protected him. Captain Hillyar, however, regardless of these rules, commenced an attack before a spring could be put on the *Essex's* cable. The *Phœbe* and *Cherub* both took a position under her stern, and opened a heavy fire from their broadsides. In return, Captain Porter could only bring three twelve-pounders to bear on the enemy, and finding his crew to be falling fast around him, he cut his cable and ran down with the intention of laying the *Phœbe* on board. The latter however kept away, and being armed with long guns, the *Essex* carrying only carronades, her fire was so destructive that Captain Porter determined to run his ship on shore, but the wind setting off the land, he was unable to accomplish his purpose, and after a sanguinary contest of three hours, no alternative remained but to strike his colours. The slaughter on board the *Essex* was very great, out of two hundred and fifty-five men, one hundred and fifty-four were killed, wounded or missing. The flag of the *Essex* was not struck to an equal force. The *Phœbe* mounted fifty-three guns, and had on board three hundred and twenty men. The *Cherub* twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and eighty men. The

number of guns on board the two vessels, was therefore eighty-one, while the *Essex* carried only forty-six. The *Essex Junior* was at anchor in the port of Valparaiso, during the action, in which she bore no part.

In the encounters which took place this year, between the sloops of war of the two nations, the flag of the United States was uniformly triumphant. The ship *Peacock* of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain Warrington, being on a cruise on the southern coast, fell in with on the 29th of October, the British brig *Epervier*, of equal force. After an action of forty-two minutes, the latter surrendered, with the loss of eight killed, and fifteen wounded. Only one man was killed, and two wounded, on board the *Peacock*. The prize, which was found to contain one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, was brought safely to the United States. About the same period, the sloop of war *Wasp*, of similar force, was launched, and sailed under Captain Blakely, on a cruise in the British channel. On the 28th of June, she encountered the British brig of war *Reindeer* of nineteen guns, and after a series of manœuvres on the part of the latter, succeeded in bringing her to a close action. The engagement was continued with great spirit for two hours, when the crew of the *Wasp* having boarded her antagonist, the British flag was hauled down. The loss on both sides was considerable, from the length of the action, and the proximity of the vessels. On board the *Wasp*, five were killed and twenty-one wounded. Twenty-five of the *Reindeer's* crew, including her captain, were killed and forty-two wounded, and the vessel so much injured that it was found necessary to set her on fire. Soon after the action, Captain Blakely put into the port of L'Orient, in France, from which he again sailed on the 27th of August. On the evening of the 1st of September, two sail were discovered, to one of which chase was given. At half past nine the action commenced, and was terminated in forty-five minutes, by the surrender of the enemy, in a sinking state. While about to take possession of her, other vessels were discovered at a short distance, and the *Wasp* was compelled to abandon her prize, which subsequently proved to be the sloop of war *Avon*, of twenty guns. She sunk immediately after the removal of her crew, having lost eight killed and thirty-one wounded. Two only of the *Wasp* were killed, and one wounded, and the injury she received was so trifling, that her cruise was not interrupted. On the 23d of September, she captured a British brig of eight guns, which was sent to the United States, and from that period nothing more was ever heard of this gallant vessel.

The frigate *Constitution*, already memorable by her victories, was destined to add another leaf to her laurels. On the 17th of December she sailed under Captain Stewart, on a cruise. On the 20th of February, two sail were descried, to which she gave chase, and at six P. M. came up with them; a spirited action ensued, one of the enemy's vessels being on the bow, and the other on the stern of the *Constitution*; in forty minutes the largest vessel surrendered, and proved to be the frigate *Cyane*, of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men; after taking possession of her, Captain Stewart gave chase to her consort, which was now endeavouring to escape, and having come up with her, she too surrendered, and was found to be the sloop of war *Levant*, of twenty-one guns, and one hundred and fifty-six men, thirty-nine of whom were killed or wounded. On board the *Cyane*, twelve were killed and twenty-six wounded. Three only of the Americans were killed, and twelve wounded. On the 10th of March, Captain Stewart carried his prizes into the Portuguese harbour of Port Prayo; off which on the succeeding day, three large vessels were discovered. Captain Stewart immediately put to sea, and with the *Cyane* succeeded in reaching the United States, after a long and close pursuit. The *Levant* was compelled to put back into Port Prayo, and in violation of the laws of nations, was there captured by a British squadron.

After the arrival of the frigate *President* at New-York, Commodore Rodgers, with his crew, were transferred to the new frigate *Guerriere*, and their places were supplied by Commodore Decatur, with the crew of the United States, which vessel was now laid up, there appearing no probability of an escape from the blockading squadron. The *President*, under her new commander, was now fitted out for a cruise in the Indian Seas, in conjunction with the *Peacock* and *Hornet* sloops of war, and a store ship. The port of New-York was at this time blockaded by a large British force, which it became difficult to elude. The *President* therefore sailed alone, on the evening of the 14th of January, 1815, appointing a general place of rendezvous. Unfortunately, in going out of the harbour she struck on the bar, broke her rudder braces, and materially injured her trim for sailing. A strong westerly wind prevailing, she was unable to return to port. Her course was therefore continued, and at day-light she was discovered and chased by the *Majestic* of seventy guns, the *Endymion*, *Pomono* and *Tenedos*, of fifty guns each. By noon, the *President* had out-sailed all the vessels except the *Endymion*, which was found to gain upon her. Every exertion was

made to escape, by throwing over anchors and other heavy articles, but in vain. At five in the afternoon, the *Endymion* opened a fire upon the sails and rigging of the American vessel, and Commodore Decatur was reduced to the necessity of engaging her, with the hope of conquering her before the remainder of the squadron could get up. A spirited action then ensued, and was continued for two hours and a half, when the *Endymion* dropt astern, having ceased firing, and being to appearance disabled. Commodore Decatur then made sail again in the hope of escaping, but the *Pomono* and *Tenedos* soon afterwards coming up, he was compelled to surrender, with the loss of twenty-four killed, and fifty-five wounded. The loss of the *Endymion*, as stated by her commander, was eleven killed and fourteen wounded. From her crippled state, no doubt can exist that she would have been compelled to strike to the President had she been unsupported.

The *Peacock* and *Hornet* sailed soon afterwards, without being acquainted with the fate of the President. On the 23d of January they parted company, and the *Hornet* directed her course to Tristan d'Acunha. While at anchor off this place on the 23d of March, a vessel of war was discovered, for which Captain Biddle made sail. About noon an engagement commenced, and continued for twenty-two minutes, when the enemy, after being repulsed in an attempt to board, surrendered with the loss of forty-two killed and wounded. She proved to be the British brig of war *Penguin*, of nineteen guns, commanded by Captain Dickinson, who was killed in the action. Of the *Hornet's* crew, one man was killed and eleven wounded. The prize was destroyed on the succeeding day. The action of the *Hornet* and *Penguin* was the last of any importance that occurred during the war. The naval history of that period was thus terminated as successfully as it had been begun. In two instances alone, had the British flag been victorious over an equal force, and when the "thousand ships" of the enemy are remembered, their captures of vessels of inferior force were remarkably few. The brilliant victories of the American navy, on the other hand, raised the character and fixed the destinies of the republic. With the capture of the *Guerriere* began a new æra in its history. Henceforward, it may safely be predicted, that the dignity of the nation will not be insulted by the impressment of its seamen, nor its commerce assailed by the depredations of Europe.

The year 1814 was marked by a departure from the system which the British had previously observed in relation to the eastern states. The blockade of the coast, which had in the early part of the war been confined to the middle and south-

ern states, was now extended to the most eastern extremity of the union, and shortly afterwards this step was followed by a direct invasion of its shores. On the 11th of July, a powerful British force under Sir Thomas Hardy, landed on Moose Island, in the bay of Passamaquoddy, and took possession of Eastport, a place which had been in possession of the United States since the peace of 1783, although never actually recognized as within the territory. From this place he sailed for the coast of Connecticut, and on the 9th of August appeared before the village of Stonington, with a 74 gun ship, a frigate, a bombship and a gun brig. A flag was sent in with a laconic note, requiring the removal of the "unoffending inhabitants" within an hour. Three hours however elapsed, during which the militia of the vicinity were collected and a small breast-work thrown up with two eighteen-pounders and a four pounder. The enemy commenced his fire in the evening, and continued it until midnight without the slightest injury to the town. During the next and succeeding day, the bombardment was renewed with no better effect. On the 12th, the whole squadron took their station nearer to the town, and kept up a heavy fire until noon, when they hauled off, and on the 13th, weighed anchor and departed. This impotent attempt upon an unarmed village, served only to excite feelings of resentment against the assailants. About forty houses were destroyed, but not one individual injured.

A more extended plan of conquest was about this time matured by the British government. That part of the district of Maine which lies east of the Penobscot, would, it was conceived, be an advantageous addition to their possessions in that quarter, and preparations were accordingly made for taking possession of it, with a view of retaining it at the treaty of peace. On the 1st of September, a fleet under Admiral Griffith arrived off Castine, and a considerable body of troops under Governor Sherbrooke being landed, the town was taken possession of without opposition. The next day, about one thousand men were despatched in barges up the river, for the purpose of capturing the corvette John Adams, which lay at Hampden, distant about thirty-five miles. Her commander, Captain Morris, had landed some of her guns and thrown up a battery on the neighbouring heights for her protection. The militia of the vicinity, to the number of three hundred and fifty were posted on the flanks of the seamen, but on the approach of the enemy they shamefully fled, leaving the latter without support. Captain Morris was therefore compelled to order a retreat, having previously destroyed his vessel. Some pieces of cannon and a few of the militia fell into the

hands of the British. The next object of attack was the town of Machias. On the 9th of September the British force arrived off this place, which surrendered without resistance. Preparations were then made to advance into the interior, but this trouble was saved by a voluntary offer of submission made by Brigadier-general Brewer, on behalf of the militia of the district, who engaged that they should not serve against his Britannic Majesty during the war. This disgraceful proposition was seconded by the principal inhabitants, and the whole territory thus passed under the British dominion without even a show of resistance, and remained in their possession during the war, without any attempt on the part of the state of Massachusetts to recover it. It is impossible to avoid contrasting this tame acquiescence of the government and people of that state, with the energy and patriotism of the southern and western people, and even with the conduct of the inhabitants of the same state during the revolution, and it affords a melancholy proof of the extent to which party spirit will sometimes carry men under the best of governments.

We have now to record an event which inflicted a more severe blow upon the character of the American administration, than any other incident of the war, and covered the people with shame and mortification. The capital of the republic, bearing the name of the venerable founder of its liberties, fell almost without a struggle into the hands of the enemy, and experienced a fate which Rome in the worst days of Europe never received from her invaders. The native spirit and resolution of the people, however, were not bowed down by this calamity; the camps and garrisons were filled with volunteers, who panted for revenge; those who had uniformly supported the war, were rendered still more zealous in its behalf, and thousands who had previously withheld their services, now gave it their warm and steady support. The blow aimed by the British government, therefore recoiled on itself, and instead of dividing the people, the incursion to Washington had the effect of uniting all parties in the middle and southern states against the common enemy.

The operations of the British squadron in the Chesapeake during the early part of 1814, were not of a nature to require minute detail. With the exception of occasional skirmishes with a squadron of gun-boats under Commodore Barney, Admiral Cockburn did not deviate from the course of petty warfare he had previously pursued against ware-houses and churches. About the middle of June, information of the European peace having reached America, it was deemed proper by the administration to prepare a sufficient force as a

counterpoise to the veteran troops, which the enemy would now be able to throw into the scale. An attack upon Baltimore or Washington being apprehended, a new military district, comprising those cities, was created, and placed under the command of General Winder; and on the 4th of July, a requisition on the several states was made by the President for ninety-three thousand four hundred militia, who were to be detached and held in readiness for service. Of these, two thousand from Virginia, five thousand from Pennsylvania, six thousand, the quota of Maryland, and two thousand, the whole number of militia in the District of Columbia, were with about one thousand regulars, placed at the disposal of General Winder. Between placing men at his disposal, and bringing effective troops into the field, however, there was a wide difference. None of the Pennsylvania militia appeared for many weeks after the requisition, in consequence of the deranged state of the militia system; only one half of those from Maryland arrived in time, and the Virginia troops assembled, were unarmed and undisciplined. Such were the means with which an European army, flushed with conquest, were to be resisted. No more could have been expected of the commanding general than what was performed, but posterity will not fail to censure the gross neglect and improvidence of the administration.

Early in August a strong reinforcement of ships of war, with a large body of transports, arrived in the Chesapeake, under Admiral Cochrane. To mask his intentions, the enemy despatched a number of frigates and bomb-vessels up the Potomac, and a squadron under Sir Peter Parker, to threaten Baltimore, while the main body ascended the Patuxent to the town of Benedict, where the army was landed on the 19th of August, to the number of about five thousand men, all infantry. On the next day they advanced to Nottingham, along the river, supported by the launches of the squadron on their right flank, and on the 22d arrived at Marlborough. The flotilla under Commodore Barney had been in the mean time destroyed by his sailors, who now joined the army under General Winder. On the news of the enemy's landing, the latter officer had collected about three thousand men, one half of whom were militia or volunteers of the District of Columbia, and had taken post at the wood-yards, about fourteen miles from Washington. On the advance of the enemy to Marlborough, he fell back to a position eight miles from that town, and about the same distance from Washington. On the evening of the 23d, the British advanced to within three miles of General Winder's encampment, and the latter

apprehensive of a night attack, retired upon Washington. The reinforcements from Baltimore under General Stansbury, to the number of about twenty-one hundred men, with two companies of artillery, arrived on the same night at Bladensburg in a jaded and exhausted state. Hearing of the retreat of General Winder, they broke up their encampment before day on the 24th and fell back, but while on the march, orders were received from that officer to retrace their steps, and give the enemy battle at Bladensburg. General Stansbury accordingly marched back his troops, and took a position in a field on the left of the road from Washington, placing his artillery, which consisted of six six-pounders, behind a breastwork near the bridge. Shortly afterwards General Winder brought up his main body, which was formed in a second line in the rear of the Baltimore troops, while Colonel Beall's militia, to the number of about eight hundred, were posted on the right of the road, and the heavy artillery, under Commodore Barney, was placed on an eminence commanding it.

These arrangements had scarcely been made, when the enemy's column appeared in sight, and moved rapidly towards the bridge. The fire from the artillery at first threw it into confusion, but being quickly rallied, it passed the bridge, displayed into line, and compelled the artillery to fall back on the left of the Baltimore troops, upon which the enemy continued to advance, throwing rockets from their pieces. Unable to withstand this fire, the Baltimore militia broke and retreated in confusion. The enemy now moved forward on the turnpike-road, where they were received by so spirited a discharge from the artillery under Commodore Barney, that after several ineffectual attempts to advance, they were compelled to desist from this project. They then moved to the left, and having soon put to flight the militia of Colonel Beall, exposed the flanks of Commodore Barney's force, which was then compelled to retreat, with the loss of their commander, who was wounded and made prisoner. The second line still remained firm, but being now outflanked, they were ordered to retreat and form on the heights near the capital, where they were to have been joined by a fresh body of Virginia militia, and by the Baltimore troops. Such however, was the panic of the latter, that they had scattered in every direction; and it was found impossible to collect any considerable number. The assembled troops were insufficient to make any further defence, and after a consultation with some of the officers of government, General Winder determined to retreat through the city. In the mean time, General Ross moved on rapidly towards

Washington, which he entered at the head of his advance, about eight o'clock in the evening.

The success of the British troops in the affair of Bladensburg, which hardly deserves the name of a battle, is not surprising. It is true, the numerical amount of the Americans was greater than that of their opponents;* but in every other respect, the latter were far superior. They were an united, well organized body of disciplined veterans, commanded by officers of experience, under whom they had long served. The Americans on the other hand, were an uninstructed, discordant mass, harassed with unusual marches, ignorant of their own strength, and wanting confidence in their officers and themselves. Of the imposing array of numbers at Bladensburg, only five hundred were of the regular troops, and these were newly raised recruits; about six hundred were marines and sailors from the flotilla, and the remainder raw militia, who but a few hours before were pursuing the ordinary occupations of civil life. How was it to be expected that such men could withstand the fire of rockets and the assault of even half their number of veteran troops? Had the whole American force been united but a day before the engagement, it is possible, nevertheless, that a different result might have taken place; or had the retreat of the Baltimore militia been conducted in a more orderly manner, and directed upon a proper point, a more determined stand might still have been made on the heights near the capital. The loss of men on the part of the Americans was very trifling; ten or twelve only being killed, and about thirty wounded. That of the British was much more severe. Their whole loss amounted to two hundred and forty-nine, of whom sixty-four were killed, and one hundred and eighty-four wounded. With the entry of the British troops into Washington, terminated the glory of their expedition. The outrages upon taste and the arts, and humanity, that ensued, ought to fix an eternal stigma upon the government that directed, and the officers that executed them. In retaliation for the burning of Newark, which, as we have already seen, had been amply atoned for, the British Admiral Cochrane announced in an official letter to the Secretary of State, that he was determined to "destroy and lay waste such towns and districts on the coast as might be found assailable," and the first opportunity that was afforded for putting this most unrighteous plan into execution, was at Washington.

* The force of the enemy has been variously estimated, from 3500 to 7000. It probably did not exceed 4000. That of the Americans, of all descriptions, was stated by the committee of Congress to have exceeded 6000, with twenty pieces of artillery.

Here every thing that had in other times been held sacred, even by barbarians, fell a sacrifice to the ruthless hostility of these Christian invaders. The capitol, the President's house, the public offices of the government, together with the valuable library of Congress, and many private dwellings, were destroyed. The buildings at the navy-yard, with a new frigate and sloop of war, were committed to the flames by order of the government previous to the entry of the enemy. Having gratified their animosity against the American people, the British commander retired from Washington on the evening of the 25th, leaving behind a number of their wounded, and arrived on the 29th at Benedict, where they re-embarked without molestation.

The squadron which entered the Potomac was not less successful. Fort Warburton was disgracefully abandoned by its commander, Captain Dyson, and no other obstacle intervening, they arrived off Alexandria on the 29th of August. This town being entirely defenceless, was compelled to capitulate. The rapacity of the British officers was gratified by the surrender of the shipping and private merchandise, with which they descended the river, without receiving any serious injury. Sir Peter Parker, in the mean time, had, somewhat higher up the Chesapeake, landed a body of two hundred and fifty seamen and marines, for the purpose of surprising a body of two hundred militia, under Colonel Read, encamped near Bellair, on the eastern shore. He was received, however, very warmly by the Americans, until their cartridges being exhausted, the latter fell back, and the British party at the same time retreated, with the loss of their commander and several others killed.

In pursuance of their design of "destroying and laying waste," the British commanders next turned their attention to the city of Baltimore. On the 11th of September the enemy's fleet appeared off the mouth of the Patapsco, about fourteen miles from Baltimore, and the next day the troops, to the number of about four thousand, landed at North Point, and took up their march for the city. The Americans, on their part, had not been remiss in preparing for defence. The whole of the city militia were called into the field, and with a brigade of Virginians, a few companies of volunteers from Pennsylvania, and about seven hundred regulars, formed an army of about eight thousand men, which was placed under the command of Major-general Smith. On the news of the appearance of the enemy, General Stricker was detached with a force of about three thousand two hundred men, including a small body of cavalry and riflemen, and six four-pounders.

On the 11th this officer moved towards North Point, and halted near a creek, seven miles from the city. The next morning, on hearing of the enemy's landing, he took a position at the junction of two roads, his right resting on the creek, and his left on a marsh, the artillery being posted in the main road, while a second and third line were placed in the rear. An advanced corps, which had been sent out to reconnoitre, had proceeded but a short distance when it fell in with the main body of the enemy. A skirmish ensued with the advance of the latter, in which General Ross, the British commander, was killed. The command then devolved on Colonel Brooke, who continued to move forward, and having come into action with the force of General Stricker, deployed his troops to the right, and pressed upon the American left. General Stricker then ordered up his second line to that quarter, but from the inexperience of the militia this movement was effected with great confusion, and shortly afterwards one of the regiments gave way, and fled in disorder, followed by a battalion of another regiment. The rest of the line remained firm, but the enemy now outflanking it, General Stricker fell back upon the heights in the rear, where General Smith, with his whole force, was posted.

On the succeeding morning the enemy appeared in front of the American position, but finding it too strong for a direct attack, he manœuvred to the right, with the apparent intention of taking a circuitous route. Part of the American force was then disposed so as to counteract this design, and shortly afterwards the British commander concentrated his troops, and manifested an intention to assault the lines in the course of the night. At day-light the next morning, however, it was discovered that he had retreated. A party was detached in pursuit, but in consequence of the fatigue of the troops, the enemy re-embarked without much loss. In the engagement of North Point thirty-nine of the British were killed and two hundred and fifty-nine wounded. Of the Americans twenty-four were killed, one hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and about one hundred taken prisoners.

While these events were occurring on land, a formidable attack was made on Fort M^cHenry, which commands the approach to Baltimore. The bombardment commenced at sunrise on the 13th, and was continued until seven in the morning of the 14th, when the British admiral finding a greater resistance than he expected, withdrew his ships, after suffering considerable loss; and having taken on board the land forces, descended the Chesapeake. Thus terminated the attack on Baltimore, from which success was confidently anticipated by

the British commander. He found, however, to his cost, a different reception from what he met at Bladensburg, and paid the forfeit of his life for his mistaken contempt of the American people.

While the southern states were thus experiencing the calamities of an aggravated and relentless hostility, another portion of the union had been invaded by the enemy, under circumstances very unfavourable to the cause of the republic. The peace of Europe had placed at the disposal of the British government a large and formidable army, with which it was enabled to attempt schemes of conquest and destruction, more extensive than any it had yet conceived. The first step in its new plans was apparently to obtain the command of Lake Champlain, and thence to move down the Hudson, thus dividing the eastern section from the rest of the union, while the discontent so strongly manifested in the New England states would, it was hoped, lead also to a political division. The expected reinforcements arrived in the months of July and August, and as soon as they were organized it was determined to lead them on the expedition. On the 3d of September, Sir George Prevost, at the head of fourteen thousand regular troops, crossed the American frontier, and took possession of the village of Champlain, intending thence to proceed to the attack of Plattsburgh, while the British squadron should at the same time engage that of the Americans on the lake.

The march of General Izard to Sackett's Harbour had left Plattsburgh undefended, except by a about fifteen hundred regular troops, under Brigadier-general Macomb. On the news of the enemy's design, the utmost exertion was made by this officer to collect a force of militia, and to put the works thrown up for the protection of the place in the best state of defence. By the 4th of September, about one thousand militia were collected, part of whom were stationed seven miles in advance, to obstruct the progress of the enemy. On the 6th the latter was discovered approaching, and after a slight skirmish the militia party retired in confusion. The advance of the British column was, however, considerably retarded by the felling of trees, and other means, and General Macomb had time to collect his troops, and tear up the planks of the bridge across the Saranac, on the right bank of which his intrenched camp was situated. The enemy having made his appearance, his light troops entered the town, and annoyed the Americans on the opposite bank, until by a few hot shot the buildings were set on fire, and several attempts to cross on the ruins of the bridges were uniformly repulsed. From this period to the 11th, the British commander was occupied

in throwing up batteries opposite the American lines, and General Macomb on his part was no less active in strengthening his works, and augmenting his force.

The operations of Sir George Prevost appear to have been retarded by the delay in fitting out the squadron, whose co-operation he conceived necessary to the success of an assault. At length, on the morning of the 11th, the British vessels appeared in view of Plattsburgh. Their fleet consisted of the frigate *Confiance* of 39 guns, the brig *Linnet* of 16, the sloops *Chub* and *Finch* of 11 each, and thirteen galleys mounting 18 guns; carrying in all 95 guns and about one thousand men, and was commanded by Captain Downie. The American squadron was anchored in the bay of Plattsburgh, and carried in all 86 guns and about eight hundred men. It was commanded by Commodore Macdonough, and consisted of the *Saratoga* of 26 guns, the *Eagle* of 20, the *Ticonderoga* of 17, the *Preble* of 7; and ten galleys mounting sixteen guns. At nine in the morning, the British Commodore in the *Confiance*, anchored abreast of the *Saratoga*, at a distance of three hundred yards; and the remaining vessels of his squadron took their stations opposite to those of the Americans. The engagement then commenced. After a fire of two hours, Commodore Macdonough finding that the superior force of the *Confiance* had crippled most of the guns on the starboard side of his vessel, resolved to wind her round and open a fresh fire. This difficult manœuvre was performed with success, and the *Confiance* being unable to effect the same operation, soon afterwards surrendered. The brig and sloops followed the same fate; three of the galleys were sunk, and the rest escaped. This glorious and memorable victory was gained with little comparative destruction of life. The killed and wounded of the Americans amounted to one hundred and ten, of the British eighty-four were killed, including Captain Downie, and one hundred and ten wounded.

The attack of the American batteries commenced at the same moment with the naval engagement. Repeated attempts were made under cover of a heavy bombardment to force a passage of the river, in each of which the assailants were repulsed with great loss. The surrender of the fleet, which was announced by the shouts of victory from the American lines, induced the British commander to withdraw his troops from the contest. At two in the morning of the 12th, the whole British army precipitately retreated, leaving their sick and wounded behind, and reached Chazy, eight miles distant, before their flight was discovered. Upwards of five hundred deserters soon afterwards came in, and their whole loss was

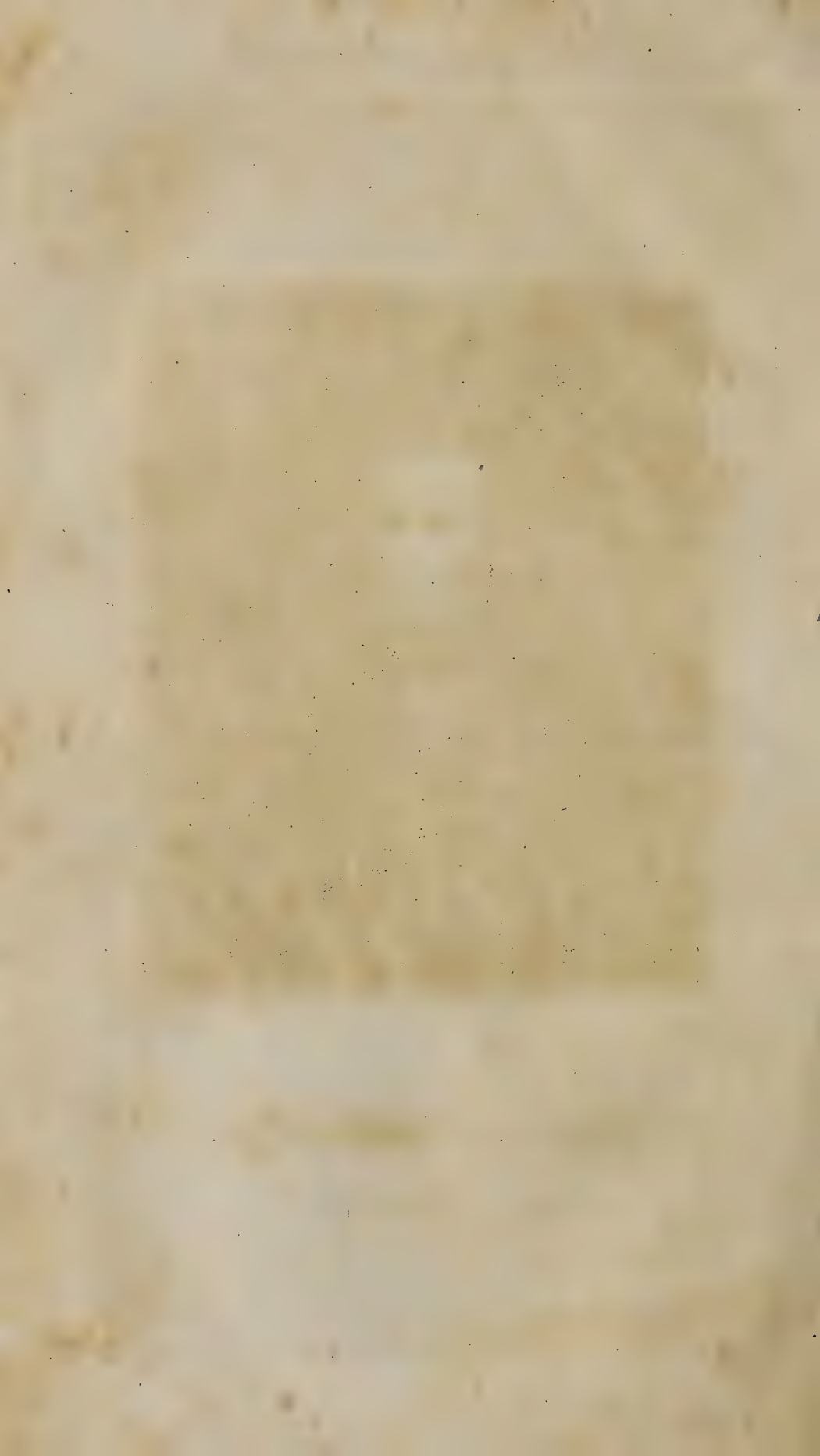


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THOMAS MAC DONOUGH E^{sq}.

of the United States Navy



supposed by General Macomb to be about twenty-five hundred: that of the Americans was only ninety-nine. Such was the issue of this powerful expedition, the last operation undertaken by the enemy in that quarter. The double victory of the army and navy raised the hopes, and exalted the reputation of the American people, and had a powerful effect upon the issue of the negotiations then pending between the two countries.

Another brilliant series of events remains to be recorded before we terminate the narration of military operations. In the extreme south, as well as on the remote northern frontier, a ray of glory was shed on the closing scenes of the war, and a fresh lesson inculcated of the strength and power of a free people contending against the invaders of their soil. After the conclusion of the contest with the Creeks, General Jackson fixed his head-quarters at Mobile, where he received information that about three hundred British troops, under Colonel Nicholls, had arrived at Pensacola, and that an additional force of thirteen sail of the line, and ten thousand men were daily expected. With his characteristic promptitude, he immediately made an additional call on the people of Tennessee, and took efficient measures to prepare for defence. The entrance of the bay of Mobile is defended by Fort Bowyer, which was at this time garrisoned by one hundred and twenty men of the 2d infantry, under Major Lawrence. On the 15th of September, Colonel Nicholls appeared with four vessels of war, off the fort, and soon afterwards landed a body of three hundred men, composed of regulars and Indians. An attack was commenced at the same time by land and water, but after a cannonade of three hours the British vessels were compelled to retreat, and the commodore's frigate was so much disabled, that she drifted on shore, where she was set on fire and abandoned by her crew, only twenty of whom, out of one hundred and seventy, escaped. The troops retreated by land to Pensacola.

The government of Florida, having thus suffered its neutral territory to be violated, for the purpose of inflicting an injury on the United States, General Jackson resolved to demand satisfaction. He therefore marched from Mobile with a body of Tennessee volunteers, two thousand of whom had recently joined him, some regulars, and a few Choctaw Indians; and having arrived in the vicinity of Pensacola on the 6th of November, he sent a flag, which was fired on and forced to return. He now determined to take possession of a place which had been so long made use of by the enemies of the republic to its annoyance. Early on the 7th, the troops were

put in motion. The American encampment being to the west, it was supposed the attack would be made in that quarter, and accordingly the chief preparations of defence were made by the British and Spaniards on that side. The main body of the Americans, however, were directed to an opposite point, and the garrison being completely surprised, were soon driven from their positions ; a capitulation was then signed, by which Pensacola and the different fortresses were surrendered to the United States. The fort called the Barrancas, which commanded the entrance of the bay, remained yet to be taken possession of. General Jackson was about marching his army for this purpose, when intelligence was received of its destruction by the British troops, who with their shipping then evacuated the bay. The government of the United States had not authorised the re-construction of them, and General Jackson soon afterwards returned to Mobile.

While at Mobile, intelligence was received that a formidable expedition was preparing for the invasion of Louisiana, and General Jackson proceeded immediately to New-Orleans. Here abundant occasion was offered for the exercise of his varied talents, and the display of his mental energy. This important city was not properly defended at any one of the points from which it might be assailed : its population was various, disunited, apprehensive, and discontented ; many had refused to comply with the militia draft, and even the legislative assembly was not free from the spirit of disaffection. In this state of things, the most decided and efficient measures were necessary, and General Jackson was not slow in adopting them. The defences of the Mississippi were strengthened, the inlets or bayous to the east were obstructed ; the militia of Kentucky and Tennessee, who had been ordered out by the government were hastened in their progress, and the patriotism of the people aroused by every means in his power.

At length, early in December, a fleet of sixty sail of vessels was discovered off the Ship Island. A naval force of five gun boats, under Lieutenant Jones, had been collected on the lakes east of the town, which it was supposed would be able successfully to defend the narrow inlet ; and now, on the news of the enemy's approach, Lieutenant Jones made sail for the passes of Lake Pontchartrain. Here, on the 13th, he was attacked by the enemy's barges, to the number of forty-three, with upwards of a thousand men, and after a gallant defence of an hour, was compelled to surrender. The capture of these vessels having given the enemy the entire command of the approaches to New-Orleans in that quarter, General

Jackson redoubled his vigilance and exertions. The militia of the city was called out *en masse*; an embargo was laid on the vessels in the harbour; the negroes were impressed and compelled to work on the fortifications; and soon afterwards, martial law was proclaimed. These strong and unusual measures, which nothing but the urgency of the case could have justified, led probably to the salvation of New-Orleans.

Most of the bayous and canals leading to the Mississippi, had been obstructed or guarded with care. One, called the Bayou Bienvenu, being little known, was unfortunately left open and undefended, except by a picket guard. On the 22d, the enemy came suddenly on the American detachment, surprised them, and having pushed rapidly, reached the bank of the river by two o'clock in the afternoon. General Jackson, who had been joined the preceding day by four thousand Tennessee militia, under General Carrol, resolved immediately on attacking them. With about two thousand men, consisting of General Coffee's brigade of militia, a small body of regulars, and the city volunteers, with a detachment of artillery, he marched in the afternoon of the 23d, leaving General Carrol's force, and the city militia, to defend the Gentilly road.

The left of the enemy's line resting on the river, General Jackson ordered the armed schooner Caroline to take a station, from which a fire could be advantageously opened upon it, at the same moment that the attack should be made by the land forces. This plan was put in execution about seven in the evening. The brigade of General Coffee rushed impetuously on the British right, while General Jackson, with the remainder of the forces, assailed their left, and the battery of the Caroline was directed with considerable effect. The enemy, although taken by surprise, soon formed, and withstood the assault with bravery. A thick fog arising, the American commander withdrew his troops, and, at four in the morning, retired to a strong position near the city. His loss, in this short engagement, was twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four missing. That of the British was, in all, two hundred and thirteen.

The American troops were now earnestly employed in strengthening the position taken by General Jackson, after the affair of the 23d. These lines, which subsequent events have rendered memorable, were on both banks of the Mississippi. That on the left was nearly straight, about one thousand yards in length, with a parapet, and a ditch containing five feet water, extending on the right to the river, and on the left to a thick and impervious wood. On the right bank was a heavy battery of fifteen cannon, which enfiladed the advance to the

lines on the left. In the mean time, the enemy had been reinforced by the main body of the army, and a large train of artillery, under Sir Edward Packenham, the commander in chief of the expedition. Having previously destroyed the schooner *Caroline*, by a battery erected for the purpose, the whole British army was marched up the levee on the 28th, and, at the distance of half a mile, began a furious attack, with rockets and bombs. The fire from the American lines was, however, directed with so much more precision, that the British general drew off his troops with some loss. At day-light, on the 1st of January, the cannonade was renewed from batteries erected by the enemy near the American lines, while, at the same time, a bold attack was made on General Jackson's left, which ended in the repulse of the assailants. In the evening they retired from their batteries, leaving behind a considerable quantity of warlike munitions.

Shortly after this event, both armies received an accession of strength, that of General Jackson, by the arrival of twenty-five hundred Kentuckians, under General Adair, and the invaders by General Lambert, with four thousand men. The American troops now consisted of about eight thousand men, many of whom were badly armed; the British were in number not less than ten thousand, mostly veterans, and provided with every necessary article of war. Preparatory to the grand assault of the lines, it was necessary for the British commander to obtain possession of the batteries on the right bank, which the want of boats prevented his reaching. With great labour, he at length succeeded in cutting a canal from the bayou to the Mississippi, by which he was enabled to transport his boats to the river. This operation was completed on the 7th, and the next morning fixed for the assault, which was to take place on both banks at the same time.

The eighth of January will long be memorable in the annals of the American republic. The preservation of an important city from plunder and violation; the defeat and destruction of the most powerful army that ever landed on the American shores, by a band of undisciplined militia—such were the consequences of the events of this day. Having detached a strong party to the right bank, under Colonel Thornton, the British commander moved early in the morning with his remaining force to the assault, in two divisions, under Generals Gibbs and Kean, the reserve being commanded by General Lambert. When they arrived within reach of the batteries, a heavy cannonade was opened, and as they approached nearer, a stream of well directed fire, from the unerring rifles of the militia, carried destruction into their ranks. After vainly at-

tempting to advance, the assailants broke and fled in confusion. A second time did they approach the ditch, with equal ill success. A third attempt was made to bring them to the charge, but such was the havoc made among their officers, and in their ranks, that nothing could induce them to return.— Their commander in chief had been killed ; Generals Keen and Gibbs were severely wounded, and the plain was strewn with the dead and dying. In this state of things, General Lambert, upon whom the command had devolved, determined to give up the contest—and collecting together the remains of his army, returned to camp. The attack on the right bank, had in the mean time been made, and was attended with greater success. The Kentucky and Louisiana militia, by which it was defended, had ingloriously fled, through fear of being outflanked, and the enemy quickly obtained possession of their works. The defeat on the left bank, however, left the enemy little disposition to profit by this advantage—and a stratagem of General Jackson induced him to abandon it. General Lambert having proposed an armistice, the proposal was agreed to by the American commander, with a condition that it should not extend to the right bank, to which no reinforcements should be sent by either party. Deceived by this reservation, which led him to suppose that the Americans had been reinforced in that quarter, General Lambert withdrew his troops, and the lines were immediately re-occupied by General Jackson. Never perhaps was a victory gained with a greater disproportion of loss, than on this occasion. Of the Americans, only seven were killed and six wounded, while of the enemy, upwards of two thousand, including almost all their commanding officers, were killed, wounded, or prisoners.— The patriot is often compelled to weep over the carnage by which his country has been delivered from foreign invasion ; but how exquisite is his gratification, when that holy end is effected with little bloodshed, and when, in the beautiful language of the defender of New Orleans, “ Not a cypress leaf is interwoven with the wreath of triumph.” The loss of human life is always to be regretted ; but humanity itself must cease to lament, when those, whose purpose is violation, plunder and destruction, perish in the attempt to effect their object.

The enemy had been equally unsuccessful in his endeavour to force a passage up the Mississippi. A part of the British fleet entered that river, and anchored opposite Fort St. Philip, on which they commenced a cannonade on the 9th of January, which was continued until the 17th, when finding that no impression was made, they gave up the contest, and retired from the river. From this place they proceeded to Mobile bay,

where the remainder of the fleet had assembled, with the troops of General Lambert, which had re-embarked after their repulse from New-Orleans. Fort Bowyer was invested by this formidable force on the 18th of February, and surrendered on the 11th of March. The garrison to the number of three hundred and sixty-six, were made prisoners of war. The news of peace, which arrived soon after this event, put a period to all further hostility.

The political history of the republic during this period, abounds with important and interesting events, of which we can give no more than a rapid sketch. The designs of devastation and destruction, avowed by the enemy, and the degrading demands made of the American plenipotentiaries at the negotiations of Ghent, had united all parties in the middle and southern states, for the determination to uphold the rights of their common country. In the eastern states, unfortunately a different temper prevailed. Neither the dangers of the republic, nor the lofty and insulting tone of her enemy, were of sufficient moment to induce the leaders of the dominant party in that section, to swerve from the course of unvarying opposition to the measures of the government they had from the first adopted. It is mortifying to state, that every opportunity was taken of interfering with the just and legal prerogatives of the general government, and by the language of defiance and disunion it was thought proper to use, the enemy was encouraged to persevere in the war, from a belief that a dissolution of the confederacy was not far distant. Towards the close of the year 1814, it appeared as if the most violent of the opposition party were urging matters to this awful crisis. The report of a committee of the legislature of Massachusetts, after dwelling on the supposed grievances of that section, recommended a convention of delegates from the states of New-England, for the purpose of consulting on the best means of redressing them. The report being adopted, twelve delegates were appointed, and the rest of the New-England states invited to accede. Of these states, Rhode-Island and Connecticut alone coincided with Massachusetts.

The delegates from the three states, met at Hartford on the 15th of December, and sat with closed doors until the 4th of January, when they adjourned, after publishing a report of considerable length. In this document they attempted to demonstrate that the commercial interests of New-England had been sacrificed to promote the views of the administration, during the preceding thirteen years, and recommended certain alterations of the Constitution, as necessary for the general welfare. It was evident from the proceedings of these per-

sons, that they would have gone further, and plunged the country into the horrors of a civil contest, for the gratification of a sordid and selfish love of power, had they not perceived that the great body of the community was against them. They wanted courage to perform what they had often and vehemently threatened, and the feeble actors of this noisy drama, sunk first into contempt, and have since passed into oblivion. The name of this convention is still preserved, and has almost become proverbial for every thing bold and flagitious in design, but weak and timid in execution. It is hardly necessary to add that the resolutions it recommended, were immediately rejected by the other members of the union.

Congress assembled on the 19th of September, amid the ruins of the capital, from which the desolating hand of the invader, had just been withdrawn. The gloomy state of the country required new energy and decision from the representatives of the people; the enemy was to be taught that the spirit of a republic rises with the pressure upon it, and the designs of the factious and discontented were to be baffled and repressed. For the further prosecution of the war, and the defence of the country against the bold projects of the enemy, the treasury was to be replenished, and the army considerably augmented. The financial embarrassments of the administration had for some time been extreme; great difficulty had been experienced in obtaining the authorised loans, in consequence of the payment of the interest not being sufficiently guaranteed, and of the disordered state of the circulating medium. At length, on the appointment of Mr. Dallas to the Treasury department, which took place soon after the meeting of Congress, a new and more efficient system was adopted. In his first communication to Congress, the distressed condition of the finances was openly acknowledged, while the great resources of the country were exhibited, and developed. He recommended the institution of a national bank, with a capital of fifty millions, an increase of 100 per cent. to the direct tax and the other duties, and the imposition of new taxes, to the amount of seven millions annually. By these means it was calculated that an annual sum of twenty-one millions might be raised, with which the ordinary expenses of the country, and the interest on loans, might be defrayed, while the extraordinary expenses of the war were to be provided for by loans and the issue of treasury notes. The measures recommended by the secretary, were generally adopted in Congress. The bills for the imposition of taxes passed both houses, and were sanctioned by the President. That for the establishment of a national bank, however, underwent a different fate. After

suffering repeated amendments, the most important of which was the reduction of its capital to thirty millions, it passed both houses, but on being presented to the President for his signature, was returned by him, with objections founded on the manner in which the capital of the proposed bank was constituted, and its supposed inefficacy to assist the operations of the treasury. A new bill was introduced in the senate, agreed to by that body, and after the receipt of the news of peace, indefinitely postponed by the house of representatives.

The next step was to increase the number and efficiency of the army, in order to meet the augmented means of the enemy. The employment of militia, under the existing system, was found expensive and precarious, and enlistments into the regular army proceeded very slowly, from the want of adequate inducements. Several plans were proposed by Mr. Monroe, who now filled the office of secretary of war. The first proposed a classification of the militia, each class being compelled to furnish a recruit for the ranks of the regular army. The second was founded on a similar classification, and an extension of the term of service to two years. A bill in conformity to the latter proposition was introduced into Congress, and passed the senate, but in the house of representatives the term of service was reduced to one year. Its most important feature being thus destroyed, it was subsequently postponed to a day beyond the session.

While congress was thus engaged in the discussion of war-like measures, the pleasing and unexpected intelligence arrived, that a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent on the 24th of December. The correspondence between the respective plenipotentiaries which had been previously communicated to the public, had not been of a nature to encourage the belief that a speedy termination of hostilities was near. After a long delay the British commissioners arrived at Ghent on the 6th of August, and in their first communication evinced the spirit in which the negotiation would be conducted on their part. The termination of the European contest had removed the principal causes for which the war against Great-Britain had been declared, and as soon as the American administration were apprised of that event, they instructed their commissioners to wave the abstract question of impressment and blockade, or to conclude a treaty leaving those points open for future discussion. A fair opportunity was therefore offered to the British government to close the contest on honourable terms. Their recent successes, however, in Europe, had filled them with the idea of the great superiority of Britain over her republican opponent, had increased their pretensions, and elevated

their tone. It was required by their commissioners as a *sine qua non*, that no purchase should in future be made of the Indians, the limits of whose possessions should be distinctly marked ; that no fortified post should be maintained by the United States on the shores of the western lakes, and no vessels of war kept on their waters, while the right of fortifying and maintaining a naval force was to be retained by England ; that the western boundary should be revised ; and that the United States should cede to Great-Britain a part of the district of Maine, in order that a direct communication might be maintained between Halifax and Quebec. The answer of the American commissioners was decided but temperate. The claims of their opponents received a prompt and unqualified negative, while at the same time their injustice was clearly exposed. Matters remained in this state until intelligence was received in Europe of the capture of the territory of Penobscot, when a new proposition was made by the British commissioners to treat on the basis of the *uti possidetis*, a proposal which was immediately rejected. The news of the defeat of the British troops from Baltimore and Plattsburgh, and of the capture of their fleet on lake Champlain, reached Europe not long afterwards, and appear to have produced a considerable effect upon the tone of the British government. Their demands were necessarily relinquished, and the only obstacles remaining in the way of accommodation were thus removed.

The first article of the treaty of peace provided for the restoration of all places and possessions taken by either party, with the exception of the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy. The second and third related to the period after which the capture of prizes should be deemed invalid, and to the restoration of prisoners. By the fourth, it was agreed that the claims of the two countries to the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy should be decided upon by commissioners. The fifth, sixth, seventh and eight articles, related to similar questions of boundary, and provided a similar mode of settlement. By the ninth, it was agreed that both parties should put an end to hostilities with the Indians. The tenth related to the traffic in slaves, to promote the entire abolition of which both parties agreed to use their best endeavours.

CHAPTER V.

FRENCH HISTORY: *Difficulties of the situation of Louis XVIII. at the Commencement of his Reign---Sketch of his Ministry---Opening of the First Session after the Restoration---Speech of the King---Royal Constitutional Charter---Restrictions on the Liberty of the Press---Exposition of the State of the French Nation at the Period of the Restoration---Budget---King's Debts and Civil List---Prince Talleyrand's Contrast between the Public Burthens of France, England, and America---Establishment of the Legion of Honour confirmed---The Sale of Emigrant Property declared irrevocable---Restoration of the unsold Estates of the Emigrants---The Duke of Tarentum's Plan for indemnifying the Emigrants, and securing the Endowments of the Military---Corn Laws---Establishment of Ecclesiastical Schools---Of a National Penitentiary for Young Criminals---Expedition against the French Part of the Island of St. Domingo abandoned---Close of the First Session of the Restoration Parliament---State of Parties in France---Disinterment of Louis XVI. and his Queen---Ominous Aspect of Public Affairs.*

LOUIS XVIII. on ascending the throne of his ancestors, found himself surrounded by difficulties. The splendid military despotism, which had for several years dazzled his country, had hushed, but not extinguished the revolutionary parties, and the circumstances of the restoration gave to the conflicting views and interests of his subjects new life and vitality. It is one of the baneful consequences of a long continued state of warfare, that it gives to a large portion of the population habits of living, and modes of thinking, very adverse to a state of peace. The military life, notwithstanding all its hardships, by its varied scenes and licentious indulgencies, seldom fails to prove alluring to the youthful mind in the lower ranks of society; while in the higher a great number are professionally devoted to it, whose sole hopes of future advancement depend upon the subsisting demand for their services. Modern history scarcely affords an instance in which the causes of a fondness for war have concurred more efficaciously than in France, which, from the period of its revolution, had almost continually been involved in hostilities; and which, during many years, had submitted to the despotic rule of a man of unbounded ambition, and of talents peculiarly adapted to military enterprise. The astonishing success attending his schemes of aggrandizement, had raised the power and glory of the nation to an elevation greatly beyond those of its proudest days; and the armies which he led into the field surpassed in magnitude those of any period in French history. It is true, his gigantic plans had ultimately wrought their own subversion, and he had been the author of a more extensive

and tragical waste of lives to his own troops than can be paralleled in modern times ; still, however, a great mass of past glory adhered to his name, and his troops had no difficulty in finding reasons for his failures, in unforeseen circumstances, and in the perfidious desertion of his former allies. The pride of the nation, co-operating with this feeling, spurned at the idea of being conquered ; and to escape from this reproach, they willingly cherished the notion, that if treachery had not prevented Napoleon from executing his military combinations, he would in the last campaign have driven the allied armies in disgrace from the French territory. As soon, therefore, as the joy of present relief from danger had subsided, a spirit of discontent manifested itself in animosity against the allies, and in disaffection to a government considered as imposed upon them by the triumph of foreign arms. The party thus formed soon became strong and audacious in the capital, and in some of the departments ; and it required all the prudence and vigilance of the government to prevent its breaking out in acts of violence and insurrection.

The great body of the French nation, however, found themselves exhausted with the pressure of war, and anxious to enjoy that repose which they hoped to find under the reign of a benign monarch, supported by the friendship and alliance of all the powers of Europe. The French marshals, no matter how strongly influenced by self-interest, had all sent in their adhesion to the new government, and while the soldiers were without leaders, their murmurs and discontent presented no subject of serious alarm.

It was on this principle that the king endeavoured to attach the marshals and generals to his person and government, and to guarantee to them those honours and distinctions for which they were originally indebted to another master. To confer upon the government an increased ground of security, Marshal Soult, whose military talents had placed him among the most distinguished generals of France, was appointed minister of war ; and Prince Talleyrand, the early minister of Napoleon, and one of the most consummate statesmen of his age and nation, was elevated to one of the first offices in the state, and intrusted with the entire management of the negotiations at the congress of Vienna. With respect to the political integrity of this minister doubts may justly be entertained ; he had found no difficulty in accommodating himself to the republican form of government at the commencement of the revolution, and to the military despotism of Napoleon in a more advanced stage of its progress ; but no man was a more complete master of the science of diplomacy ; and it was to the skilful appli-

cation of his influence over the the public mind, that the Bourbons were indebted in a large degree for their restoration. In point of rank, the first minister of the king was M. d'Ambray. This statesman, whose political bias was in favour of absolute power, was placed at the head of the law department, and like a late distinguished British chancellor, discharged the duties of his office with more integrity of principle than urbanity of manners. M. Beugnot, who for some months filled the office of director-general of the police, and was afterwards removed to the naval department, recommended himself to the favour of his sovereign, by the fascination of his manners, and the charms of his literature, rather than by the extent of his political knowledge, or his sagacity in the choice of his agents. M. d'André, the successor of Beugnot, in the police, though zealously attached to his king, retained in his department the principal part of those public officers who had served Fouché and Savary, and with this assistance discharged the functions of his office with vigilance and activity. M. Ferrand, another of the emigrants, held the office of director-general of the posts, with a seat in the cabinet. A martyr to the palsy, he had not the energy necessary for his situation; and his secretaries and clerks were all devoted to Lavalette, the post-master-general under Napoleon. M. Dupont, the predecessor of Soult in the office of minister of war, and formerly one of Bonaparte's generals, was a wit and a poet, but destitute of the qualifications which constitute a man of business. The Abbe Louis, minister of finance, by his skill and application, contributed to impart to the public mind a confidence in the national resources. The Abbe Montesquiou, minister of the interior or home department, an office in which the whole internal government of the country is comprised, and from which the recommendation of all the prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors, emanates, was a man of pleasure, and better calculated to shine in the court of Louis XV. than to preside in the council of Louis XVIII. Though strongly attached to the king, he retained in office a large proportion of the municipal officers under the Napoleon dynasty, on the principle, that it is better policy to gain over an enemy than to recompense a friend. Count de Blacas, the minister of the king's household, from the influence he possessed over the mind of his sovereign, was regarded as the first of his ministers. He had shared the fortune of his king in exile, and while resident in England held the office of master of the stables at Hartwell. It is difficult to characterize the political system of this favourite, though, like the Abbe Montesquiou, he is generally supposed to have cherished the chimerical hope

of restoring the ancient *regime*, and bringing back the government to the period of 1798. Besides these there were several other members of the chambers, who held the rank of ministers without filling any ostensible situation; but although there were abundance of ministers, there was no point of adhesion in the ministry; personally unacquainted with each other, they were divided in their political views, and governed their separate departments without any generally pervading principle, considering themselves more as independent clerks than as an united executive power.

On the 4th of June, 1814, the royal session was opened in the saloon of the legislative body. On that occasion the king, accompanied by the princes of the blood and the marshals of France, and other distinguished officers and ministers, seated himself upon the throne, and addressed the assembly in the following terms:—

“Gentlemen, surrounded as I am, for the first time, by the great officers of state, and the representatives of a nation, which unceasingly lavishes on me the most affecting marks of its regard, I congratulate myself on having become the dispenser of those benefits, which providence has deigned to confer on my people.”

“I have concluded a peace with Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, in which all their allies are included, that is to say, all the princes of Christendom. The war was universal; the peace will be equally so.

“The rank, which France has always held among nations, has been transferred to no other, and remains in her undivided possession. All that other states acquire as to security, tends equally to increase her’s, and consequently increases her real power. That portion of her conquests which she does not retain, should not be regarded as detracting from her real strength.

“The glory of the French armies has received no stain. The monuments of their valour exist, and the *chefs-d’œuvre* of art henceforth belong to us by more stable and more sacred rights than those of victory.

“The paths of commerce, which have so long been closed, are about to be re-opened. The markets of France will not only be open to the productions of her own soil and industry; but will also be supplied from the possessions which she recovers, with such articles as custom has taught her to want, as well as those which are necessary for the arts she pursues. She will no longer be obliged to deprive herself of them, or to obtain them on ruinous conditions. Our manufactures are about to flourish again; our maritime towns are resuming their activity. Every thing promises that a long calm without, and durable felicity within, will be the happy effects of peace.

“One sad recollection, however, will always diminish my joy. I was born, and hoped to have remained all my life, the most faithful subject of the best of kings; but to-day I occupy his place. Still he is not entirely dead; for he lives in the testament* by which he meant to have instructed his august and unfortunate son, whose successor I became. With my eyes fixed on this immortal work, penetrated by the sentiments which it contains, and guided by the experienced counsel of several members of your body, I have framed the constitutional charter

* See Vol. I. Book I. p. 126.

which will now be read to you, and which fixes the prosperity of the state upon a solid basis.*

"My chancellor will make my parental intentions known to you more in detail."

* ROYAL CONSTITUTIONAL CHARTER.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre.—To all those to whom these presents shall come, health.

Divine Providence, in recalling us to our States, after a long absence, has imposed great duties upon us. Peace being the first want of our subjects, we occupied ourselves incessantly about it: and that peace, so necessary for France, as well as for the rest of Europe, is signed. A constitutional charter was required by the present state of the kingdom. We promised it, and we now publish it.

We have considered that although in France the authority rests altogether in the person of the king, our predecessors have not hesitated to modify the exercise of it according to the circumstances of the times; that thus the commons owed their enfranchisement to Louis the Fat; the confirmation and extension of their rights to Saint Louis and Philip the Handsome; that the judicial order was established and developed by the laws of Louis XI. Henry II. and Charles IX. and finally, that Louis XIV. regulated all parts of the public administration by different ordinances, the wisdom of which nothing since has surpassed: we have held it our duty, according to the example of the kings our ancestors, to appreciate the progress of lights always increasing, and the new relations which this progress has introduced into society; the direction which the minds of men have taken for half a century, and the important alterations which have resulted. We have ascertained that the desire of our subjects for a constitutional charter, was the expression of a real want; but in yielding to this wish, we have taken all precautions to insure that this charter shall be worthy of us, and of the people which we are proud to command. Men of wisdom, selected from the chief bodies of the state, have been associated with commissioners from our council, in framing this important work. At the same time that we felt the necessity for a free monarchical constitution, to fulfil the expectation of enlightened Europe, we have also held ourselves bound to recollect, that our first duty towards our people was, to preserve for their own interests the rights and prerogatives of the crown. We trust that, instructed by experience, they are convinced that the supreme authority alone can give to the institutions which it establishes, the force, the permanency, and the majesty, with which it is itself clothed; that thus, when the wisdom of kings accords with the wishes of the people, a constitutional charter may be of long duration; but when violence wrests concessions from the weakness of the government, public liberty is no less endangered than the throne itself. We have finally searched for the principles of a constitutional charter in the French character, and in the venerable monuments of past ages. Thus we have seen, in the re-establishment of the peerage, an institution truly national, which ought to bind every recollection to every hope, by re-uniting the ancient with the modern times. We have replaced by the chamber of deputies, those ancient assemblies of the fields of March and May, and the chambers of the third estate, which have so often given at once proofs of their zeal for the interests of the people, and of fidelity and respect for the authority of the kings. In studying thus to join anew the chain of the times, which lamentable breaches had interrupted, we have effaced from our recollection, as we wish it was possible to efface from history, all the evils which have afflicted the country during our absence.—Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of the great family, we know not how to reply to the love of which we received so many

The peers and deputies then took the prescribed oaths ; and the royal charter was presented to both houses by the Chan-

testimonies, except by pronouncing words of peace and consolation. The wish most dear to our hearts is, that all Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter recollection may ever disturb the security to be expected from the solemn deed which we execute in their favour this day. Sure of our intentions, strong in our conscience, we pledge ourselves, before the assembly that hears us, to be faithful in this constitutional charter, reserving to ourselves to swear to maintain it, with a new solemnity, before the altars of Him who weighs in the same balance kings and nations.—For these reasons we have voluntarily, and by the free exercise of our royal authority, granted, and do grant, transfer, and make over to our subjects, for ourselves, and for our successors, and for ever, the constitutional charter, which follows.—

PUBLIC RIGHTS OF THE FRENCH.

1. The French are equal in the eye of the law, whatever may be their titles or ranks.
2. They contribute without distinction to the charges of the state, in proportion to their fortunes.
3. They are all equally admissible to all employments, civil and military.
4. Their personal liberty is equally protected. No one can be prosecuted, nor arrested, except in the cases provided for by the law, and in the forms which the law prescribes.
5. Every one professes his religion with equal freedom, and obtains the same protection for his worship.
6. The catholic-apostolic and roman religion, is, however, the religion of the state.
7. The ministers of the catholic-apostolic and roman religion, and those of the other christian worships, alone receive allowances from the royal treasury.
8. The French have the right to publish and print their opinions, conforming themselves to the laws repressing the abuse of this liberty.
9. All property is inviolable, without any exemption touching what are called national properties—the law making no difference on that head.
10. The state can require the sacrifice of a property for the public interest, cause being first legally shown, and an indemnification assigned.
11. All inquiries into votes or opinions pronounced prior to the restoration are prohibited. The same oblivion is enjoined to the tribunals and citizens.
12. The conscription is abolished. The mode of recruiting the land and sea forces is determined by the law.

FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT.

13. The person of the king is inviolable and sacred. His ministers are responsible. The executive power belongs exclusively to the king.
14. The king is the supreme chief of the state ; commands the forces by land and by sea ; declares war ; makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce : appoints to all employments in the public administration : and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state.
15. The legislative power is executed jointly by the king, the chamber of peers, and the chamber of deputies of the departments.
16. The king proposes the law.
17. The law proposed is offered, at the pleasure of the king, either to the chamber of the peers, or that of the deputies ; with the exception of laws of taxation, which shall be addressed first to the chamber of the deputies.
18. Every law is to be discussed and decided upon with perfect freedom by the majority of both chambers.
19. The chambers are allowed to petition the king to propose laws, and to suggest what they think the law required ought to contain.
20. This demand may be made by either of the two chambers : but the matter must have been previously discussed in a secret committee. The law suggested cannot be sent to the other chamber by that in which it is proposed, till after a lapse of

cellor d'Ambray, in the presence of the king. The constitutional charter, as decreed by the senate, was not materially

ten days. 21. If the proposition be adopted by the second chamber, it is placed under the eye of the king ; if it be rejected, it cannot be proposed again in the same session. 22. The king alone sanctions and promulgates the laws. 23. The civil list is fixed for the duration of every reign by the first legislative assembly after the king's accession.

OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

24. The chamber of peers is an essential portion of the legislative power. 25. It is convoked by the king at the same time with the chamber of the deputies of the departments. The session of each begins and ends at the same time with that of the other. 26. Every assembly of the chamber of peers, held at any other period than during the session of the chamber of deputies, or without the orders of the king, is illicit, and null and void in law. 27. The nomination of peers of France belongs to the king. Their number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, and name them for life, or render them hereditary, according to his pleasure. 28. The peers cannot enter their chamber till the age of twenty-five years, nor have a deliberative voice till thirty. 29. The Chancellor of France presides in the chamber of peers, and in his absence a peer named by the king. 30. The members of the royal family, and princes of the blood, are peers by right of birth. They take their seat next to the president ; but they have not deliberative voices until they have attained the age of twenty-five years. 31. The princes cannot take their seats in the chamber without the express orders of the king, specially issued for each session, by a message : under penalty of every thing done in their presence being null and void. 32. All the deliberations of the chamber of peers are secret. 33. The chamber of peers takes cognizance of crimes of high treason, and of all attempts against the safety of the state defined by law. 34. No peer can be arrested except by the authority of the chamber, nor judged but by it in criminal matters.

OF THE CHAMBER OF THE DEPUTIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

35. The chamber of deputies shall be composed of persons elected by the electoral colleges, the organization of which shall be determined by the laws. 36. Each department shall have the same number of deputies as at present. 37. The deputies shall be elected for five years, and in such a manner that the chamber shall be renewed by one-fifth every year. 38. No deputy shall be admitted to the chamber who has not attained the age of forty years ; nor unless he pays direct taxes to the amount of 1,000 francs. 39. If, however, there be not found in the department fifty persons of the age required, and paying at least 1,000 francs direct taxes, the number may be filled up by those paying the highest taxes under 1,000 francs—and these again cannot be elected concurrently with the first. 40. The electors who take part in the nomination of the deputies cannot have the right of suffrage unless they pay 300 francs direct taxes, and have attained the age of thirty years. 41. The presidents of the electoral colleges shall be named by the king, and by eight members of the college. 42. Half the deputies, at least, shall be chosen from qualified persons, having their political residence in the department. 43. The president of the chamber of deputies is named by the king from a list of fifty deputies presented by the chamber. 44. The sittings of the chamber are public, but on requisition from five members it must be formed into a secret committee. 45. The chamber divides itself into select committees, to discuss the projects presented to

at variance with the constitution thus granted to the people ; but it did not comport with the views of sovereign rights and

it from the king. 46. No amendment can be made on a law, unless it be proposed in general committee by the king, and referred to, and discussed by, the select committee. 47. The chamber of deputies receives all proposals for taxes ; and these proposals cannot be referred to the peers till after they have been admitted by the commons. 48. No tax can be established or levied, if it has not been previously agreed to by the two chambers, and sanctioned by the king. 49. The land tax is granted only for one year. The indirect impositions may be granted for several years. 50. The king convokes the two chambers annually : he prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the deputies of the departments ; but, in this case, he must convoke a new session within three months. 51. No personal restraint can be exercised against a member of the chamber during the session, nor during the six weeks prior or subsequent to it. 52. No member of the chamber can, pending the session, be prosecuted or arrested in a criminal process, except in the case of flagrant crimes, after the chamber has permitted his prosecution. 53. Every petition to either of the chambers must be tendered and presented in writing. The law prohibits its being presented by the petitioner in person at the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS.

54. The ministers may be members of the chamber of peers, or of the chamber of the deputies ; they have, moreover, access to either chamber, and ought to be heard when they require it. 55. The chamber of the deputies has the right of impeaching the ministers, and of bringing them before the chamber of peers, which alone possesses the right of judging them. 56. They can only be accused on a charge of treason or embezzlement ; particular laws will specify this class of crimes, and point out the procedure.

THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

57. All justice emanates from the king ; it is administered in his name by judges of his nomination and appointment. 58. The judges appointed by the king are irremovable. 59. The courts and ordinary tribunals, now existing, are maintained ; no change shall take place, except by virtue of a law. 60. The present institution of the judges of commerce is preserved. 61. The magistracy of the peace is also preserved ; and the justices, though named by the king, are not irremovable. 62. No man can be separated from his constitutional judges. 63. In consequence, no extraordinary commissions and tribunals can be created ; the jurisdiction of provost-marsals are not comprehended in this denomination, if the re-establishment of them is deemed necessary. 64. The proceedings shall be open in criminal matters, unless that publicity be prejudicial to order and morals ; and in this case, the tribunal declares it to be so by a decision. 65. The institution of juries is preserved ; the changes which longer experience may render it expedient to make, cannot be done but by a law. 66. The penalty of the confiscation of property is abolished, and cannot be re-established. 67. The king has the right of granting pardon, and that of commuting punishment. 68. The civil code, and the laws now existing which are not repugnant to the present charter, remain in full force until they are legally abrogated.

PARTICULAR RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

69. The military on active service, the retired officers and soldiers, the pensioned widows, the officers and soldiers, shall preserve their rank, honours, and pensions. 70. The public debt is guaranteed ; every sort

authority entertained by Louis XVIII. to enter into a compact emanating from his subjects. He insisted upon receiving the crown as an inheritance, not as a gift from the nation; and choosing to consider the throne as never out of the possession of his family, he dated his charter in the 19th year of his reign. In the same spirit he assumed the title of King of France, not King of the French; and resumed the ancient formula, 'By the grace of God.' His language in effect was:— "I reign because my ancestors have reigned. I reign by the rights of my birth. It is for me to make a convention with my people respecting the form of the institutions which shall regulate my authority,* and to make a voluntary limitation of a power in itself unlimited."†

The refusal of the king to ratify the constitution adopted by the unanimous consent of the conservative senate, and meant to form the French bill of rights, excited considerable alarm, and was very freely deprecated by the friends of popular privileges; but the advocates of undefined prerogative strenuously maintained, that as the government of France was neither a republic nor an elective monarchy, it did not become the king either to recognize the sovereignty of the people, or to confirm the elective franchise of the senate. In this way the question whether the rights of sovereigns are *jure divino* or *jure humano* was again raised, and discussed by the politicians of France with as much warmth as the same inquiry had

of engagement entered into by the state with its creditors is inviolable. 71. The ancient nobility resume their titles; the new preserve theirs. The king creates nobles at pleasure; but he grants to them only titles and honours, without any exemption from the charges and duties of the community. 72. The legion of honour is continued; the king will determine the domestic regulations and the decorations. 73. The colonies shall be governed by special laws and regulations. 74. The king and his successors shall swear, at the solemnity of their coronation, faithfully to observe the constitutional charter.

TRANSITORY ARTICLES.

75. The deputies of the departments of France who sat in the legislative body from the late adjournment, shall continue to sit in the chamber of the deputies until they are replaced. 76. The first renewal of a fifth of the chamber of deputies shall take place, at the latest, in the year 1816, according to the order laid down in the series.

We command that the present constitutional charter, placed before the eyes of the senate and of the legislative body, conformably to our proclamation of the 2d of May, shall be sent forthwith to the chamber of peers and that of the deputies.

Given at Paris, in the year of grace 1814, and the nineteenth of our reign.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

L'ABBE DE MONTESQUIOU.

* Chateaubriand's Political Reflections.

† Speech of the Chancellor.

called forth in England a century before. The decision in the present instance was in favour of divine right, but it was an award that shook the foundation of the throne, and endangered its future stability.

One of the most early and important subjects which engaged the attention of the chambers of legislation during their first session, respected the liberty of the press, which had been stipulated for in the 23d article of the constitutional charter, and guaranteed, though in language somewhat equivocal, by the 8th article of the royal charter. Several of the speakers in the chamber of deputies had already submitted resolutions to that assembly on this subject, but it was not till the 6th of July, that the king's ministers produced a plan explanatory of their intentions. On that day, the Abbe de Montesquiou and the Count de Blacas, were introduced into the chamber, to present, by the king's order, a law for the regulation of the press. After some of the usual observations on the advantages on the one hand resulting from a free communication of opinions, and the dangers on the other attending the abuse of such a liberty, the abbe touched upon the principal provisions of the proposed law, and said: "It has long been perceived and acknowledged, that writings of small bulk, which it is easy to circulate with profusion, and which are read with avidity, may immediately disturb the public tranquillity ; repressive laws are insufficient against the effects for which the author, perhaps, can only be punished, when the mischief has already become too great, not merely to be repaired, but even to be arrested in its progress. Writings of this nature are, therefore, the only ones against which the law takes precautions beforehand. Every work of ordinary size may be published freely ; the king and the nation will have nothing to fear from them ; and if the author commits any offence, the tribunals will be in readiness to punish him." "If," continued the minister, "we lived at a period, when reason, long trained and tried, had a stronger sway than the passions ; when national interests, clearly understood and strongly felt, had attached to its cause the majority of private interests ; when public order, strongly consolidated, no longer feared the attacks of imprudence or folly ; then the unlimited liberty of the press would be unattended with danger, and would even present advantages ; but our situation is not so happy ; our character even, as well as our situation, forbids the establishment of an indefinite liberty. Nature has distributed her gifts among nations as among individuals ; the diversity of institutions has fortified these primitive differences ; we have received for our share a vivacity, a mobility of imagination,

which require restraint; let us not complain of this; let us not envy a neighbouring nation the enjoyment of advantages of another kind. Ours have procured us enough of happiness and glory wherewithal to be content; to them we owe that elegance of taste, that delicacy of manners, which is shocked by the least neglect of decorum, and which does not permit us to violate it, without falling at once into the most unbridled licentiousness. The king proposes to you nothing that does not appear to him absolutely necessary to the safety of the national institutions, and to the march of government: assist him with your information and your influence; unite with him for the interests of liberty as for those of peace; and you will soon see that liberty unfold itself without storms, amidst the order which you shall have concurred in maintaining."

The projet of the law proposed by the king was divided into two parts: the first regarding the publication of works; and the second, the superintendence of the press; according to the first, every work of above thirty sheets might be published freely, without previous examination or revision. The same liberty was extended to all writings in the dead languages, as well as to books of devotion, and law reports, if sanctioned by the names of professional persons, and works of literary and scientific societies established by the king, without regard to the number of sheets they contained. The liberty which was apparently given in this part of the projet, was, however, in a great measure withdrawn, by the proposal that the director-general of the press might ordain, according to circumstances, that all writings of thirty sheets should be communicated to him before they were committed to the press. The appointment of censors was to be vested in the king; and the director-general was to cause every work of the prescribed size to undergo their inspection; and if two, at least, of these censors conceived the writing to be defamatory, dangerous to the public peace, or immoral in their tendency, the director-general was vested with the power to interdict the publication, subject to an appeal to a committee of revision, appointed by the king, consisting of three members of the house of peers, and three of the national deputies.

If this part of the projet appeared inimical to the liberty of the press, the second part, which regarded its superintendence, was still more decidedly hostile to freedom of publication. According to the proposed regulations, no person was allowed to exercise the business of a printer, or bookseller, without the king's licence previously obtained; nor without taking an oath that he would conform to the regulations prescribed by the state for the government of his trade; which licences

might be withdrawn on violation of the laws or regulations. All printing establishments not properly notified and permitted by the director-general of the press, were to be deemed clandestine, and as such were to be destroyed, and the proprietors subjected to a fine of ten thousand francs and six months imprisonment. If notice was not given and a deposit made of a copy of any work, the impression was liable to seizure ; and in such case, a fine of a thousand francs for the first offence, and two thousand for the second, was to be levied : if the printer, from design or inattention, omitted to fix his name and residence to the title page of any copy of a work, he became liable to a penalty of three thousand francs ; and in case of the substitution of a false name or address, a fine of double that sum awaited him, besides imprisonment. Every bookseller exposing to sale a work without a printer's name, incurred a penalty of two thousand francs, which was to be reduced to one thousand on disclosing the name of the offending printer. This projet, which could be justified on no ground, but as a temporary measure arising out of the unsettled state of the government, concluded with the proposal that the law should be revised in three years, for the purpose of making in it such improvements as experience might shew to be necessary.

It was not to be expected, that a plan so hostile to the effectual liberty of the press, and so closely assimilated in its leading features to the restrictive system imposed on that engine of knowledge, in the year 1810, by the Emperor Napoleon,* would be revived with general concurrence ; accordingly we find, that on the 1st of August a report was made to the chamber of deputies by a committee of their own body, in which the proposed law, in its original form, was strongly deprecated, and it was decided by a majority of the committee, that previous censorship ought not to serve as the basis of any legislative enactment upon this subject. The speech of the chairman of the committee, M. Raynouard, contained a forcible appeal to the assembly against the proposed law, which was considered incompatible with the freedom of the press, and as a direct violation of the 8th article of the constitution. The details on this topic, so interesting to public liberty, were highly animated, and continued through four successive days ; but the court party prevailed ; and a majority of one hundred and thirty-seven against eighty voices proved, that even the representatives of the people had not sufficient confidence in the loyalty of their constituents, to suffer the throne of their sove-

* See Vol. III. Book IV. p. 279.

reign to rest upon the foundations of free discussion and popular favour.

Before the votes were taken, M. Montesquiou had conceded, on the part of the king, that the censorship should not apply to any work exceeding twenty sheets, and that the operation of the act should be limited to the end of the session of 1816. In the chamber of peers the opposition was less strenuous, but several delays took place; and it was not till the 21st of October, that the shackles upon the press were riveted, under the sanction of a law, though a royal ordinance for the re-establishment of the censorship had existed ever since the 10th of June.

One of the first duties of the ministers of Louis XVIII. was to present to the nation an exposition of the state in which his majesty had found the kingdom; and on the 12th of July, the Abbe de Montesquiou, minister of the interior, having been introduced to the chamber of deputies, submitted to that assembly an *expose*, to shew how much the nation had suffered from the ambitious projects of its late ruler; to lay open the deceptions which had been practised to conceal the real state of the public affairs; and to give an adequate impression of the magnitude of those difficulties which the new administration had to encounter. But it was not sufficient to point out the existing evils; it was necessary at the same time to propose a remedy, and it was one of the objects of the minister to explain the manner in which this happy consummation was to be effected.

The *expose* was introduced by some observations on the prodigious loss of men occasioned by the hostile enterprises of the late government, and the minister of the interior stated the amount of the calls made since the end of the Russian campaign at thirteen hundred thousand* of which number, however, it fortunately happened, that the last levies had not been fully executed. The war had not time to cut off all those who had joined the standards; but this simple statement of the requisitions, enforced on the population during a period of from fourteen to fifteen months, served to convey some idea of what the losses of the nation must have been during the past two and twenty years. Many causes, however, contributed to repair these losses; the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants of the country, by the division of the great landed properties, the equal distribution of inheritances, and the progress of vaccination, were amongst the most powerful. Even the con-

* On the 11th of January 1813	-	-	-	350,000
3d of April	-	-	-	130,000
24th of August, for the army in Spain	-	-	-	30,000
9th of October, conscription of 1814, &c.	-	-	-	120,000
Conscription of 1815	-	-	-	160,000
On the 15th of November, 1813, recalls of year 1811 to 1814	-	-	-	350,000
January, 1814, officers and cavalry equipped	-	-	-	17,000
Levies en masse organized in 1814	-	-	-	143,000

scription itself became a source of increased population—an impure source, which introduced disorder and immorality into marriages concluded with precipitation and imprudence. Hence a multitude of unfortunate marriages, of ridiculous or indecent connexions, so that many men, even of the lower orders, soon became weary of what they had embraced only to shelter themselves from the conscription, and in order to dissolve these ill-assorted ties, threw themselves once more into the way of the dangers they had sought to avoid.

Agriculture, it was acknowledged, had made real progress in France ; this progress had commenced long before the revolution, but since that epoch, new causes had accelerated its march. The propagation of improved modes of agriculture, by learned societies ; the residence of a number of rich proprietors in the country, combined with their experiments, their instruction, and their example ; the erection of veterinary schools ; produced the most happy effects on many branches of rural economy ; but the errors and faults of the government opposed continual obstacles to their developement. The continental system caused enormous losses to the proprietors of vineyards : in the south, many of the vineyards had been rooted up ; and the inadequate price of wines and brandies discouraged this branch of culture generally. The forced attempts to introduce the Merino breed of sheep, had cost the government twenty millions of francs, and the consequence had been rather to deteriorate than to improve the breed. The establishment of studs had been more successful, and the breed of horses, until the fatal years 1812 and 1813, was excellent, and afforded numerous cavalry. The loss of a few months in these years amounted to two hundred and thirty thousand horses, which could not be replaced at an expense of less than 105,200,000 francs. The stock was in fact exhausted ; and every horse cost the government from 400 to 460 francs. The mines in France had very sensibly increased ; the French territory now presented four hundred and seventy-eight working mines, which employed seventeen thousand workmen, and yielded to the country a raw material of the value of 26,800,000, and to the state a revenue of 251,000 francs. The continental system, by compelling manufacturers to search, in the territory of France itself, for resources before unknown, had in this respect benefitted the national manufacturers ; but the obstacles which it presented to the introduction of a great number of raw materials, were injurious in a more considerable degree. Some of those obstacles had already been removed, and the cotton manufactures were stated to employ four hundred thousand persons, and a capital of one hundred millions. Those of Rouen had already considerably revived. The linen manufactures of Laval and Bretagne suffered much by the war with Spain, where they had formerly found their principal market. Those of silks had experienced the same fate. The internal consumption of silks had indeed increased, but what might not France hope to gain by the renewal of her commerce with Europe. In 1787, the manufacturers at Lyons kept at work fifteen thousand looms ; during the late war, that number was reduced to eight thousand ; but Lyons had already received considerable orders, and promised to regain its former prosperity. The manufacture of woollens, leather, &c. had suffered in an equal degree from the continental system. These prohibitive laws did still more mischief to commerce than to manufacturing industry ; and the system of licenses ruined and discouraged a great number of merchants, by raising hopes that were destroyed in a moment, by the will which had fostered them.

Passing from these subjects to the budget of the minister of the interior, the expose stated, that the mass of the funds appropriated to the services of that department, for the three last years, amounted to an average of one hundred and forty-four millions, and that the public treasury never contributed to these funds more than sixty millions annu-

ally, leaving the residue to be supplied by special duties and imposts. The deplorable embarrassments of the hospitals was particularly noticed, and it was stated, that the war department was indebted to those institutions, in Paris alone, for sick and wounded soldiers, 1,393,365 francs.

With respect to public works, great enterprises had been undertaken, some from motives of utility, and many others from ostentation, or from views in which the happiness of France had no share. Thus, while magnificent roads were opened on the frontiers, those of the interior were neglected. In the department of bridges and causeways, there was an arrear of twenty-eight millions, and to aggravate the evil, this department would be charged with the extraordinary expense occasioned by replacing thirty principal bridges, which had been blown up or burnt during the last campaign. The canals were in a better state, but their works were far from being completed, and would require much additional expense. The works at Paris had been a particular object of the cares of the late government, because in them it found the means of ostentation, magnificence, and popular favour. Some of them, particularly those of the public markets, would be really useful; and the works of embellishment, though of a less beneficial description, should not be abandoned. Their total expense was estimated at fifty-three millions five hundred thousand francs, and more than twenty-four millions had already been expended upon them.

Under the head of War Ministry, the statements demand particular notice, and may serve to impress upon nations the salutary conviction, that among all the financial evils pressing upon governments, those arising from war are beyond all comparison the heaviest. Here was the root of the evil; hence originated the disorders which extended to all the other branches; and the disasters of the three last campaigns had plunged this department, already so complicated, into a complete chaos. The public expenditure was still extremely heavy: on the 1st of May, 1814, the land forces of France amounted to more than five hundred and twenty thousand, including gens-d'armes, veterans, invalids, and cannoniers, guarding the coast. Besides this force, there were 122,597 military of all ranks, enjoying half pay; and one hundred and sixty thousand prisoners were returning from Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia. The whole of the war expenses for 1814, in their different branches, were estimated at seven hundred and forty millions of francs, and the arrears due at two hundred and sixty-one millions, exclusive of a sum of one hundred millions *ordonnanced* by the ministers, but which the treasury had not been able to pay.

For four and twenty years, the navy had been weakened by the very means which had been taken to give it the appearance of strength. Thus, in 1804, the projected invasion of England was pompously announced; ports, which had never yet been entered, except by fishing boats and packets, were immediately converted into vast maritime arsenals; and Paris itself saw a dock-yard formed within its walls, and the most valuable materials employed in the construction of vessels, which were notwithstanding unfit for their destination. And what now remained of these armaments? The wreck of some of the vessels, and accounts which proved, that for the successive creation and destruction of this monstrous and useless flotilla, upwards of one hundred and fifty millions had been sacrificed. In the Scheldt, the treasure of France was lavished on an object which it was impossible to accomplish. The grand works executed at Cherbourg, and the fine squadron at Toulon, were the only good results from a system in which besides there was nothing but weakness and improvidence. All the arsenals were completely dilapidated—the immense naval stores collected by Louis XVI. were squandered—and during the last fifteen years, France had lost in ill-

judged expeditions forty-three ships of the line, eighty-two frigates, seventy-six corvettes, and sixty-two transports and packets, which could not be replaced at an expense of two hundred millions. The port of Brest, the finest and best in Europe, had been entirely neglected. Though a debt had been accumulated in this department to the amount of upwards of sixty-one millions, the arsenals were exhausted, and unprovided with stores, and the ships were still more unprovided with good sailors. The loss of the French colonies, the measures which oppressed commerce, and the reverses experienced by the fleets, would of themselves have sufficed to extinguish the maritime population, but the measures by which the last government gave to the crews of ships the organization of regiments, pronounced the sentence of its absolute destruction, and sailors of France lost on the plains of Germany the habits of the ocean.

One of the most singular features of this *expose* related to the situation of the public finances. In this department the distortions and exaggerations had been extreme, and it was not till Louis XVIII. ascended the throne, that it was known that the budgets of 1812 and 1813, which had been made to exhibit a fictitious equilibrium, presented an actual deficit of 312,032,000 francs. Napoleon was not ignorant of this vast accumulation of debt, but he always cherished the hope of covering it, either by foreign tributes, which were the fruits of his first campaigns, or by deriving resources from special funds. By these accumulations, the total of the increase of the debts of the state, in the course of thirteen years, amounted to the sum of 1,645,469,000 francs, about 68,560,000*l.* sterling.

This exposition, though an *ex-parte* statement, and as such open to suspicion, may be considered as a summary of the evils of Napoleon's government, and the impression made by the details was powerfully felt in every country in Europe. The duty of pointing out the remedy for the evils that had been thus exhibited devolved on the minister of finance, and the Abbe de Montesquiou, in conclusion, assured the assembly, that the cares of the government should not be confined to the re-establishment of a prosperity purely material. "Other sources of happiness and glory," said the orator, "have been cruelly attacked. Morality no more than public wealth has escaped from the fatal influence of a bad government. That which has just been put an end to completed the evils which the revolution had caused; it re-established religion merely to make it an instrument for its purposes. Public instruction submitted to the same dependence; and the efforts of the respectable body who conducted it were opposed by a despotism which wished to rule the minds of all, in order to enslave the bodies without resistance. The national education must take a more liberal course to maintain itself on a level with the information common to Europe, by returning to principles now long forgotten among us. Unhappily, we cannot also restore at once to France, those moral habits, and that public spirit, which cruel misfortunes and long oppression have almost annihilated. Noble sentiments were opposed,

generous ideas were stifled ; the government, not content with condemning to inaction the virtues which it dreaded, excited and fomented the passions which could advance its views ; to suppress public spirit, it called personal interest to its aid ; it offered its favours to ambition, in order to silence conscience ; no other alternative was left but that of serving the state, no other hope, but those which it could alone fulfil. Such were the melancholy effects of that corruptive system which we have now to combat. The difficulties of the moment are great, but much may be expected from time ; the nation will feel that its zealous concurrence is necessary to hasten the return of its own happiness ; its confidence in the intentions of its king, the lights and wisdom of the two chambers, will render the task of government more easy ; and if any thing can prevent the speedy realization of those hopes, it will be that restless turbulence which wishes to enjoy without delay the blessings of which it has the prospect.”—“While regretting the benefits which must still be waited for,” continued the minister of the interior in conclusion, “let us enjoy those which are offered to our acceptance ; already peace re-opens our ports ; liberty restores to the merchant his speculations, and to the mechanic his labours ; every one sees the end of his calamities. The king confides equally on his people and their deputies, and France expects every thing from their generous agreement. What more fortunate circumstance, than that of an assembly, which has deserved so well of its country, and a king who is desirous of being its father ! Enjoy, Gentlemen, this fortunate re-union ; see what France expects from it ; let these happy commencements encourage you in your career, and may the gratitude of your latest descendants be at once your emulation, your glory, and your recompense.”

The financial details promised by the minister of the interior, were on the 22d of July laid before the chamber of deputies by Baron Louis, the minister of finance, whose plan comprehended a proposal to regulate and fix by law the amount of the receipts, and the expenditure for the year 1814 ; to provide for the service of 1815 ; and to assign means and periods for the payment of the debts contracted anterior to the 1st of April, 1814.

One of the first points to which the attention of the assembly was directed, was the expenditure of the year 1814. The rate of ordinary and extraordinary expenses, as established at the beginning of the year, under the boundless system of extravagance which existed at that period, would have amounted in the course of the year to the sum of 1,245,800,000 francs ; whereas the return of peace, the evacuation of territory, and

a strict regard to economical reform, had diminished the estimate of necessary expenses to 827,415,000 francs. The amount of the ways and means for defraying these expenses was estimated at five hundred and twenty millions, so that a deficit would be found of about three hundred and seven millions. The expenditure of 1815, it was hoped, would display the influence of peace, and might be calculated at six hundred and eighteen millions, which it was proposed to provide for by direct and indirect contributions, with the exception of ten or twelve millions, the sum at which the product of domainal forests was estimated. Customs, the minister considered less a final resource, than a means of favouring domestic industry; and in apologizing for the continuance of the consolidated duties, he observed, "The king, in his retirement, long lamented the vexations to which the people were subject, by the collections of the *droits reunies*; and his first care was to announce their abolition, by the mouth of the prince of his family who preceded him. But the state in which his majesty found the treasury; the immense existing arrears; and the number of the brave men to be paid; render it an imperative duty with him, to preserve for the state resources proportioned to its wants. Salutary reforms will, however, be introduced, calculated to relieve the weight of a burthen which has excited so many exclamations."

The next branch of this financial exposition related to the public debt, the accumulation of which now amounted to thirteen hundred and sixty-eight millions of francs, exclusive of about seventeen millions of perpetual rents, representing a capital of upwards of three hundred millions. On these sums the arrears actually demandable, and for the payment of which it was absolutely necessary to provide, amounted only to seven hundred and fifty-nine millions. For the liquidation of this sum it was proposed that bonds of the royal treasury should be issued, payable at the end of three years, and bearing a yearly interest of eight per centum, the holders of which should have the power of converting them into inscriptions in the great book of France. In order to give these securities full and adequate credit, three resources were proposed: first, the savings upon the budget of 1815; second, the alienation of three hundred thousand hectares of the forests of the state, and of the property of the communes that remained to be sold; and third, stock in the five per cent. consols, for the creditors who might prefer that kind of property. The minister concluded with expatiating on the immense advantages which England had derived from a sinking fund; and regret-

ting that he was not yet able to introduce into the administration of the finances of France a similar germ of prosperity.

At the close of Baron Louis's speech, a member of the chamber of deputies, unconnected with the administration, moved that the king might be humbly requested to communicate to that assembly a statement of the debts which he had contracted during his residence in foreign countries, and to propose a plan for the payment of those debts as the debts of the state: this suggestion was afterwards carried into effect, and the payment of the king's debts, with those of his family, amounting to thirty millions of francs, was decreed by an unanimous vote of both chambers. A measure closely connected with this subject was submitted to the chamber of deputies on the 26th of October. On that day, Count Blacas, minister of the royal household, presented the plan of a law relative to the civil list, and the endowment of the crown, for which the two chambers had addressed the king. By this law, which passed the assembly by a vast majority, the sum of twenty-five millions of francs was appropriated to the civil list, to be paid in twelve equal monthly payments; and the further sum of eight millions of francs was assigned to the princes and princesses of the royal family, to serve instead of apanage.

Whatever had been the prodigality of the late government of France, the national debt of that country sunk into insignificance when placed beside the national debt of England. Peace and economy were alone necessary to extinguishing the claims of the public creditor in the former country in a few years; but in the latter, no British subject at present in existence could calculate upon seeing his country relieved from the burthens which the public debt has fixed upon the present generation, and entailed upon posterity. This contrast became a subject of exultation in the French senate; and when, on the 8th of September, Prince Talleyrand came to submit the budget to that assembly, the most striking feature in his speech was exhibited in the picture he drew of the comparative lightness of the burthens of the French people. "France, at peace with the whole universe," said the minister, "ought to aspire to new celebrity. She ought to endeavour to establish in every department of the administration candour and justice in the exercise of her powers. To obtain this great result it is necessary to find the means for paying all demands on the state, and to prove that with the ability she possesses the will. France has now the means of paying all her expenses, all her debts, as will be seen by comparing that which she has with that which she owes. The total amount of the debt now de-

mandable is seven hundred and fifty-nine millions of francs. The revenue of the year 1814 is estimated at five hundred and forty millions ; and that of 1815 at six hundred and eighteen millions. This revenue is entirely furnished by taxes direct or indirect, with the exception of ten or twelve millions, the estimated produce of the forest domains. For the year 1814 there will be a deficit of 307,400,000 francs. This is occasioned by the events which preceded the first of April, and consequently is made part of the debt of 759,000,000, now demandable. The expenses of the year 1815, fixed at 547,700,000, leave an excess in the revenue for that year of 70,300,000 francs. The calculations have seemed to some persons not to be sufficiently exact. This desire of accuracy cannot be satisfied. We must, for the present, content ourselves with approximations: but the house may be satisfied that it has before it the maximum of debt, and the minimum of the receipts, so that if there be errors they will be innoxious. Amidst all the calculations into which the present discussion leads us, it will be pleasing, and perhaps instructive, to remark, on the relative state of our burthens with those nations whose prosperity is the most striking, that the situation of France, after so many storms, is still promising. According to the last census, the population of France was twenty-eight millions. Dividing equally among all the annual amount of the taxes, which we take at six hundred millions, the quota paid by each is little under twenty-two francs. In England, the produce of the taxes, not including those of Ireland, has arisen of late years to, at least, sixty millions sterling, which, divided among twelve millions of inhabitants, give five pounds sterling, or one hundred and twenty francs, as the contribution of each individual: that is to say, upwards of five times as much as the amount for each individual in France. In the United States of America, the receipts of the customs, which, previous to the two last years of war, formed almost the only revenue, produced annually sixteen millions of dollars. This sum, divided among seven millions of inhabitants, gives about twelve francs for each individual; to which must be added the local taxes peculiar to each state, amounting to about eleven francs more, and making twenty-three francs for each individual. Whence it follows in all respects, whether in population, extent of territory, or taxable property, the advantages of France are above those of both these nations." "It must be acknowledged," continued Talleyrand, "that our financial system still wants, for its completion, the establishment of a sinking fund: the economy introduced into all parts of the budget has hitherto opposed a temporary obstacle to the es-

tablishment of such a fund ; the king's ministers wished that its final success should not be compromised by too much haste in its production, for a sinking fund derives its utility and effects from its permanence and immutability ; a single change in its appropriation may cause the loss of all its fruits ; for by the laws of accumulation, it is time, continuity, and perseverance, which produce the prodigious results that seem explicable only by the science of numbers. I regret that circumstances have not permitted a measure of administration of such importance to be comprised in the new plan of the system of the finances from its commencement ; but I have the pleasure to express my confidence, that it will form an essential and fundamental part of the plans of the next year's budget. This is a new æra, in which the justice and moderation of the prince, whose presence among us has restored peace to the world, will make us daily more sensible of the reciprocal advantages of virtues which may be so easily established in France, under the powerful sanction of honour. And may we hope, that the influence which the manners of our nation have so long exercised over others, will render general throughout Europe this moderation, which has become more necessary than ever to the happiness of subjects, and the glory of sovereigns."

While efforts were thus making to impart confidence to the public mind, by creating a solid system of finance, the expediency of preserving some of the popular institutions of the late government was manifested in a royal ordinance, confirming the establishment of the legion of honour—an institution calculated to reward, in a way analogous to the manners of France, every kind of service rendered to the country, and furnishing the sovereign authority with the power of exerting the noblest influence on the national character.* By this ordinance the reigning sovereign is declared chief and grand master of the order, and the privileges of its members are preserved, except the right of constituting a part of the electoral colleges. The pensions assigned to each rank in the legion are faithfully maintained ; and the decorations of the order are to bear the head of Henry IV. with the motto—"Honour and our country."

But the greatest safe-guards to the throne of Louis XVIII. arose, not from the honourable distinctions which he chose to confirm, but from his positive declaration, "that all property should be irrevocable, without any exception of that which is called national." On this subject there was an acute sensi-

* Preamble to the Royal Ordinance.

bility in every part of France ; and the freedom with which several public writers insisted upon the restitution of the property of the emigrants, served to heighten that alarm, which the unguarded language of some of the public functionaries was too well calculated to call forth.* In order to soothe these apprehensions, a resolution was passed unanimously in the chamber of deputies, to the effect that all such alarms were unfounded ; and the report on that decision was ordered to be printed and promulgated.

At the same time, a law for restoring the unsold estates of the emigrants, was introduced into the French chambers of legislation, and passed in both these assemblies by large majorities. In the peers, the Duke of Tarentum, Marshal Macdonald, announced his intention, on this occasion, to propose at an early day the projet of a law to be submitted to the king, the object of which would be to grant life annuities to those of the emigrants the sale of whose estates had left them unprovided for. The arrangement of a plan of so much difficulty, required more time than was at first anticipated ; and it was not till the 10th of December that the marshal was prepared to submit the result of his reflections and information to the peers. His calculations were divided into two classes—those which concerned the endowments for the military, deprived of them by the last events of the war ; and those which related to property sold in consequence of confiscation. On the latter of these divisions he observed, that there had been concluded directly with government 1,055,889 sales of national domains, since the breaking out of the revolution. In giving to each original purchaser a family of three persons, an estimate much below the truth, a result was obtained of 3,167,667 individuals interested in the first sales of national domains ; and if the common proportion of changes and partitions, for twenty-five years, were taken at three, an aggregate of 9,503,001 persons interested in the stability of these sales of national domains would be found, without mentioning the persons indirectly interested by the effect of credits and inscriptions. It was against this colossus, whose height the eye could not measure, that some impotent efforts were directed. To unsettle the possession of a property so disposed, would be an act of desperation ; but sound policy required that the

* M. Laisne, the president of the chamber of deputies, was “adverse to extinguishing the hopes of the emigrants, by shutting the door against hope ;” and Monsieur, the king’s brother, in a public address to the emigrants of the south, went so far as to say, “that though little had been yet done for them, hopes were entertained, that in time, more complete justice would be rendered to them.”

country should place itself, by an indemnity, between the ancient proprietors and the acquirers, and that, by its liberality towards the one, it should secure the possessions of the other. An opinion, so general as to approach almost to demonstration, rated at four milliards the value of the national property of every class; the mass of property confiscated or sold, might amount to nine hundred millions of francs. From this sum, evidently exaggerated, was to be deducted six hundred millions, for the numerous liquidations which had been made to the creditors of that property; and for the removal of the sequestrations which had been pronounced for twenty-three years. Three hundred millions only remained to be provided for by indemnities. This value would be almost unperceived in the calculations of a great nation, if its first want, in returning to order, were not the sentiment of justice and generosity. In the plan of indemnity, the duke proposed to replace the value of the sales of confiscated property, by an annuity of two and a half per cent. payable out of such resources as the statesmen who heard him might think proper to suggest.

This arrangement would not of itself consummate the public happiness. There were still other claimants upon the national liberty—they were the brave men mutilated in a thousand battles, who were reduced to the most abject state, from the moment the service of the small endowments ceased, that is, since the the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The pensioners of four thousand francs, and under, had been distributed into four classes; the 1st of four thousand francs; the 2d, two thousand; the 3d, one thousand; and the 4th, five hundred. The duke proposed to destroy this order of endowment, and to place the weakest part first; those of five hundred and a thousand, which were formed of annuities, free from taxes, had not undergone, and ought not to undergo any reduction. United, they offered an aggregate of three thousand six hundred and four claimants, and would require a sum of 1,802,000 francs. The remaining classes, which comprised one thousand two hundred and sixteen pensioners, had their revenue established upon property, and suffered, by taxes, reparations, and the loss of exchange, a reduction of nearly one-fifth, reducing their revenue to 2,017,000 francs. France would need only three millions at most, to discharge to the full, towards her defenders, the most sacred portion of such a debt. “A measure of legislation,” concluded the duke, “ought to result from the measures thus proposed. Happy the ministers, and the administrators, invited to assist in it. Formerly they liquidated to destroy—now they liquidate to repair. Liquidation will not be compensation for all losses—after twenty

years war and discord, who will expect to become again what we were? Consoled already by return, the consolation of the exile will be completed, by an indemnity which he dared not expect; and that of the army by a benefit which it thought to have lost with its author."

In France, as in England, great difference of opinion prevailed respecting the laws for regulating the exportation and importation of corn; and soon after the restoration of peace, considerable disturbances took place at Dieppe, and some other sea-ports, occasioned by large shipments of corn being made from those places for England. In consequence of this agitation in the public mind, the subject of the corn laws was, at an early period of the session, brought before the two chambers; where it gave rise to several animated and elaborate discussions. M. Bequey, the director-general of agriculture, in a luminous speech, delivered in the chamber of deputies, on the 10th of October, stated, that the average price of wheat throughout the kingdom of France, for the twelve years preceding the revolution, was fifteen francs eight cents* the hectolitre;† and that, for the twelve last years, the medium price had been twenty-one francs forty-sixty cents.‡ The system advocated by the director-general was, the imposition of a duty on exports, when the price of grain approached the rate at which, by law, exportation was to cease, and the free importation of grain at all times, from foreign countries. The south of France, where corn generally obtained a price about one-fourth more than the average price of the kingdom, exported its manufactures, he said, to the Levant and the States of Barbary; and if France did not take their corn, they would cease to receive her manufactures. These principles the chamber thought proper to adopt, and a law was passed allowing exportation of corn from France, when under a certain price, and free importation at all times, without regard to prices.

During the latter years of the reign of Napoleon, the public schools in France, under the "university system,"§ were confined almost exclusively to a military education, and instruction in the duties of civil life, as well as in those of religion and morals, was lamentably neglected. In order to retrieve the credit, and to extend the influence of the clerical

* Equal to about 34s. per quarter, English.

† HECTO, in the new weights and measures of France, signifies 100 times; so hectolitre imports 100 litres, each litre being equal to 2 1-8 wine pints.

‡ Equal to about 47s. per quarter, English.

§ See Vol. III. Book IV. p. 292.

body in France, a royal ordinance was published by the king, on the 11th of October, for the establishment of ecclesiastical schools, in all the departments, under the sanction and superintendence of the archbishops and bishops of the Gallican church. A single incident serves sometimes to designate a reign; and the distinguishing characteristics of the reigns of Napoleon I. and Louis XVIII. were distinctly manifested in the systems of education patronized by the two sovereigns. With the former, military glory was every thing, and the education of youth was directed exclusively to the attainment of this object; with the latter, the interest of the church was the prevailing feeling of the royal mind, and his ecclesiastical schools contributed exclusively to this end. No contrast could be more palpable. The one was a warrior, the other a devotee. Neither of them had the necessary qualifications to secure the happiness of the French people, although the two characters amalgamated, might have made either of them a fit sovereign.

Another ordinance of Louis XVIII. was exposed to fewer objections, and reflected honour upon his reign: In the administration of the criminal law of the country, one of the first objects of the state should be to correct the vicious habits of criminals, and to prepare them, by habits of order and industry, combined with the influence of moral and religious instruction, to become, at the termination of their periods of imprisonment, peaceable and useful members of society. For the purpose of effecting an object so desirable, all prisoners, under twenty years of age, against whom the sentence of the law had been denounced, were ordered to be collected together in one gaol, to be called "The prison of experiment;" the governor of which was to be charged with the superintendence of its police, and of the labour and instruction deemed necessary for the reform of the criminals. To aid him in an undertaking so important to the interest of the state, an assistant and six inspectors were to be placed under him, and these officers were to be filled gratuitously. Once in every month, the minister of the interior was to make a report of the state of the prison; and a commission, composed of a counsellor of state, and two masters of request; and a second commission, composed of three members of the court of session; were to visit this penitentiary twice a year, for the purpose of ascertaining the nature of its management, and the probable extent of its benefits. This wise and salutary plan seems to have originated with one of the most enlightened and benevolent men in France, and the Duke de la Rochefoucault was appointed director-general of an institution, which was indebted to him,

for its existence. In this, as well as in many of the other plans and measures of the new government, there was one feature which demands the tribute of praise—the whole of the details, verified and approved by the minister of the interior, were to be submitted, not only to the king, but also to the public.

Notwithstanding the pacific disposition of the king, there still existed in France too many restless spirits, and too great a fondness for national glory. The consequence was, that the hope of regaining a compensation for what they had lost by the peace of Paris, still animated the public mind, and the compensation was, they vainly hoped, to be found in the conquest of St. Domingo. The French part of this imperial island was in possession of two negro chiefs—Petion and Christophe; the latter of whom, under the title of King Henry, displayed a wise and enlightened policy in the administration of public affairs, worthy of imitation by the monarchs of Europe. The indigenous part of the population was estimated at three hundred and twenty thousand souls; and the two chiefs could bring into the field upwards of sixty thousand warriors. Such were the sovereigns and the people, whom the French government, uninstructed by the fatal termination of General Leclerc's expedition, wished to enslave.* But no sooner had King Henry learned that Louis XVIII. whose own misfortunes might have inspired him with sentiments of justice and humanity, was fitting out an expedition against the kingdom of Hayti, then he issued an energetic proclamation,† justifying, at the tribunal of nations, the legitimacy of his sable government; and in which, while he promised security and protection to the subjects of those powers who visited the island of St. Domingo for the purposes of commercial intercourse, he declared the determination of his subjects, rather to bury themselves under the ruins of their country, than to behold the destruction of that edifice, which they had cemented with their blood. "The king of a free people," said he, "a soldier by habit, we fear no war, nor dread any enemy. We have already signified our determination not to interfere in any way in the internal government of our neighbours. We wish to enjoy peace and tranquillity among ourselves, and to exert the same prerogatives which other nations enjoy, of making their own laws. If, after the free exposition of our sentiments, and the justice of our cause,

* See Vol. II. Book III. p. 270.

† Dated, "Sans Souci, the 18th of September, 1814, 11th year of independence, and the 4th of our reign."

any power should, contrary to the laws of nations, place a hostile foot on our territory, then our first duty will be to repel such an act of aggression by every means in our power. We solemnly declare, that we will never consent to any treaty, or any condition, that shall compromise the honour, the liberty, and the independence, of the Haytian people. Faithful to our oath, we will rather bury ourselves under the ruin of our country, than suffer our political rights to sustain the slightest injury."

A language so decided, and so well-timed, had its proper influence upon the councils of France ; and the obstacles, both physical and military, in the way of the conquest of St. Domingo, induced the French government to abandon an expedition prepared for that purpose, and preserved the inhabitants of that island from the galling influence of those chains, which French ambition and cupidity had forged for the colonists in the western islands of the Atlantic.

The first session of the restoration parliament of France closed its sittings on the 30th of December ; and a review of its proceedings will serve to show, that much valuable time had been spent in the discussion of questions, that tended neither to promote the security of the throne, nor to advance the happiness of the people : such was the question for restricting the liberty of the press, by placing censors over its operations. The salutary regulations introduced into the department of finance, appeared, on the contrary, calculated to retrieve the public credit, by affording facilities for the reduction of the debt already incurred, and by making provision against its future augmentation. In order to regulate the affairs of commerce, and to retrieve its drooping operation, the circle of representation was enlarged, by the creation of a commercial chamber ; and the tides of the ocean, which had for years flowed in vain, were again made subservient to the prosperity of France. Whatever might be the feelings of the nation and of the army, the two chambers of legislation manifested their regard for the person and family of the sovereign, by voting a civil list, equal to that with which the crown was endowed under Louis XVI. and by an unanimous resolution to make the nation responsible for the debts incurred by her sovereign, during a long period of exile. Unhappily for the tranquillity of the state, the vital question regarding emigrant property, though frequently before the assembled legislators of France, was brought to no decision ; and the indemnity of the clerical body for the confiscation of church property, made during the revolution, involved considerations too delicate to be submitted to the immediate consideration of the chambers.

The state of parties in France, as it appeared at the beginning of the year 1815, was such as to indicate the existence of wide differences in opinions and interest among large classes of the community ; and although, in a well-established government, and among a people of sedate character and temperate feelings, it is found by experience, that such diversities may prevail without materially endangering the public tranquillity ; yet under the rule of a dynasty restored, after a long intermission, by foreign troops, to the throne of a nation distinguished for the vehemence and promptitude of its emotions, there was sufficient reason to apprehend, that secret dissensions could not long subsist without bursting into a flame. In the military class in particular, who deeply felt the humiliation of the French arms, hitherto triumphant beyond example, the hostility to the reigning family was no longer disguised. A spirit of military enterprise still strongly predominated in the nation, and a recent ordinance, for the reduction of officers of all ranks, not actually employed, to half pay, combined with the recall of the Swiss guards to Paris, and the exclusion of the old imperial guard from the capital, swelled the mass of discontent. Both officers and soldiers, with scarcely any exceptions, retained a high sentimental attachment to the man who had so long led them to victory, and under whose banners, notwithstanding recent disasters, they fondly regarded themselves as destined to retrieve the honour and glory of their country. The imperial rank, which he had been still suffered to preserve, maintained his titular dignity ; and his position at Elba, separated only by a narrow space of sea, kept him almost in view of the French shores, and allowed a ready intercourse with his numerous partizans.

The year, however, commenced in the French capital with those demonstrations of loyalty, which are always at the service of power, and which too frequently serve to lure sovereigns to their ruin. The municipal body of Paris ushered in the season of gratulation by an address to the king, in which the peculiar advantages of legitimate authority were eloquently expatiated upon, and his majesty was assured that all the subjects in his realm would cheerfully sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the maintenance of those blessings, which it was his felicity to confer, and their happiness to enjoy.

A religious service calculated to revive a recollection of the errors and crimes of the revolution, and by no means adapted to the temper of the times, was performed on the 21st of January, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. Two and twenty years had elapsed since that "deed without a name," was perpetrated ; and the chief actors in the scene had

long since perished, by that tempest which their own violence had raised. The retributive hand of providence, and the voice of surrounding nations, had already stamped this act with its appropriate character; and the ceremonial of re-interment was as uncalled for as it was impolitic.* Suspicions had long been entertained, that a design existed to restore the principles of the ancient monarchy; and the official order for shutting up the theatres of Paris, on the day of re-interment, and for the introduction into the French liturgy of a service commemorative of the death of the royal martyr, served to encourage this apprehension. There was, indeed, nothing in the character of the king to justify such an opinion; but other branches

* DISINTERMENT OF LOUIS XVI. AND HIS ROYAL CONSORT.

“On the 18th of January, the Chancellor, Count de Blacas, and others, proceeded to the cemetery of the Magdaleine, now a garden, attached to the house of M. Descloseaux. After causing the ground to be dug up by labourers, one of whom was present at the inhumation of the Queen, a bed of lime, 10 inches thick, was found, under which was discovered the mark of a bier about five and a half feet long, with several planks still sound; a great number of bones along this bier were carefully collected. Some were, however, wanting, which had, doubtless, been reduced to dust. The head was found entire, and the position in which it had been placed indicated with certainty that it had been detached from the body. Some remains of clothes were also found, and a pair of elastic garters, pretty well preserved, which were put aside to be presented to his majesty, along with two pieces of the bier. The bones were then placed in a box which had been brought for the purpose of receiving them, and the earth and lime which had been found along with the bones were deposited in another box. To discover the remains of the king, next day the digging recommenced, and some planks of a bier was found, but there was no bed of pure lime as about the bier of the queen. The earth and the lime appeared to have been purposely mixed. In the midst of the lime and the earth were found the bones of a male body; several of which being almost entirely corroded, were on the point of crumbling into dust. The head was covered with lime, and was found between two leg bones. This was the situation indicated as that of the head of Louis XVI. no trace of any clothes could be found, nor could any complete bed of lime be discovered near the spot.

“The relics were then inclosed in a large box, which was fastened and sealed with the signet of the arms of France. The box was afterwards carried into the chamber where the remains of the queen had been deposited the day before, in order that the ecclesiastics already assembled might continue round the two bodies the prayers of the church, till the time fixed for placing them in leaden coffins, and for carrying them to the royal church of St. Denis, where they were finally entombed. Marshals Soult and Oudinot held the pall over the coffin of Louis XVI.; and the Presidents Barthelemy and Laine, over the coffin of the queen. But not among the least interesting assistants at the ceremony, were M. M. Hue, Deseze, and Descloseaux. The first had remained constantly with the king till his death; the second had ably defended him at the bar of the convention; and the third had preserved, and watched over, his mortal remains.”---*Moniteur*.

of the royal family were supposed to have imbibed a greater portion of the maxims of prerogative, and many of the emigrant noblesse, and ecclesiastics, were known to have retained all the political feelings with which they left the country. If, on these accounts, the friends of constitutional liberty found reasonable grounds for withholding their confidence from the existing government, there were not wanting others, who, from factious motives, aggravated the public discontents, by disseminating reports of designs to invalidate the purchase of national property, to effect the restoration of tythes, and to re-establish feudal and seignorial rights, and from these causes, a mass of secret disaffection was engendered in the nation, which was ready to manifest itself whenever any superinducing cause should call it into action.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND REIGN OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON: *Introductory Matter: Exile—Return from Elba—Debarkation in the Gulf of Juan—Triumphal March from the Coast to the Capital—Departure of Louis XVIII.—His Arrival at Ghent—Unsuccessful Efforts to raise the Royal Standard in the South and West of France—Proceedings of the Congress of Vienna in consequence of the Return of Napoleon—Declaration of the 13th of March---Proceedings of the British Parliament---Coalition Treaty of the 25th of March---Pacific Overtures made by France---Letter of the Emperor Napoleon to the Sovereigns of Europe---Justificatory Manifesto of the French Government—Fidelity of some of the French Marshals to the Royal Cause---Death of Berthier---Napoleon's Ministry---Policy of his Government—Efforts to rouse the French Nation to resist the threatened Invasion of their Country---New Constitution, entitled Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire---Champ de Mai---Meeting of the Chambers---Speech of the Emperor at the Opening of the Session.*

FROM a review of the proceedings of the government of Louis XVIII. and the causes of the dissatisfaction of his people, the mind is directed, by a natural transition, to the imperial exile of Elba. The departure of Napoleon from Fontainebleau, on the 20th of April, 1814, attended by the English, Russian, Austrian, and Prussian commissioners, afforded the troops, by whom he was surrounded, another opportunity of indicating their undiminished attachment to a leader, under whose banners they had attained so much glory, and in whose cause they had endured so many sufferings. The cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* which attended the departure of the imperial cavalcade, were reiterated in every town and village from Fontainebleau to Moulins, and the discontent of the populace at the presence of the commissioners, and the

object of their journey, was expressed in the most unqualified terms of abuse.* At Lyons, which city Napoleon and his attendants passed through near midnight on the 23d, a few persons were assembled, and saluted him with the cry so familiar to his ears in the days of his prosperity. On the following day, Marshal Augereau crossed the emperor on his route at Valence, where an interview took place, in which Napoleon reproached Augereau for the asperity of his proclamation of the 16th,† and the marshal recriminated, by reminding the fallen monarch of that insatiable thirst for conquest to which he had sacrificed the fidelity of his friends and the happiness of his country. In Valence, the troops belonging to Marshal Augereau's corps, though wearing white cockades, received the emperor with military honours, and their indignation was manifested in no equivocal terms towards the commissioners in his suite. Here, however, his triumphs ended; and his lacerated feelings were no longer soothed with the homage of exclamations. At Avignon, on the morning of the 25th, a great concourse of persons were assembled, and the emperor and his attendants were saluted with cries of "*Vive le Roi! Vivent les Allies! A bas Nicholas!‡ A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le mauvais Gueux!*" and even still coarser abuse. The conduct of the populace at Orgon and Aix was equally insulting; at the former of these places, a gallows was erected exactly on the spot where the relays of horses stood, from which was suspended a figure, in French uniform, sprinkled with blood, bearing a paper upon its breast with this inscription:—

"Tel sera to't ou tard le sort du Tyran!"

These repeated demonstrations of popular indignation became so alarming, that Napoleon changed his dress in his carriage, soon after he left the town, and mounting a post-horse, rode on before, in the character of a courier. At a small inn, on the other side of Orgon, the imperial suite stopped to dinner, and here, in a kind of chamber, the former ruler of the world

* Narrative of Napoleon Bonaparte's journey from Fontainebleau to Ferjus, in April, 1814, by Count Truchses-Waldburg (Valdeburgh Fruchsels) attendant Prussian Commissary.

† See Vol. IV. Book IV. p. 51.

‡ A name applied familiarly to Bonaparte, while he was a student at the college of Brienne, and revived as a term of opprobrium after his abdication, under an erroneous idea that *Nicholas* was actually his christian name. On this subject, his own writing, in the still existing registry of the second arrondissement of Paris, at the time of his first marriage in 1796, is pretty conclusive evidence---it is there written "*Napolione Buonaparte.*"

was found by the commissioners, buried in thought, with his head resting upon his hand, and his countenance bedewed with tears.* An apprehension that the new government had determined to take away his life, continually haunted his imagination in the latter part of his journey, and after assuming various disguises, he quitted his own carriage entirely, and took a seat in a corner of General Koller's caleche. When his mind had regained some degree of composure, he spoke freely of his political projects while he was Emperor of France; but now, according to his professions, every thing that could happen in the political world, was to him perfectly indifferent, and he felt extremely happy in anticipating the tranquil life which he should pass at Porto Ferrajo, far from the intrigues of courts, and in the full enjoyment of his scientific pursuits. Yes! the throne of Europe might now be safely offered to him, for he should reject it; this conduct of the French towards him had evinced such black ingratitude, as to entirely disgust him with the ambition of reigning.

On the morning of the 27th, the emperor and his train arrived in the neighbourhood of Frejus, when, finding himself under the protection of a body of Austrian troops, he again resumed his uniform, and once more occupied his own carriage. The *Undaunted*, an English frigate, under the command of Captain Usher, awaited his arrival, and on the evening of the 28th, he embarked on board that vessel in the harbour of St. Raphor, where fourteen years before he had landed on his return from Egypt. During the five days passed at sea, the manners of the emperor were unusually condescending and courteous; General Koller and Colonel Campbell, the two commissioners appointed to attend him to the island, were daily invited to his table, and he frequently expressed his regret at the scenes which they had been called to witness, during the latter days of his journey, through the instigation, as he imagined, of the French government. On the 3d of May, the *Undaunted* arrived off the coast of Elba, and on the following day the bee-studded flag† of the Elbese empire waved from the watch-towers of Porto Ferrajo. In answer to a congratulatory oration from the municipal body of his new capital, the emperor assured them, that "the mildness of the climate, and the gentle manners of the inhabitants of Elba, had induced him to select this alone of all his extensive pos-

* Count Truchses-Waldburg's Narrative.

† The ancient and peculiar ensign of Elba was singularly well adapted to Bonaparte's situation, being no other than a wheel—an emblem of the vicissitudes of human life, borrowed by the Elbese from the Egyptian mysteries.

sessions, in the hope, that the people would know how to estimate the distinction, and to love him as obedient children, while he should ever conduct himself towards them as a provident father and sovereign.”*

The energies of the ever active mind of Napoleon were immediately applied to completing the fortifications of his capital, improving the public roads, and adding to the agricultural and mineralogical resources of the island. “His days,” says one of his attendants, “passed in the most pleasing occupations. All his hours were filled up. That indefatigable activity, which in other times he applied to the vast conceptions of genius, he employed in the island of Elba in studying the embellishments of the retreat which he had chosen. In the morning he shut himself up in his library. He often rose before the sun, and employed himself for several hours in study. About eight o’clock, he took some relaxation, visited the works he had projected, and spent a considerable time with his workmen, among whom he numbered many soldiers of the guards. Whatever might be the state of the weather, he repaired daily to his chateau at St. Martin; and there, as in the city, he was occupied with the interior management of his house, required an exact account of every thing, and entered into the smallest details of domestic and rural economy. Often, after breakfast, he reviewed his little army; required the greatest regularity in their exercises and manœuvres, and caused the strictest discipline to be observed. After the review, he mounted his horse for his morning ride, generally attended by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouet, and in his excursion frequently gave audience to those who met him. At dinner, all who were admitted to his table were treated with kindness and cordiality, and he seemed to have discovered the secret of enjoying the most intimate and familiar society without surrendering any part of his dignity. The evenings were usually dedicated to family parties.”

When the emperor received the visits of strangers, which frequently happened, he entered freely into conversation: Frequently he spoke of the last campaign—of his views and hopes—of the defection of his marshals—of the capture of Paris; and of his abdication; on these topics he would descant with great earnestness, exhibiting, in rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, and of inordinate self-estimation. The chief violence of his rage was directed against Marmont for the surrender of Paris; and against Augereau for the surrender of Lyons. For the allied

* General Koller’s Narrative.

troops, as compared with his own, he expressed the most profound contempt; the Prussians were the best, but he would beat even them with one-third their number. In the vexation of his heart, however, he did justice to Blücher: "*Ce vieux diable*," said he, "never gave me any rest. I beat him to-day—good, he attacked me to-morrow. I beat him in the morning—he was ready to fight again in the evening. He suffered enormous losses, and, according to all calculation, ought to have thought himself too happy to be allowed to retire unmolested, instead of which he immediately advanced upon me again; *ah, le vieux diable!*"

When the first impressions of novelty were effaced, Bonaparte's mind seems to have gradually subsided into a state bordering upon *ennui*. He grew corpulent, took less exercise, and slept more. But the discussions in the congress at Vienna regarding his future destiny, and the arrangement of the Italian states, particularly of those which had been awarded by the treaty of Fontainebleau to the empress and his son, soon roused him from this state of torpor. Hitherto he had evinced a decided predilection for the society of Sir Neil Campbell, the British accredited agent at Elba; he seemed to have nothing to conceal, and courted the strictest scrutiny; but having received a visit from some of his family and friends, who had just left Paris, and by whom the proceedings of the congress were reported, he became restless and dissatisfied. He now shunned the company of the British officer, and almost secluded himself from society. Often he would spend seven or eight hours in his closet, no one daring to intrude on his retirement; and at other times, he would wander on the shore with folded arms, and frequently with an unequal and agitated step. The embellishments of his capital, and the improvement of the island, were neglected, and almost forgotten; the discontents of the French people, which had now come to his knowledge, had awakened his slumbering ambition, and the incipient conspiracy to effect his restoration absorbed all his thoughts. The wheel of vicissitude was again in motion, and the mind of Napoleon became intently fixed upon the progress of the rotation.

This striking alteration in the conduct of Napoleon, and the frequent intercourse which he had now opened with his friends in Leghorn, Florence, and other parts of Italy, was not concealed from the principal governments of Europe; and there is no doubt whatever but Sir Neil Campbell reported from time to time to his government all that appeared to him deserving of notice, as well in the island of Elba as on the neighbouring peninsula. It is impossible perhaps to con-

ceive any situation in Europe less calculated for a place of security, or more favourable for conducting a conspiracy, than the island of Elba. That it was the place of Bonaparte's selection, as he informed the inhabitants on his first arrival among them, may be easily imagined; but that the allies should have acceded to such a choice, cannot be so well accounted for. Situated in the vicinity of France, Spain, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, it afforded a centre of unrestricted communication with the principal scenes of his former usurpations; and that nothing might be wanting to give to Napoleon's genius for intrigue the most unbounded scope, a corvette was assigned him to keep up his communication with the ports of the Mediterranean, and no cruiser of any nation had a right to violate his flag. Colonel Sir Neil Campbell had indeed been allowed to remain either at Elba or Leghorn, after he had fulfilled the whole of his duty, which consisted in conveying the exile to his residence at Elba, but he was not permitted by the treaty to exercise over him any police whatever, not so much as to seize and detain him if he thought proper to quit the island.* Under circumstances so auspicious to his designs, the ramifications of the conspiracy soon became widely extended. On the course of the Seine, as well as on the banks of the lake of Geneva, the *violet* was the secret symbol by which the conspirators denoted their chief, and recognized each other. Rings of a violet colour, with the device, '*Elle reparaitra au printemps*,'† became fashionable. The ladies were dressed in violet-coloured silks; and the men displayed violet-coloured watch-strings. When they asked, '*Aimez vous la violette?*'‡ if the answer was simply '*Oui*,'§ it was inferred that the respondent was not a confederate, but if he exclaimed '*Eh Bien*,'|| they recognized a brother, initiated in the secrets of the conspiracy, and completed the sentence by remarking, '*Elle reparaitra au printemps*.' These secret symbols, less important for their professed purpose of secrecy, than as a romantic embellishment of conspiracy, calculated to excite the imagination, and peculiarly adapted in that respect to the French character, had been employed a year before by the partizans of the house of Bourbon. A royalist then sounded those of whom he entertained hopes by saying '*Deli*;' and if the answer was '*Vrance*,' the completion of the word shewed the recognition of principle to be reciprocal.

Marshal Soult, who was at the head of the army, in the

* Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, April 7, 1815.

† It will re-appear in the spring.

‡ Are you fond of the violet.

§ Yes.

|| Ah! Well.

capacity of minister-at-war, it was affirmed had already been initiated, and the divisional and regimental order-books and papers, found on the field of Waterloo after the battle, give to this report an appearance of authenticity. From those documents it appears, that early in February all leaves of absence and furloughs were recalled, the rigour against desertion was redoubled, the regiments were directed to fill up their vacancies, even from the disbanded pensioners, and the officers and men were to hold themselves in readiness and full marching order, for the first week in March ; and all this note of preparation was on the pretence of some reviews or inspections, which were announced for that period. In the midst of this peril, the Bourbons seemed to slumber at the Thuilleries, and, like all the other powers of Europe, to disregard the warning voice which was so often sounded in their ears. Early in the month of January, offers are understood to have been received by M. Blacas, the minister and favourite of his sovereign, to disclose a plot formed for the restoration of Bonaparte ; but the proposal was received with contemptuous silence, and treated with reprehensible neglect. Were not the evidence of the fact incontestible, posterity would scarcely credit the assertion, that after the return of Napoleon, there were found in the bureau of the Abbe Montesquiou, the minister of the home department, several successive communications from Comte de Bonthelliers, prefect of the department of the Var, unread, and even unopened. The early part of these communications, which were dated in the month of January, informed the minister of the frequent departure and arrival of suspected persons, to and from Elba, and the latter detailed the particulars of the plot, with the names of the partizans engaged in its execution. The object of these repeated despatches from the prefect, was to obtain instructions how to proceed, and in particular to request that an armed force might be despatched to the south, to arrest the progress of the conspirators ; but the abbe was too intent upon restoring Paris to her ancient place, as the seat of the amusements and pleasures of Europe, to suffer his mind to be diverted from this grand pursuit, by the less attractive duty of securing the crown of his sovereign.

The deliberations of the congress assembled at Vienna, in which Napoleon had begun to take so deep an interest, drew towards a close. The conduct of the exile had become the subject of correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and M. Talleyrand,* and it was supposed that the allied sovereigns,

* Lord Castlereagh's Speech in the House of Commons, April 7, 1815.

aware, at length, of the folly of placing him in the Isle of Elba, were deliberating upon the propriety of removing him to a situation more remote from his family and political connections, and less dangerous to the future tranquillity of Europe. These circumstances served to hasten the great catastrophe, and probably hurried the conspirators into action before their plans were fully ripe for execution. It is impossible to speak with precision of the extent of the conspiracy, or of the number of its agents, but the fact was soon placed beyond doubt, that the first step in the enterprise was the invasion of France by a handful of soldiers, and its ultimate object the possession of the throne of that kingdom.

The preparations made for the hazardous enterprise which was now preparing to burst upon an astonished world, formed a striking contrast, in their extent and duration, with the preparations made by the same personage some years before, for the invasion of England. One day's notice was all that was deemed necessary, and the invading army, consisting only of four hundred guards, two hundred infantry, one hundred Polish light horse, and two hundred men of the flanking corps, constituting an army of nine hundred men,* embarked on board the *Inconstant*, of twenty-six guns; *L'Etoile* and *La Caroline*, bombardes; and four feluccas. The orders to embark were not received till one o'clock at noon; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 26th of February, the expedition, with the emperor and his staff on board the *Inconstant*, sailed from Porto Ferrajo at the signal of a single gun, amidst the exclamations of—" *Paris ou la mort !*"—"Paris or Death !"

The night proved clear and favourable, and fortune seemed to smile on the enterprise. Sir Neil Campbell, the British commissary, was in Italy; no cruisers appeared in sight; and before the dawn of the following morning, the adventurers hoped to double the cape of Capraia, and to be placed beyond the reach of the vessels which were known to be cruising on that station. But the wind, which was at the time of embarkation from the south, and favourable, gradually died away, and at break of day on the 27th, they had made only six leagues progress, and were yet between Capraia and Elba. The night, however, had not been wholly lost, for during the darkness, the soldiers and the crew had changed the painting of the sides of the brig, from yellow and grey to black and white, in order to escape the observation of those who might meet the vessel. The danger now became imminent; and the captain (Chautard,) and part of the crew, advised and urged

† *Moniteur* of the 23d of March, 1815.

the return to Porto Ferrajo ; but Napoleon's resolution was not to be shaken ; he ordered the flotilla to continue its voyage, determining, in case of necessity, to attack two French frigates and a brig, which now appeared in sight, which, however, it was thought would be more inclined to join than to oppose them. Towards noon the wind freshened, and at four o'clock in the afternoon they were off Leghorn, having escaped the observation of the cruisers. At six o'clock in the evening, the *Inconstant* perceived the *Zephyr*, Captain Andrieux, bearing down upon her, and made preparations for action ; at first it was proposed to speak to the *Zephyr*, and require her to raise the tri-coloured standard, but it was afterwards thought better to pass her without being known, and the emperor ordered the soldiers to take off their caps, and to conceal themselves between the decks. More completely to lull suspicion, Captain Andrieux was hailed from the *Inconstant* by Lieutenant Taillade, who informed him that the vessel was bound from Elba to Genoa, and offered to undertake any commission which Captain Andrieux might have to execute at that place. This civility the captain declined, and at parting cried—"How's the emperor?" To which Napoleon himself exclaimed—"Wonderfully well !" and the ships, pursuing their opposite course, dropped away from each other. During the night of the 27th, the wind continued to increase ; and at daylight on the 28th, the coast of Provence was in sight. Before this time some uncertainty hung over the destination of the expedition, but now all doubt was removed, and at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of March, the expedition came to anchor in the Gulph of Juan, near Antibes, in the department of the Var.

In the progress of the voyage, Napoleon, whose spirits never forsook him, talked without disguise of his present attempt, of his difficulties, his means, and his hopes : "In a case like this," said he, "one must think slowly, but act promptly ; I have long weighed, and most maturely considered the project.—The glory and the advantages we shall gain, if we succeed, I need not enlarge upon. If we fail—to military men, who have from their infancy faced death in so many shapes, the fate which awaits us is not terrific ; we know, and we despise, for we have a thousand times been exposed to the worst which fate can bring."* These were nearly the last words which he spoke, before his little fleet came to anchor, and they were delivered with a more set phrase than usual, as a sort of final address to the companions of his great enterprise.

* Narrative of Colonel Jermanouski, commander of the Polish Lancers, who accompanied Napoleon from Elba.

At five o'clock in the afternoon, the disembarkation of the troops was completed, and Napoleon, being himself the last man to quit the vessel, exclaimed, with exultation, as he set his foot again on the territory of France—" *Voilà le Congrès dessous*"—"The Congress is dissolved." An officer, with five and twenty men, was now despatched to secure the batteries upon the coast, but on approaching to Antibes, the detachment was seized by General Corsin, the governor of that place, and made prisoners. From the time of the disembarkation, till the rising of the moon at eleven o'clock at night, the invading army bivouacked upon the sea shore, in a vineyard surrounded by olive trees. At that hour, the emperor, placing himself at the head of his troops, advanced to Cannes, passing through Grasse to the village of Cerenon, at which place they arrived in the evening of the 2d, having already traversed a distance of twenty leagues. The re-appearance of Napoleon produced a mingled sentiment in the inhabitants, of astonishment, fear, and joy. A scene of magical illusion, which the pen labours in vain to describe, every where presented itself. Crowds of unreflecting spectators hailed the re-appearance of the eagle; and in those very departments where, not twelve months before, Bonaparte had been obliged to assume a disguise to avert the fury of the populace, he now marched openly and without molestation at the head of a handful of men, with the avowed intention of overturning the throne of the reigning sovereign of France. This march was rather a triumph than an invasion. The population was permitted to count his feeble band, to approach his person, and to learn from his own mouth the object of his enterprise. On the 4th Napoleon dined at Digne, and on the 5th advanced to Gap. At this place two proclamations, dictated by Napoleon, and written on board the *Inconstant*, during his voyage from Elba, were printed and circulated. In these addresses, every chord that vibrated to the national feeling, was struck upon by the hand of a master; and every topic that could arouse the ardour of the army in his support, or withdraw the attachments of the people from their legitimate sovereign, was pressed into the service of the invader:—

PROCLAMATION

TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

"Bay of Juan, March 1, 1815."

"Frenchmen!—The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons, without defence, to our enemies; the army of which I confided to him the command, was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops which composed it, fully able to beat the

Austrian corps opposed to it, and to get into the rear of the left wing of the enemy's army, which threatened Paris.

"The victories of Champ Aubert, of Montmirail, of Chateau Thierry, of Vauchamp, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craone, of Rheims, of Arcy-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier; the raising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, of Champagne, of Alsace, of Franche Comte, and of Bourgoin; and the position which I had taken on the rear of the enemy's army, by separating it from its magazines, from its parks of reserve, from its convoys, and all its equipages; had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army was lost without resource: it would have found its grave in those vast countries which it had mercilessly ravaged, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa gave up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected conduct of those two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the destiny of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such, that at the conclusion of the affair which took place before Paris, it was without ammunition, on account of its separation from its park of reserve.

"Under these new and important circumstances, my heart was rent, but my soul remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country. I exiled myself on a rock in the middle of the sea. My life was, and ought to be, still useful to you. I did not permit the great number of citizens, who wished to accompany me, to partake my lot. I thought their presence useful to France; and I took with me only a handful of brave men, necessary for my guard.

"Raised to the throne by your choice, all that has been done without you is illegitimate. For twenty-five years France has had new interests, new institutions, and new glory, which could only be secured by a national government, and by a dynasty created under these new circumstances. A prince who should reign over you, who should be seated on my throne by the power of those very armies which ravaged our territory, would in vain attempt to support himself with the principles of feudal law: he would not be able to recover the honour and the rights of more than a small number of individuals, enemies of the people, who, for twenty-five years, have condemned them in all our national assemblies. Your tranquillity at home, and your consequence abroad, would be lost for ever.

"Frenchmen! In my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you demanded that government of your choice which alone was legitimate. You accused my long slumber; you reproached me for sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country.

"I have crossed the seas in the midst of dangers of every kind: I arrive among you to resume my rights, which are yours. All that individuals have done, written, or said, since the capture of Paris, I will be forever ignorant of: it shall not at all influence the recollections which I preserve of the important services which they have performed. There are circumstances of such a nature as to be above human organization.

"Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small it may be, which has not had the right, and which may not withdraw itself from the disgrace of obeying, a prince imposed on it by an enemy momentarily victorious. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V. he acknowledged that he held his throne from the valour of his heroes, and not from a Prince Regent of England.

"It is thus that to you alone, and to the brave men of the army, I account it, and shall always account it, my glory, to owe every thing.

"By the Emperor, (Signed) NAPOLEON.

"The grand-marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army. (Signed) COUNT BERTRAND."

TO THE ARMY.

“NAPOLEON, by the grace of God and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, &c. &c. &c.

“Gulph of Juan, March 1, 1815.

“Soldiers!—We were not conquered: two men raised from our ranks betrayed our laurels, their country, their prince, their benefactor.

“Those whom during twenty-five years we have seen traversing all Europe to raise up enemies against us; who have passed their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, cursing our fine France; shall they pretend to command and control our eagles, on which they have not dared ever to look? Shall we endure that they should inherit the fruits of our glorious labours—that they should clothe themselves with our honours and our goods—that they should calumniate our glory? If their reign should continue, all would be lost, even the memory of those immortal days. With what fury do they pervert their very nature! They seek to poison what the world admires; and if there still remain any defenders of our glory, it is among those very enemies whom we have fought on the field of battle.

“Soldiers! in my exile I heard your voice: I have arrived through all obstacles and all perils; your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and educated under your banners, is restored to you: come and join him.

“Tear down those colours which the nation has proscribed, and which for twenty-five years served as a rallying signal to all the enemies of France: mount the cockade tri-colour: you bore it in the days of our greatness.

“We must forget that we have been masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs.

“Who shall presume to be master over us? Who would have the power? Recover those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Wagram, at Smolensko, at Moscow, at Lutzen, at Vurken, at Montmirail. Do you think that the handful of Frenchmen who are now so arrogant, will endure to look on them? They shall return whence they came, and there if they please they shall reign as they pretend to have reigned during nineteen years. Your possessions, your rank, your glory, the possessions, the rank, the glory of your children, have no greater enemies than those princes whom foreigners have imposed upon us; they are the enemies of our glory, because the recital of so many heroic actions, which have glorified the people of France fighting against them, to withdraw themselves from their yoke, is their condemnation.

“The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and the Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the grand army, are all humiliated: their honourable wounds are disgraced; their successes were crimes: those heroes were rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies.

“Honours, rewards, affection, are given to those who have served against the country and us.

“Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the standards of your chief; his existence is only composed of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at the charge-step: the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, even to the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to glory in what you have done; you will be the deliverers of the country. In your old age, surrounded and esteemed by your fellow-citizens, they

will hear with respect while you recount your high deeds ; you will be able to say with pride :—‘And I, too, was part of that grand army, which entered twice the walls of Vienna, those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow ; and which delivered Paris from the foul blot which treason and the presence of the enemy imprinted on it.’

“Honoured be those brave soldiers, the glory of the country ; and eternal shame to those guilty Frenchmen, in whatever rank fortune caused them to be born, who fought for twenty-five years with the foreigner, to tear the bosom of the country.

“By the Emperor,

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

“The grand-marshal performing the functions of major-general of the grand army.

(Signed)

BERTRAND.”

Five days after the debarkation, General Cambronne, with a small advanced-guard of forty men, met the advanced-guard of a division of six thousand men at Mure, coming from Grenoble to arrest the progress of the emperor. Cambronne, aware of the weakness of his force, demanded a parley, but though all communication was refused, the royal troops fell back three leagues, and placed themselves in the pass. Undismayed by the threatened resistance of a force amounting to eight hundred men, Napoleon advanced, followed by about fifty of his grenadiers with arms reversed. Advancing to the right of the battalion, which appeared only to be waiting the command of its officer to fire upon him, he threw open his outer coat, and presenting his breast, exclaimed :—“Soldiers, you have been told that I fear death ; if there be among you one soldier who would kill his emperor, let him plunge his bayonet into his bosom !” The effect was instantaneous ; the arms of the soldiers were hurled to the ground ; the guard and the soldiers embraced each other ; and the air resounded with cries of “*Vive l'Empereur.*” Napoleon had thus placed his life and his destinies in the hands of the army, and the experiment proved that their attachment remained unaltered. The tri-coloured cockade was soon assumed by the new reinforcements, who ranged themselves around the imperial eagles amidst the acclamations of the Elbese army, and the shouts of the populace. On the way to Grenoble, Colonel Charles Labedoyere, who had lately received his appointment from the king, accompanied by the decoration of the legion of honour, arrived at the head of the 4th regiment of hussars, carrying an eagle, and joined the ranks of the emperor. The garrison of Grenoble had been augmented by a part of the 7th and 11th regiments of the line, sent from Chamberri, and selected for this service because they were unacquainted with the emperor’s person, and would, it was supposed, be proof against all seduction. General Marchand, the commander of the place, was faithful to the king, and had placed his whole force on the ramparts, with the cannon loaded, and

the matches lighted ; but the cannoniers, instead of firing as they were ordered, extinguished their matches, and joined the garrison and the inhabitants in attempts to beat down the gates for the purpose of admitting the invaders.* The mayor and civil authorities now presented themselves, and offered their services to conduct the emperor to the Government-House ; but he walked into an hotel kept by an old soldier of the guard, and was for some time completely lost to his staff, in the midst of a crowd who were thronging about him in every direction. During this period, the gates of Bonne, of which General Marchand had taken the key, were brought and laid under the window of the inn by a vast body of the inhabitants, who exclaimed—" Napoleon, we could not offer you the keys of your good town of Grenoble, but here are the gates." General Marchand, who had been arrested by the seditious soldiery, was now brought before him. Indignant at the insult which had been offered to this gallant officer, Napoleon ordered him to be immediately released, and pressed him to re-assume the command of the town : " I may appeal to yourself," replied the general, " that I once served you faithfully : your abdication released me from my allegiance to you, and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons ; here is my sword, I can submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor." " Take back your sword, general," said Napoleon, " You have hitherto used it like a true soldier, and I respect you too much to urge you to use it in any way which your conscience would disapprove. You are at liberty to depart."

The next day the garrison of Grenoble, with Napoleon at their head, marched towards Lyons, having hoisted their tricoloured cockades, which were found sewed in the bottom of their knapsacks, and which they presented to the emperor, exclaiming, " They are the same which we wore at Austerlitz and Marengo."—The defection of the garrison of Grenoble had placed Bonaparte at the head of a well appointed army of ten thousand men, and the disposition which had been shown towards him, assured him of the affection and co-operation of all who might be sent to oppose his march. Na-

* A medal was struck at the mint in Paris on the return of Napoleon to France, commemorative of the events now under review ; on the obverse of which is exhibited the flight of the imperial eagle from Elba to the coast of Provence ; and on the reverse the reception given to the emperor by the citizens and soldiers of France. The second restoration of the Bourbons consigned to destruction the dies from which were produced this personification of one of the most extraordinary passages in history ; and already these medals have become so scarce, that an impression on bronze, not intrinsically worth five shillings, is valued by the dealers at twenty times that sum.

Napoleon now got into an open carriage, which generally went at a foot pace, and was not unfrequently impeded in his route by the crowds, who pressed by his side and loaded it with flowers and congratulatory addresses or petitions. The carriage was sometimes attended by a few hussars, and at others was without a single guard, and frequently two or three leagues distance from the main body of the troops.

The utmost celerity, courage, and address, on the side of Napoleon, might have failed to re-establish the imperial throne, had there not been an excess of delay, imbecility, and weakness, on the part of the court of Louis. It was not till the 5th of March that the debarkation in the Gulf of Juan was known at the Thuilleries; and the annunciation of this appalling fact was not made to the inhabitants of Paris till the 7th, when the *Moniteur* contained a proclamation convening the chambers, and an ordinance of the king denouncing Napoleon Bonaparte and his adherents as traitors, and authorising all the military and civil authorities, or even private citizens, to bring him before a council of war, which, on proof of his identity, was to punish him with death. The first impression of the court was a mingled feeling of astonishment and contempt; but when the report of every succeeding day proved that Napoleon advanced without resistance, and that his army, like the dreadful avalanche of the Alps, increased at every step—that every town which he approached, exultingly opened to him its gates, and that the people too frequently united with the soldiers in acknowledging him as the new master of France, ridicule gave way to serious reflection, and reflection to alarm. Monsieur, with the Duke of Orleans, and Count Damas, set out without delay for Lyons; and the Duke of Angoulême was ordered to proceed from Bordeaux to Nîmes. The municipal body of Paris assembled and voted an address to the king, and the inhabitants professed an attachment to the Bourbon race, which death itself could alone dissolve. That these loyal sentiments might not be suffered to evaporate in mere professions, registers were opened in the different districts of the metropolis for the enrolment of volunteers, and in less than three days the numbers were swelled to forty thousand men! On the 8th, sixty-nine deputies met in virtue of the royal summons; and on the following day, when the peers assembled, both chambers presented to his majesty addresses, abounding with assurances of loyalty and personal devotion. Marshal Soult, whose attachment to his old master began now to be strongly suspected, resigned his office on the 11th, and Marshal Clarke, Duke of Feltre, succeeded to the war department. From every part

of the country the deputies, on their arrival in Paris, brought the most consolatory accounts of the spirit of the departments, and the army of the usurper was stated, on official authority, to be reduced to four thousand men. Even the king's ministers contributed to the popular delusion, and three days after Monsieur had been driven from Lyons, the Duke of Feltre, the new minister of war, concluded a speech full of cheering prospects, by assuring the peers of France, that all the accounts from the army were perfectly satisfactory. Of one portion of the army, indeed, this assurance was true, for Colonel Lefebvre Desnouettes, who had attempted to seduce the regiment of royal chasseurs from their duty, and to lead them into the neighbourhood of Lyons to join their former master, was defeated in his intention by the fidelity of his troops, and obliged to seek his own safety in flight.

On the 9th Napoleon slept at Bourgoin ; and on the same day, Monsieur, the Duke of Orleans, and the Count Damas, arrived at Lyons, where they were joined by Marshal Macdonald. Their first care was to assemble the national guard, reinforce the garrison, and barricade the bridges of the Rhone. The efforts of the Duc d'Artois to attach the soldiery and the people to the royal cause, were totally unavailing ; his kindness and his caresses were received in silence, or rudely repulsed. The soldiers drew back, even from the proffered hand of their royal general, who asked them, in accents of grief, " What he had done to lose, and what he could do to regain, their favour ? " The advanced guard of Napoleon's army reached the suburb of La Guilloterie on the 10th, when Marshal Macdonald, placing himself at the head of two battalions of infantry, proceeded against them. On crossing the bridge that led to the suburb, they were met by a reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars, which had joined Napoleon at Grenoble ; the troops on each side rushed forward—not to fight, but to embrace. Macdonald precipitated himself among them ; but his menaces and his intreaties were alike unheard ; the king's troops, forgetful of their allegiance, joined in casting the barricades into the Rhone, and ranged themselves under the standard of the invader. It was now evident that all was lost ; the prince and the marshal retired from the town, and at 9 o'clock in the evening the emperor made his triumphal entry into the second city in France. The next morning Napoleon reviewed the garrison, as well as the mounted national guard, composed chiefly of Lyonnais nobles, who, after a thousand protestations of devotion, in the morning of the preceding day, had suffered Monsieur to quit the city in the evening attended only by a single dragoon. These faithless servants of the Bourbons,

conceiving that they had recommended themselves to the emperor by the dereliction of their duty towards the rival family, solicited permission to form his body guard. Napoleon's answer to this application forms one of the extraordinary traits of character, which distinguish, and are recorded of, his progress to the capital: "Your conduct towards the Comte d'Artois," replied he, "tells me how you would behave to me in case of a reverse. I thank you for your offer—but you will return immediately to your homes." To complete this act of magnanimity, the dragoon who had accompanied the prince was rewarded with the cross of the legion of honour, on the arrival of Napoleon at Paris. In the same spirit, Napoleon said to the municipal authorities, "We should forget that we have been masters of nations—my rights are those of the people alone—of all that individuals have done, written, or said, since the taking of Paris, I shall for ever remain ignorant."

At Lyons Napoleon remained till the 13th, and on the day of his departure, dated from that city a number of decrees, in which he assumed the imperial title, and considered himself as again in possession of the throne.* During his stay at Lyons,

* Substance of the Decrees issued by Napoleon at Lyons, on the 13th of March, 1815:—

All the changes effected in the Court of Cassation and other Tribunals, are declared null and void.

All emigrants, who have entered the French service since the 14th of April, are removed, and deprived of their new honours.

The White Cockade, the Decoration of the Lily, and the Orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and St. Michael, are abolished.

The National Cockade and the Tri-coloured Standard to be hoisted in all places.

The Imperial Guard is re-established in all its functions, and is to be recruited by men who have been not less than twelve years in the service.

— The Swiss guard is suppressed, and exiled twenty leagues from Paris.

All the household troops of the King are suppressed. All the property appertaining to the House of Bourbons is sequestrated.

All the property of the emigrants restored since the first of April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestrated.

The two Chambers of the Peers and Deputies are dissolved, and the Members are forthwith to return to their respective homes.

The laws of the Legislative Assembly are to be enforced. All feudal titles are suppressed.

National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war or in the arts and sciences.

All the emigrants who have entered France since the 1st of January, 1814, are commanded to leave the empire.

All promotions in the Legion of Honour conferred by Louis are null and of no effect, unless they be made in favour of those who deserve well of their country.

The change in the decoration of the Legion of Honour is null and of no effect. All its privileges are re-established.

he mixed with the people in the streets, and in their public assemblies, with the same unsuspecting confidence which had marked his former progress, and which was no less apparent in his further advance to the capital. Macon, Autun, and Avalon, each, on successive days, witnessed and contributed to his triumphant progress; and on the 17th he arrived at Auxerre.

The rapid advance of Napoleon, and the daily increase of his army, served to awaken the court of Louis to a sense of their danger; and preparations were made to collect a formidable army at Melun, between Fontainebleau and Paris, to check the progress of the invaders in front; while Marshal Ney, who had been despatched to Lons-le-Saulnier, where an army was stationed amounting to fourteen thousand men, was directed to fall upon his rear. This officer, in an effusion of loyalty, had repaired to the Thuilleries on the 9th, and besought his sovereign to employ him in the "impious war, waged against his throne by the brigand arrived from the island of Elba;" and half drawing his sword from the scabbard, he pledged himself, on forfeiture of his head, to bring the invader to Paris dead or alive; adding, "that he deserved to be brought in an iron cage." The violence of the marshal's zeal, which ought rather to have excited suspicion than conciliated confidence, procured for him the command of the army, and on the 12th, while the emperor was yet at Lyons, he arrived at Lons-le-Saulnier. Having assembled his staff and harangued them in favour of the royal cause, with all the energy of his character, a large majority of the officers maintained a cold and obstinate silence; but it was easy to trace on their clouded brows their determination to enrol themselves under the imperial eagle; others, discontented, yet irresolute, wavered between their inclinations and their oaths; and a small number repeated their protestations of fidelity to the royal cause. During the night some emissaries of Bonaparte arrived, and were introduced to Marshal Ney. They delivered to him letters from Marshal Bertrand, which painted in the most gloomy colours the hopeless situation of the king, and the certainty of Napoleon's success. They assured him, that the emperor had concerted this enterprise with Austria, through the mediation of General Koller—that the empress and her son were already on their road to Paris—that England

The Electoral Colleges are convoked to meet at Paris, in May next, in an Assembly extraordinary of the *Champ de Mai*, to new model the Constitution, according to the interests and will of the nation; and at the same time to assist in the Coronation of the Empress and the King of Rome.

had connived at Napoleon's escape—and that Murat advanced triumphantly on the side of Italy, to assist in the re-erection of the imperial throne. It was added, that Napoleon had for ever renounced his projects of ambitious government and universal dominion, and wished now to reign for the happiness of France alone. The marshal was shaken; his country, in the person of the king, had exacted an oath of fidelity; his country, in the person of the emperor, absolved him from his allegiance. This sophism led him astray, and he determined to swell the number of the partizans of Napoleon. This flagitious act of perfidy, which will consign the name of Ney to the execration of posterity, was consummated by the following proclamation, issued by the marshal from his head-quarters at Lons-le-Saulnier, on the 13th of March :—

“ OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS ! The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost. The legitimate dynasty which the French nation adopted is about to re-ascend the throne. To the Emperor Napoleon, our sovereign, it alone belongs, to reign over our fine country.—Of what consequence is it to us, whether the *noblesse* of the Bourbons again expatriate themselves, or consent to live in the midst of us ? The sacred cause of liberty and of our independence will no longer suffer under their fatal influence. They wished to degrade our military glory ; but they have been deceived. That glory is the fruit of attempts too noble to permit us ever to lose its remembrance.—Soldiers ! Those times are gone by when the people were governed by the suffocation of their rights ; at length liberty triumphs, and Napoleon, our august emperor, is about to confirm it for ever. Hereafter shall that noble cause be ours, and that of all Frenchmen ! A truth so grand, must penetrate the hearts of those brave men whom I have the honour to command.—Soldiers ! I have often led you to victory ; now I lead you to join that immortal phalanx with which the Emperor Napoleon approaches Paris, and which will be here within a few days ; then our hopes and our happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive l'Empereur !*”

The day on which the above proclamation appeared, the army under Marshal Ney quitted Lons-le-Saulnier, and on the 17th united themselves with the imperial troops at Auxerre.—From Auxerre Napoleon advanced to Fontainebleau, and on the morning of the 20th he reviewed a regiment of lancers, in that court-yard in which, eleven months before, he had bid adieu to his army and to France. At seven o'clock intelligence arrived that the king had left Paris at one o'clock in the morning of that day, and at mid-day his successor quitted Fontainebleau, with the determination to occupy the vacant throne. In addition to the troops of Elba, Grenoble, Lyons, and Lons-le-Saulnier, Napoleon's force had been swelled by a large body of officers of every rank, who, since his entry into Grenoble, had from all quarters joined the old guard, and formed themselves into “ a sacred battalion.” The decisive moment was now approaching, and on the side of the Bour-

bons the rencontre was expected on the declining plains of Melun, where the national guard of one hundred thousand men under the Duc de Berri, with Marshal Macdonald as his lieutenant, were drawn up *en etages*, in three lines; the intervals and the flanks armed with batteries, and the centre occupying the road to Paris. An awful silence, broken only at intervals by peals of martial music, intended to confirm the loyalty of the royal troops, by repeating the airs "*Henri Quatre*," and "*La Belle Gabrielle*," or by the voice of the commanders, and the march of the divisions to their appointed ground, pervaded the king's army. All was anxious expectation. On the side of Fontainebleau, no sound as of an army rushing to battle was heard. If the enemy advanced, he evidently moved in silence, and the hope began to prevail, that his courage had failed him, and that he had retreated during the night. At length, a light trampling of horses became audible. An open carriage, attended by a few hussars and dragoons, appeared on the skirts of the forest of Fontainebleau; it drove down the hill with the rapidity of lightning, and reached the advanced posts before the surprise occasioned by its appearance had subsided—"Vive l'Empereur" burst from the astonished soldiery—"Napoleon—Napoleon le grand!" spread from rank to rank; for bare-headed, Bertrand seated at his right and Drouet at his left, Napoleon continued his course, and passing through the opening ranks of the royal army, reached Paris at nine o'clock at night, and re-ascended the throne of the French empire.

"The journey of Bonaparte," it has been well observed, "from Cannes to Paris, is without parallel in history, and much beyond the limits of probable fiction. Every soldier sent against him joined his force. Where resistance seemed for a moment to be threatened, it was disarmed by the sound of his voice. The ascendant of a victorious leader over soldiers; the talent of moving armed multitudes by a word; the inextinguishable attachment of an army to him in whom glory is concentrated and embodied; were never before so brilliantly and tremendously exemplified. Civilized society was never before so terribly warned of the force of those military virtues, which are the greatest of civil vices. In twenty days he found himself quietly seated on the throne of France, without having spilt a drop of blood. The change had no resemblance to a revolution in an European country, where great bodies of men are interested in the preservation of authority, and where every body takes some interest for or against political mutation. It had nothing of the violence of popular revolt. It was a bloodless and orderly military sedi-

tion. In the levity with which authority was transferred, it bore some resemblance to an Oriental revolution ; but the total absence of those great characteristic features, the murder or imprisonment of princes, destroy the likeness. It is, in short, an event of which the scene could have been laid, by a romance writer bold enough to have imagined it, in no other time and country than France in the year 1815.”*

Before the departure of the king, he issued a proclamation, declaring, that since, from the defection of part of the army, he could not defend his capital, he would proceed to some distance to collect forces, and would soon return into the midst of his people, to whom he would once more bring peace and happiness.† Of all the armies of France, the household troops alone, amounting to about two hundred in number, accompanied their fugitive sovereign. Along the whole line of his retreat, which was directed first to Abbeville, and afterwards to Lisle, he was attended by the sympathies of the people, but in none of the numerous places on his route were the feelings

* Edinburgh Review.

† PROCLAMATION.

“Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to our trusty and well-beloved the peers of France, and the deputies of departments :—

“Divine Providence, who recalled us to the throne of our fathers, now permits that the throne should be shaken by the defection of a part of the armed force who had sworn to defend it. We might avail ourselves of the faithful and patriotic dispositions of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Paris, to dispute the entrance into it of the rebels : but we shudder at the calamities of every description which a combat within its walls would bring upon the inhabitants.

“We retire with a few brave men, whom intrigue and perfidy will not succeed in detaching from their duties ; and since we cannot defend our capital, we will proceed to some distance to collect forces, and to seek at another point of the kingdom, not for subjects more loving and faithful than our good Parisians, but for Frenchmen more advantageously situated to declare themselves for the good cause.

“The existing crisis will subside into a calm. We have the soothing presentiment, that those misled soldiers, whose defection exposes our subjects to so many dangers, will soon discover their error, and will find, in our indulgence, and in our affection, the recompense of their return to their duty.

“We will soon return into the midst of this good people, to whom we shall once more bring peace and happiness.”

[Then follows an ordinance, declaring the session of the chamber of peers and the chamber of deputies at an end, and convoking a new session to meet at the soonest possible period, in the place which the king shall point out as the provisional seat of his government.]

“Given at Paris the 19th of March, in the year of our Lord, 1815, and the 20th of our reign.

“By the King,

(Signed)

LOUIS.

“The Chancellor of France.

(Counter-signed)

DAMBRAY.”

in his favour sufficiently ardent to arouse his subjects to arms. At Ghent, to which he finally retired, he was almost daily joined by officers from France, and numbers of the most distinguished emigrants evinced their unalterable attachment, by again identifying their fate with their sovereign's. The Duchess d'Angouleme was at Bourdeaux, where the same interest which had led to the surrender of that city twelve months before, warmly espoused the royal cause, and prepared for a vigorous resistance; but on the approach of General Clausel, a division arose among the inhabitants; and after some bloodshed, the duchess, who had displayed the character of a heroine, was obliged to quit the country, and, on the 1st of April, she embarked on board an English frigate for Spain. The duke, her husband, less fortunate, had collected a body of partizans, and held possession for several days of Montpellier and Nismes; but on the 11th of April he was surrounded by the imperial troops under General Gilly, and obliged to capitulate, on condition that the lives and property of his followers should be secured, and that safe convoy should be afforded him to Cette, from whence he was to be left at liberty to embark either for England or Spain. General Grouchy, the military commander in Dauphiny, conceiving that General Gilly had exceeded his powers, declined to ratify this convention, till instructions were received from Paris; but on the following day a letter was despatched by the Emperor, directing that the Duke of Angouleme should be conducted in safety to Cette, where he was embarked, having previously engaged to obtain the restitution of the crown diamonds, which had been conveyed from Paris, under the authority of a proces verbal.*

In the west the Duke of Bourbon, the most popular of all the French princes, with the exception of the Duke of Orleans, endeavoured to rouse the dormant spirit of the friends of loyalty in La Vendee, and vast numbers of the inhabitants ranged themselves under the royal banners; but it was discovered, in sufficient time to prevent the effusion of blood, that it was in vain to oppose these raw and undisciplined levies against the veteran troops of France, and the duke, consenting to accept safe conduct for himself and forty of his officers, proceeded to Nantes, whence he embarked for England.

After four months of deliberation the representatives of the

* The estimated amount of the crown jewels, was 13,834,046 francs—the regent diamond alone, valued at six millions, was among the missing property, none of which were returned to the Master of the Thuilleries till the second restoration of the Bourbons.

European powers assembled at Vienna had closed their sittings; and the sovereigns had announced their intended departure for their respective capitals, when the intelligence of the landing of Napoleon at Frejus renewed, rather than dissolved, the congress. The departure of the exile from Elba was known at Vienna on the 7th of March, but it was not till after four days of suspense and anxiety that his ultimate destination was ascertained. In this emergency the congress was again assembled; and on the 13th of March, a declaration was published by that august body, by which it was declared, that "Napoleon Bonaparte," by thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and had rendered himself liable to public vengeance as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world. It was further declared, that the powers who had signed the treaty of Paris of the 30th of March, 1814, were resolved to maintain entire the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and that they would employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to preserve the peace so happily concluded, and to provide against every attempt which should threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.*

* DECLARATION.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the Congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity, and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with.

"The powers consequently declare, That Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance.

"They declare at the same time, that, firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

"And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, all the Sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that

The arrival of this declaration in Great Britain produced a powerful sensation : on the one hand, it was hailed as a pledge and a most unequivocal avowal on the part of the allied powers of their determination to resist the re-establishment of Napoleon on the throne of France ; and on the other, it was stigmatized as a document intemperate in its language, and calculated to sanction the horrible doctrine of assassination, disgracefully leaguings the stiletto of the bravo with the sword of the soldier.

In the British parliament, which was then assembled, the escape of Napoleon, and his arrival in Paris, was brought under discussion early in the month of April ; and the conduct of ministers was severely censured ; first, for having placed him in so insecure a situation as the island of Elba ; and secondly, for having shown a reprehensible negligence in suffering him to escape, and replunge the nations of Europe into that war with which they were again menaced. The favourable terms granted to Napoleon by the treaty of Fontainebleau were justified by ministers on the ground, that at the period when that treaty was concluded, Napoleon was not in so hopeless a situation as had been represented in this country. He was returning towards Paris with the mass of his army when that capital surrendered, and was still at the

if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give to the King of France and to the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who should undertake to compromise it.

“ The present declaration, inserted in the register of the congress assembled at Vienna on the 13th of March, 1815, shall be made public.

“ Done and attested by the plenipotentiaries of the high powers who signed the treaty of Paris, Vienna, March 13, 1815.”

Here follow the signatures in the alphabetical order of the courts.—

Austria,	. . . .	Prince Metternich
		Baron Wissenberg
France,	. . . .	Prince Talleyrand
		The Duke of Dalberg
		Latour du Pin
Great Britain,	. . . .	Wellington
		Clancarty
		Cathcart
		Stewart
Portugal,	. . . .	Count Pamella Saldonha Lobe
Prussia,	. . . .	Prince Hardenberg
		Baron Humboldt
Russia,	. . . .	Count Rasumowsky
		Count Staeckelberg
		Count Nesselrode
Spain,	. . . .	P. Gomez Labrador
Sweden,	. . . .	Laemenhelm.

head of a considerable number of troops prepared to act warmly in his support; and in fact, that the spirit and temper of the whole French army were such, that the allies could not, without the risk of a civil war, resist the claims put forth in favour of the deposed sovereign. With respect to the situation of Elba, the arrangements having been made before Lord Castlereagh, the British minister, arrived in France, he had no option. It was also stated, that by the treaty of Fontainebleau, the sovereign of Elba was considered independent, and if he thought proper to quit the island, the allies possessed no right to seize or arrest him, and had the whole British navy been present when he sailed they could not have detained him without a violation of the treaty.* The next point at issue regarded the policy or necessity of going to war for the purpose of again expelling Napoleon from the throne of France. On the one side, the present elevation of the emperor was considered as the act only of the military, not of the people, of France. The justice of the war against Bonaparte arose from his resumption of the French government in direct violation of a solemn treaty. He had returned to France when the allies were united in inclination and in means, and it was therefore wise to make an immediate effort to crush the mischief at once, and not to afford him time to re-create his army, and establish his former power. The alternative of war or a feverish state of peace alone existed—a peace with a war establishment. Economy ought certainly to be considered in the present state of our finances, but as peace, with a peace establishment, was entirely out of the question, economy itself would prescribe the policy to seize the present moment, and, by striking a prompt and effectual blow, to bring the contest to a speedy conclusion. The war was entered upon from no motive of ambition, but solely for the general security of Europe. No wish existed to injure France, or to dictate a government to that nation. The re-establishment of the Bourbons was certainly an object every way desirable, but every nation had a right to choose its own government, and no foreign power ought to interfere with such a choice. The nations of Europe could say to France, not what government she should have, but what government she should not have. This distinction was clear and evident, and the right was manifest, as the conditions of peace had been more favourable on account of the establishment of a government whose character and good faith enabled Europe to look for repose.† No

* Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, April 7, 1815.

† Lord Liverpool.

man could confide in the security of a peace made with Bonaparte. What country, during the last ten or twelve years, had sought peace or safety by treaty with him, that had not found itself visited by the highest aggravations of the very evils it had attempted to ward off? Even the very act which occasioned the present crisis was one of the strongest examples of his faithlessness and ambition which his life had afforded, and neither age nor adversity seemed able to cure in him these vices. Louis was the victim of peace; the sacrifice of his good faith. It was because he was the friend of peace, that a soldiery accustomed to rapine, and raised by their former chief to principalities and powers, carved out of the just rights of the people, were discontented, and desired no monarch but a general prepared to renew the work of spoliation.* Bonaparte was not the object of the choice of the French people; he only pretended to give them liberty to answer his own selfish purposes; no treaty would bind him; under him all France was corrupted; and it was impossible to confirm in the heart of Europe a military domination, founded on a triumph over civil rights, without endangering the liberties of the world. To sanction a system founded on the violation of oaths, and the dethroning of sovereigns, would be a degradation to the honour of England; it would lower us in the estimation of surrounding nations; and when we ceased to be the first we must be the last; when we descended from our exalted rank we must become nothing.†

It was on the other hand contended, that the personal character of a sovereign was no just ground for war. The mere existence of an ambitious and warlike prince might suggest precautionary measures, but could not justify actual hostilities. Allowing that no change was to be looked for from the disposition of Bonaparte, was none to be expected from his policy? He was charged with a breach of the treaty of Fontainebleau, but had the allies themselves fulfilled their engagements towards him, and towards his family? He was represented as not being supported by the people of France, yet had he made his way from the coast to the capital, a distance of upwards of five hundred miles, without a single arm being lifted against him. Was it not plain that he was the ruler of the French people's choice? Who ever heard of a single man invading a nation of thirty millions of people, and gaining the sovereignty of that nation against its will. There was not a man in France who did not see a new order of things arising under the Bourbons, and who did not fear that under their

* Lord Grenville.

† Mr. Grattan.

rule property was insecure.* The Marquis de Chabanes himself admitted, that only the clergy, the old nobility, and the emigrants, were for Louis—the military, and that vast body of men, the possessors of national property, being inimical to him; It had been observed, that one half of the national debt of England had been incurred by curbing the ambition of the Bourbons, and the other half, by attempts to restore that family; and that debt, enormous as it is, must be still further increased to re-establish a race in whose behalf the people of France had shown themselves disinclined to shed a single drop of their blood. Defence was the system for England to pursue, and not offence. The power of France was already sufficiently curtailed. Her limits were fixed. If she stepped beyond those limits she became the aggressor, and then, and not till then, could she be said to have forfeited her claim to peace.† It was the duty of this country to maintain the equilibrium of Europe; but it was not less her duty to protest against the principles of a war commenced upon the grounds of dictating to France who should be her ruler, as unjust, fraught with danger, and admitting of no alternative, but the utter destruction of Napoleon's power, or an humiliating abandonment of the objects of the war.‡

In both houses of parliament the decision was in favour of the prince regent's message,§ which gave rise to these debates; in the lords, the majority was one hundred and fifty-six to forty-four; and in the commons, three hundred and thirty-one to ninety-two.

When the subject of the ways and means by which the war was to be supported came under discussion, the house was informed, that the property tax, so recently repealed, must be renewed; and that, in consequence of the stipulations of the

* Sir Francis Burdett.

† Mr. Whitbread.

‡ Earl Grey.

§ MESSAGE FROM THE PRINCE REGENT.

“G. P. R. *Presented to Parliament, May 22, 1815.*

“The prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, thinks it right to inform the houses of parliament, that in consequence of the events which have recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaties signed at Paris in the course of last year, his royal highness has thought it necessary, in concert with his majesty's allies, to enter into such engagements against the common enemy, as may prevent the recurrence of a system which experience has shown to be incompatible with the peace and security of Europe. His royal highness has ordered copies of the treaties concluded with the allies to be laid before the house for its information; and he confidently relies upon the support of his faithful commons, to enable him to fulfil the stipulations therein contracted, and to take such steps, in conjunction with his allies, as may be indispensably necessary at this important crisis.”

treaties referred to in the message, pecuniary aid to the amount of five millions was to be advanced by this country, by way of subsidy to the three great powers, for the present year. By these treaties, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, were bound each to bring into the field 150,000 men, and England was to furnish a force of the same extent, or failing to do this, she was to make up her contingent in money, at the rate of twenty pounds per man for infantry, and thirty for cavalry. The allies, however, would not confine themselves to bringing into the field the mere number specified. Austria, exclusive of a force of one hundred and fifty thousand men employed in Italy, had armies to the same extent on the Upper Rhine, about to act against France. The Emperor of Russia had put in motion an army of two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, under Marshal Barclay de Tolly, which was now marching for the Rhine; and he had signified to the prince regent that an additional force of one hundred and fifty thousand men, under General Wittgenstein, was assembled, and would forthwith march against France. Prussia, instead of the contingent she was bound to furnish by the treaty, had put in motion two hundred and thirty-six thousand men. The forces to be furnished by Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, Saxony, Hanover, the Hanse Towns, and the smaller states of the Rhine, amounted to about one hundred and fifty thousand more; and to these were to be added the English army, under the Duke of Wellington, and the army of the King of the Netherlands, each fifty thousand. The result was, that no less than eleven hundred thousand men were now advancing to the frontiers of France. It was proposed to assist the minor states of Germany, by distributing among them that sum which would be due from England to complete her contingent; and thus supposing she could not augment her army above fifty thousand, which it was assumed would be the extent of her co-operation in men in the present campaign, the difference to be paid in aid of the exertions of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and the other places, would be 2,500,000l.*

The treaty of the 25th of March, referred to by Lord Castlereagh, formed the recognized bond of union, by which the allied powers solemnly engaged to unite the resources of their respective states for the purpose of maintaining entire the conditions of the treaty of Paris, and the stipulations entered into conformable to the provisions of that treaty by the congress assembled at Vienna; to preserve them against all infringement, and particularly against the designs of Napoleon

* Lord Castlereagh.

Bonaparte. For this purpose they engaged, in the spirit of the declaration of the 13th of March, to direct in common, and with one accord, should the case require it, all their efforts against him, and against all who should already have joined his faction, or should hereafter join it, in order to force him to desist from his projects, and to render him unable to disturb the future tranquillity of Europe.

This treaty, which was executed at Vienna, on the 25th of March, by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and by the Duke of Wellington on behalf of the British government, was transmitted to England without delay, and on the 8th of April received the ratification of the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty; subject, however, to an explanatory declaration made by his royal highness, that his Britannic Majesty was not to be understood as binding himself to prosecute the war, with a view to imposing upon France any particular government. In this explanation the allied powers assembled at Vienna fully acquiesced, and Lord Clancarty, the British ambassador at that court, was commissioned to state to his government, "that however general the feelings of the allied sovereigns might be in favour of the restoration of the king, they had no desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people, nor should they seek to influence their proceedings in the choice of the Bourbons, or any other dynasty or form of government, than might be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe."

Napoleon, well aware of the approaching storm, sought to diminish its violence by pacific overtures, and one of his first acts on ascending the throne of France was to address a letter,* in his own hand writing, to the Sovereigns of Europe,

* LETTER OF NAPOLEON TO THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE, ANNOUNCING HIS RESTORATION.

Monsieur mon frère, vous aurez appris, dans le cours du mois dernier, mon retour sur les côtes de France, mon entrée à Paris, et le départ de la famille des Bourbons. La véritable nature de ces événemens doit maintenant être connue de votre Majesté. Ils sont l'ouvrage d'une irrésistible puissance, l'ouvrage de la volonté unanime d'une grande nation qui connaît ses devoirs et ses droits. La dynastie, que la force avait rendue au peuple Français, n'était plus faite pour lui : les Bourbons n'ont voulu s'associer ni à ses sentimens ni à ses mœurs : la France a dû se séparer d'eux. Sa voix appelait un libérateur : l'attente qui m'avait décidé au plus grand des sacrifices avait été trompée. Je suis venu, et du point où j'ai touché le rivage, l'amour de mes peuples m'a porté jusqu'au sien de

announcing his restoration to the imperial throne, and expressive of his sincere desire to render that event subservient to the maintenance of the repose of the world.

ma capitale. Le premier besoin de mon cœur est de payer tant d'affection par le maintien d'une honorable tranquillité. Le rétablissement du trône impérial était nécessaire au bonheur des François. Ma plus douce pensée est de le rendre en même tems utile à l'affermissement du repos de l'Europe. Assez de gloire a illustré tour-à-tour les drapeaux des diverses nations ; les vicissitudes du sort ont assez fait succéder de grands revers à de grands succès. Une plus belle arène est aujourd'hui ouverte aux souverains, et je suis le premier à y descendre. Après avoir présenté au monde le spectacle de grands combats, il sera plus doux de ne connaître désormais d'autre rivalité que celle des avantages de la paix, d'autre lutte que la lutte sainte de la félicité des peuples. La France se plaît à proclamer avec franchise ce noble bût de tous ses vœux. Jalouse de son indépendance, le principe invariable de sa politique sera le respect le plus absolu pour l'indépendance des autres nations : si tels sont, comme j'en ai l'heureuse confiance, les sentimens personnels de Votre Majesté, le calme général est assuré pour long-tems ; et la justice, assise aux confins des divers états, suffira seule pour en garder les frontières.

“ Je saisis avec empressement, &c. &c. &c.

(Signé)

“ NAPOLEON.”

“*Paris, le 4 Avril, 1815.*”

TRANSLATION.

Sire, my Brother,—You will have learnt, during the last month, my return to the court of France, my entrance into Paris, and the departure of the family of the Bourbons. The true nature of these events must now be made known to your majesty. They are the work of an irresistible power, the work of the unanimous will of a great nation, who knows her duties and her rights. The dynasty which force had given to the French people, was no longer suited to them. The Bourbons would neither associate themselves to their sentiments nor their manners. It became the duty of France to separate herself from them. Her voice called for a deliverer. The expectation which had determined me to make the greatest sacrifices had been deceived. I am come, and from the point where I touched the shore, the love of my people conveyed me to the bosom of my capital. The first wish of my heart is to repay such affection by the maintenance of an honourable tranquillity. The restoration of the imperial throne was necessary to the happiness of the French. My sweetest thought is to render it at the same time useful to the consolidation of the repose of Europe. Glory enough has rendered by turns the standards of the different nations illustrious. The vicissitudes of fate have caused great success to be followed by great reverses. A finer arena is now opened to kings—and I am the first to descend into it. After having presented to the world the spectacle of great battles, it will be happier to know in future no other rivalry than that of the advantages of peace, no other contest, than the sacred contest of the happiness of mankind. France rejoices in candidly proclaiming this noble end of all her wishes. Jealous of her independence,

The couriers charged with this document were not permitted to proceed to many of the courts, and returned to France with their despatches unopened. The English government, less repulsive, referred the overtures to the congress of Vienna; and the Emperor of Austria caused the letter transmitted to him to be opened in a full assembly of the congress. But the unanimous resolution was to leave this letter of Napoleon unnoticed and unanswered, and he, before whom princes had been accustomed to humble themselves, was not now thought entitled to the common courtesy of civilized society.

The letter of Napoleon was speedily followed by a justificatory manifesto, put forth by the presidents of the council of state, and meant to repel the charges contained in the declaration of the allies, issued from Vienna on the 13th of March. The annals of diplomacy, it is said, has no parallel to this declaration, in which ministers, clothed in the most sacred public characters, recommend the assassination of the Emperor Napoleon. By the law of nations, a prince possessing the most inconsiderable territory or population, it is added, is entitled to the same respect as the strongest; and Napoleon, acknowledged as emperor and sovereign prince by all the powers, was no more than themselves under the jurisdiction of the congress of Vienna. As to the treaty of Fontainebleau, its violation is laid to the charge of those who impute that offence to Napoleon; and the emperor, his family, and the French nation, claim the right to urge the infraction of this treaty against the allied sovereigns, and the house of Bourbon. The instances of its violation are thus enumerated:—

1. The Empress Maria Louisa and her son were to obtain passports and an escort, to repair to the emperor: but contrary to the engagements of the allies, the husband and wife, father and son, were separated under painful circumstances, when the firmest mind has occasion to seek consolation and support in domestic affections.

2. The security of Napoleon, and of his imperial family, and their suite, was guaranteed (article 14 of the treaty) by all the powers; yet bands of assassins were organized in France under the eyes of the French government, and even by its orders (as will soon be proved by

the invincible principle of her policy shall be the most absolute respect for the independence of other nations.

“If such are, as I have the pleasure to believe, the personal sentiments of your majesty, the general tranquillity is secured for a long season, and justice, seated on the confines of the different states, will be alone sufficient to guard their frontiers.

“I seize with eagerness, &c. &c.

(Signed)

“NAPOLEON.”

“Paris, April 4, 1815.”

the solemn proceedings against the *Sieur Demontbreuil*,) for attacking the emperor, his brothers, and their wives. In default of the success hoped for from this first branch of the plot, an insurrection was prepared at Orgon, on the emperor's route, in order that an attempt might be made on his life by some brigands. The *Sieur Brulart*, an associate of *Georges*, had been sent as governor to Corsica, in order to prepare and make sure of the crime; and, in fact, several detached assassins have attempted, in the Isle of Elba, to gain, by the murder of the emperor, the base reward which was promised them.

3. The duchies of Parma and Placentia were given in full property to *Maria Louisa*, for herself, her son, and her descendants. After a long refusal to put her in possession, the injustice was completed by an absolute spoliation, under the illusory pretext of an exchange, without valuation, proportion, or sovereignty, and without her consent. And the documents in the office for foreign affairs prove that it was on the solicitations, and by the intrigues of the Prince of Benevente, that *Maria Louisa* and her son were despoiled.

4. *Eugene*, the adopted son of Napoleon, was to have obtained a suitable establishment out of France, but he has had nothing.

5. The emperor had stipulated for the army the preservation of their rewards given them on Monte Napoleon. He had reserved to himself the power to recompense his faithful followers. Every thing has been taken away, and abused by the ministers of the Bourbons. *M. Bresson*, an agent from the army, was despatched to Vienna to assert their claims, but in vain.

6. The preservation of the property, moveable and immoveable, belonging to the emperor's family, was provided for, but all was robbed—in France by commissioned brigands, in Italy by the violence of the military chiefs.

7. Napoleon was to have received two millions, and his family two millions five hundred thousand francs per annum. The French government has constantly refused to discharge its engagements, and Napoleon would have soon been obliged to disband his faithful guards for want of the means of paying them, had he not found an honourable resource in the conduct of some bankers and merchants of Genoa and Italy, who advanced twelve millions, which they had offered to him.

8. In fine, it was not without a cause that it was desirable by every means to remove from Napoleon the companions of his glory, the unshaken sureties of his safety and of his existence.—The Island of Elba was assured to him in full sovereignty, but the resolution of robbing him of it was, at the instigation of the Bourbons, fixed upon by the congress. Had not Providence prevented it, Europe would have seen an attempt made on the person and liberty of Napoleon, left hereafter at the mercy of his enemies, and transported, far from his friends and followers, either to St. Lucie, or St. Helena, which had been pointed out as his prison.

And when the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes and the cruel instigations of the house of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract, on the faith of which Napoleon liberated the French nation from its oaths; when he himself, and all the members of his family, saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their properties, in their affections, in all the rights stipulated in their favour as princes, in those even secured by the laws to private citizens,—what was Napoleon to do?

Was he, after enduring so many injuries, supporting so many acts of injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements entered into with him, and, resigning himself personally to the fate prepared for him, to abandon also his spouse, his son, his family, and his faithful servants, to their frightful destiny?

Such a resolution seems beyond the endurance of human nature; and

yet Napoleon would have embraced it, if the peace and happiness of France had been the price of this new sacrifice. He would have devoted himself for the French people, from whom, as he will declare in the face of Europe it is his glory to hold every thing; whose good shall be the object of all his endeavours, and to whom alone he will be answerable for his actions, and devote his life.*

It is much to be regretted, that this report contains so much truth. In several of the articles above enumerated, both the spirit and the letter of the treaty of Fontainebleau had been violated by the King of France and the allied sovereigns. The empress had been forcibly separated from her husband; she had been deprived of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; the property of Napoleon and his family in France had been sequestered; the instalments of the stipulated pension had been withheld from him; and there is too much reason to suppose, though no public evidence exists of the fact, that it was in the contemplation of the congress to remove him from Elba, and consign him for life to that station, which ultimately awaited the hero and the victim of the French revolution.

The co-operation of Louis XVIII. in the efforts made by the allied powers to expel Napoleon from the throne, was confined principally to proclamations and ordinances, issued from his court at Ghent, to which place, not only several of the king's ministers, but also Marshal the Duke of Ragusa, and Marshal the Duke of Belluno, had repaired. Marshal Berthier, the Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, had followed the fortune of the Bourbons; but the conflict of feeling, arising out of his attachment to his former master, and his sense of loyalty towards his present sovereign, had subdued his once vigorous mind, and on the 1st of June, he threw himself from a window of the palace, in the city of Bamberg, and was killed by the fall.†

† Report of the Presidents of the Council of State, dated Paris, April 15, 1815.

* MARSHAL ALEXANDER BERTHIER was long considered as the chief adviser and bosom friend of Bonaparte. His family was respectable, being son of the governor of the war office, and associated with his father in that employment before the revolution. At an early age he was placed upon the staff of the French army, and served in this capacity in America with La Fayette, where he obtained the rank of colonel. In the first year of the French revolutionary war, he was appointed major-general of the national guard at Versailles, and served in succession in France, in Italy, and in Egypt, where he was distinguished alike for his valour and his moderation. During the consular government he was appointed successor to Carnot in the war department; and on the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial purple, he was appointed marshal of the empire, great huntsman of France, and chief of the first cohorts of the legion of honour. Up to the date of the treaty

The only hope of security afforded to Napoleon, lay in rallying round him the various political parties into which France was divided; and for this purpose, his first care was to recognize the sovereignty of the people as the only source of legitimate power, and to select, as his confidential ministers, a number of the heads of the constitutional and republican party, who having abandoned their Utopian notions of liberty, had become friendly to a limited monarchy. On the morning succeeding his arrival at Paris, the official organ of the new government announced the appointment of his serene highness, the prince, arch-chancellor of the empire,* to the great seals; the Duke of Gaeta,† to the finance department; the Duke of Bassano,‡ to the office of secretary of state; the Duke of Decres, to the marine and colonies; the Duke of Otranto,§ to the police; Count Molé, to the treasury; Marshal, the Prince of Eckmühl,§ to the war department; the Duke of Rovigo,¶ to the inspection of the *gendarmerie*; Count de Bondy, to the department of the Seine; and the chancellor of state, M. Real, to the prefecture of the police. On the following day, M. Carnot was declared a count of the empire, for his gallant defence of Antwerp, and was also named, by another decree, minister of the interior; and the Duke of Vicenza** was subsequently named to the department of foreign affairs.

The same day on which the appointment of the officers of the new government was announced, Napoleon made his first public appearance in the capital and reviewed his troops. On this occasion, all the soldiers in Paris were ordered to assemble in the Place du Caroussel, and the emperor, having passed through the ranks, and noticed every soldier whose person he recollected, formed them into a square, and thus addressed them:—

“Soldiers! I arrived in France with six hundred men, because I calculated upon the love of the people, and on the remembrance of the veteran soldiers! I was not deceived in my expectation.—Soldiers! I thank you. Glory like that which we are about acquire is every thing

of Paris, he remained firmly attached to his imperial master and friend, and only sent in his adhesion to the king, when the standard of Napoleon no longer waved in France. On the day of his death, he had dined with his father-in-law, the King of Bavaria, when he had been complimented by the Russian General, Baron Sacken, on being among the few who had remained faithful to their sovereign, Louis XVIII. This remark was observed greatly to disconcert Berthier, who retired shortly after dinner to a room occupied by his children, in the third story from the ground, where having dismissed the nurse, he precipitated himself from the window and met his fate.

* Cambaceres.
§ Davoust.

† Gaudin
¶ Savary.

‡ Marat.
** Caulincourt.

|| Fouché.

to the people, and to you! My glory is, that I have known and valued you!---Soldiers! the throne of the Bourbons was illegitimate, because it was built by the hands of strangers; because it was proscribed by the vow of the nation, declared in all our national assemblies; because, in short, it offered a guarantee only to the interests of a few men, whose arrogant pretensions were opposed to our rights.---Soldiers! the imperial throne only can secure the rights of the people, and above all, the first of our interests---our glory.---Soldiers! we are now to march to hunt from our territories these princes, auxiliaries to strangers; the nation will not only second us in our protestations, but will follow our impulse. The French people and I calculate upon you. We will not interfere with the affairs of foreign nations, but woe to those who shall interfere with ours!"

General Cambronne, and the officers of the guard of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, now stepped forward with the ancient eagles of the guard, and the emperor in conclusion said:—

"Soldiers! these are the officers of the battalion that have accompanied me in my misfortunes. Every man is my friend. They are dear to my heart! Every time I beheld them, they brought before my eyes the different regiments of the army, for among these six hundred brave fellows, are men from every regiment. They have recalled to my memory those glorious days of which even the memory is so dear, for they are all covered with honourable scars gained in memorable battles. In loving them, it was you, Soldiers! the whole French army, that I loved. They bring you back your eagles. Let them serve you as a rallying point. In giving them to the guards, I gave them to the whole army. Treason and unfortunate events had covered them with a melancholy veil, but, thanks to the French people, and to you! they now re-appear resplendent in all their glory. Swear that they shall always be present wherever the interests of the country shall require them, and that traitors, and those who would wish to invade our territory, shall never endure their sight."

"We swear it!" exclaimed all the soldiers with enthusiasm.

Addresses, which, as we have already observed, are always at the command of power, pressed in upon the emperor from the council of state, the municipality of Paris, and other public bodies; to an address from his ministers he replied:—

"The sentiments you express are my own. All for the nation—all for France; that is my motto. Myself and my family, whom that great people have raised to the throne of France, and whom they have maintained there, notwithstanding political storms and vicissitudes, desire, deserve, and claim no other."

To the council of state he said:—

"Princes are the first citizens of the state. Their authority is more or less extended, according to the interests of the nations which they govern. The sovereignty itself is only hereditary, because the welfare of the people requires it. Departing from this principle, I know no legitimacy. I have renounced the idea of the grand empire, of which, during fifteen years, I had but founded the basis. Henceforth, the happiness and the consolidation of the French empire, shall occupy all my thoughts."

And this is the man, who, only fifteen months before, had

proudly exclaimed to the legislative assembly, "I alone am the representative of the people. The throne is myself. France needs me more than I need France."* Had he learned wisdom in the school of adversity? Had he now become the patriotic prince, who recognizes the rights of the nations, and only wishes to reign by them and for them; who regulates his pretensions and his projects by the interests of his people, and the honour of his neighbours? Carnot declares, that he believed, and that he still believes, that the emperor returned from exile with the unfeigned desire of preserving peace, and governing paternally.† Others, judging of the future by the past, considered him as a camelion, who assumes the colour of the moment: a serpent, concealing under beautiful scales a deadly poison; a flatterer, who promised because he was feeble—but let success crown his enterprise, and he would again trample on the liberties of France, and cover again all Europe with mourning. Which party reasoned justly, must now remain forever a matter of conjecture. Time itself, the great developer of truth, will probably never give to this question a satisfactory solution.

Advices arrived at Paris on the 25th of March, that, except in the north, where the presence of the family of the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) repressed the public spirit, the tri-coloured flag was replaced in the greater part of the departments. The Duke of Belluno, who was marching to Paris with the troops of the second military division, had been obliged to quit his command, the soldiers having unanimously declared for the emperor; the third and fourth military divisions had likewise sent in their addresses, which were delivered to Napoleon on the parade on the 24th. The Duke of Albufera, and General Gerard, had witnessed and assisted in the enthusiasm of Alsace, Franche Comte, and Burgundy, so early as the 23d. Normandy and Brittany had restored the national standard.‡ On the 17th of April, eight and twenty days after the arrival of Napoleon in Paris, the news of the whole French territory being restored to tranquillity, under the imperial government, was announced by a salute of artillery, fired at one o'clock from all the batteries in every part of the empire. Up to that day, addresses had continued to pour in from all parts of the country, both from the municipal and military bodies; and even Marshal Augereau, the Duke of Castiglione, once more proclaimed his repentance, and swore

* See Vol. III. Book IV. p. 567.

† Expose de la Conduite Politique de M le Lieutenant General Carnot.

‡ Moniteur, March 25, 1815.

allegiance to a man, "who, after sacrificing millions of victims to his cruel ambition, had not the heart to die like a soldier."*

Three days after his arrival in Paris, Napoleon abrogated the censorship of the press, and removed those restrictions, which, by a narrow policy, the Bourbons had deemed necessary to the maintenance of the stability of their throne.—Another of the early decrees of the French emperor, was the abolition of the Slave Trade—a measure in which every benevolent mind must exult. A third decree alleviated the regulations relative to the *droits reunis*, which, next to the conscription, were justly ranked amongst the greatest grievances imposed upon the people by Napoleon's former government. A system of national education, recommended by Carnot, and grounded upon the principles of Mr. Lancaster and Dr. Bell, next obtained imperial patronage; and a decree for the establishment of an experimental school of primary education at Paris, so organized as to serve as a model, and to become a normal school to form primary teachers, was promulgated from the palace of the Thuilleries. The ministers, co-operating with the head of the imperial government, seemed anxious to obliterate for ever, the remembrance of that reign of terror which Napoleon, in the plenitude of his power, had exercised over France. The Duke of Otranto, in a circular letter for the government of the conduct of the prefects, dated the 31st of March, warned them against the excessive exertion of their authority; against the renewal of the police of attack, instead of the police of observation; against a minute officious curiosity, destructive of social enjoyment; and against every kind of conduct which might make the police appear the sword instead of the torch of justice.

But the attention of the French government was soon withdrawn from the internal policy to the foreign relations of that country. It was the interest of all parties in France, except the royalists, in the first instance, to misrepresent the intentions of the allies; and for this purpose, England was held out as favourable to the escape of Napoleon from Elba; and Austria as about to sanction his usurpation, by permitting the return of the Empress Maria Louisa and the King of Rome. In conformity with this plan, the declaration issued at Vienna on the 13th of March, was concealed as long as possible from the French people. At length, however, when all hopes of peace had vanished, it became necessary to rouse and prepare the nation for war; and this was to be effected by impressing them

* See the Proclamation of Marshal Augereau to his army, dated Valence, April 16, 1814, Vol. IV. p. 51.

with a persuasion, that Bonaparte had returned from Elba quite a new man—that the love of conquest and of military glory were completely banished from his mind ; and that the allies, while they professed to be about to make war only upon Napoleon personally, had for their object the dismemberment of France, or at least, that it was their intention to impose upon her a sovereign contrary to the wishes of her people.

To accomplish this purpose, every measure was adopted by the existing government that was likely to have a favourable effect on the French nation. About the middle of April, a long and elaborate report was laid before the emperor, regarding the foreign relations of France. This report opened by admitting the alarming fact, that a confederacy was forming against France by the great powers of Europe ; that this coalition was unjust, the reporter inferred from a retrospect of the march from Cannes to Paris ; which, as he contended, proved, in a manner the most conclusive, the dislike, or at least the indifference, of the French nation to the Bourbons, and their attachment to Napoleon, whom they had thus chosen as the sovereign of their free and unbiassed choice. The Duke of Vicenza, by whom the report was drawn up, next adverted to the annunciation made by the emperor to the sovereigns of Europe, of his resumption of the sovereignty of France, which was accompanied by a circular from the minister for foreign affairs, containing a distinct and unequivocal overture on the part of the new government, to maintain the relations of peace conformable to the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814. But instead of receiving these advances in the spirit in which they were made, the monarchs of Europe, contrary to the laws and usages of nations, and as if by common consent, interdicted all communication with France, and shut up the access to amicable accommodation. The report next proceeds to enumerate those acts of foreign governments which indicate hostile intentions. The message of the prince regent to the British parliament is considered of this description ; and in referring to this message, and the ground upon which it would be necessary to go to war with France, Caulincourt observes, that in 1815, England and her princes have quite forgotten the events of 1688. “ In Austria, Russia, Prussia, all parts of Germany, in Italy, and in short, every where, there is a general arming.” Having thus dwelt upon the hostile aspect of all Europe, the foreign minister proceeds to declare, that it is against France that these armaments are directed, though the allies name Bonaparte as alone in the way of peace ; it could not be against the emperor, because he had offered

them peace on terms the most favourable ; it must be against the French people, since they, by receiving Bonaparte with such general good will and affection, had in fact, identified themselves with him. “ To fight,” says the report, “ in order to re-establish the Bourbons once more, would be to declare war on the whole French population. If the people of France are attached them, why did they not rally round them when Napoleon landed ? Why did they not stop his progress ? why do the Bourbons now seek troops from Spain, and England, and Germany, and not from France herself, if France wishes their return ?” The report in conclusion states, that in circumstances so important as those in which France was then placed—anxious for peace—having done nothing to provoke or justify war—and yet threatened with the almost immediate invasion of the country, it became absolutely necessary to prepare for the worst, and to take those measures which the preservation of her rights, the safety of her territories, and the defence of her national honour, ought to dictate to the French nation.

The note of preparation now sounded through all the departments of France. A decree passed on the 28th of March, but which was not promulgated till the 9th of April, recalled to their standards all the officers and soldiers of the army ; and the minister of war, in a tone of impassioned eloquence, summoned his companions in arms to rally round their standards ; to present to their enemies a frontier of brass ; and to defend their country against those who sought to “ regulate their national colours, to impose upon them sovereigns, and to dictate constitutions.”

On his first landing in France, Napoleon had pledged himself to give to the nation a constitution agreeable to their wishes, and favourable to their liberties. This pledge he now hastened to redeem ; and a commission, of which Bishop Gregoire and Benjamin de Constant were members, was appointed to draw up this document. It had been justly objected to Louis, that he had *given* a constitution to the French, and not *accepted* it from them ; and Napoleon, after having explicitly acknowledged, that to the people alone belonged the right of choosing their own charter, trod in the footsteps of the former government, and *gave* his subjects a constitution in his turn. The French nation had imagined, that the *Champ de Mai* would have been convoked for some other purpose than to examine a list of votes, and that the representatives of a great nation would there have exercised the privilege of discussing with the sovereign the rights and privileges, and securing the welfare, of their constituents. It was also expected, that Napoleon would have recognized his former abdication, and left

the choice of the dynasty, as well as the form of the government, to the free will of the people. This would have been an easy and a safe compliment to the French. His re-election would have been secured, and the people would have been enthusiastically and inseparably attached to man, who, by this solemn act, had become the sovereign of their choice. But, by the *Acte Additionel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*, Napoleon seemed to consider his old system of despotism as again in activity; and passing over his own abdication, and the reign of Louis, as if they had never happened, he was again emperor by the grace of God, after the fashion of the monarch, whose nineteen years of reign, he had himself so fairly derided. The constitutionalists thought they saw in the renewal of these pretensions the grave of all their hopes, and "public expectation was deceived to such a degree, that a cry of indignation was heard from one end of France to the other."* Carnot, still willing to rely on the promises of Bonaparte, finds an apology for his conduct in the exigencies of his situation, and urges in his behalf, though these dictatorial steps were not what might have been expected, after what he had promised, yet, that he was precipitated into them by the external dangers with which the country was menaced.†

The new constitution of France, called, by a strange anomaly, "An Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire," assumed the former constitutions as the basis of the present charter, while it repealed the principal acts of those tyrannical systems. The following preamble, introduced by the usual formula, "Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitutions, Emperor of France, to all who are and shall be, health," justly describes the character of this document:—

"Since we were first called, now fifteen years past, by the wishes of France, to the government of the state, we have endeavoured to improve, at various periods, the constitutional forms, according to the wants and desires of the nation, and profiting by the lessons of experience. The constitutions of the empire have thus been formed from a series of acts which have been clothed with the approbation of the people. We then had for our object to organize a grand federate European system, which we had adopted as being conformable to the spirit of the age, and favourable to the progress of civilization. In order to complete this, and to give it all the extent and stability of which it was susceptible, we had postponed the establishment of many internal institutions, more especially those which were destined to protect the liberty of citizens. Henceforward our aim will only be to augment the prosperity of France by consolidating public liberty. From this results the necessity of many im-

* Official Note of the Duke of Otranto, presented to the Ministers of the Allied Powers, August 8, 1815.

† Exposé de la Conduite Politique de M. le Lieutenant-General Carnot.

portant modifications in the constitutions, *senatus consulta*, and other acts which govern this empire. For these reasons, wishing, on one side, to preserve of the past what is good and salutary, and, on the other, to render the constitutions of our empire in every thing conformable to the national wishes and wants, as well as to the state of peace which we desire to maintain with Europe, we have resolved to refer to the people a series of propositions tending to modify and improve the constitutional acts, to surround the rights of citizens with all their safe-guards, to give the representative system all its extension, to invest the intermediate corps with desirable importance and power; in short, to combine the highest point of political liberty, and of individual safety, with the strength and concentration necessary to cause foreign powers to respect the independence of the French people, and the dignity of our crown. Consequently, the following articles, forming a supplementary act to the constitutions of the empire, shall be submitted to the free and solemn acceptance of all the citizens throughout the whole of France."

The *acte additionnel* consists of five titles, and of sixty-seven articles, by the first of which it is provided, that the legislative power should be exercised by the emperor and the two chambers; the first chamber, called the chamber of peers, is declared to be hereditary, the emperor to appoint its members, and the number to be unlimited. The second chamber, called the chamber of representatives, to be chosen by the people, and to consist of six hundred and twenty-nine members, indefinitely re-eligible; a new election to take place every five years; its members to receive for travelling expenses, and during the session, the pay decreed by the constituent assembly. The sittings to be public. The emperor's ministers to sit and debate, but to have no vote unless they are peers, or elected by the people. The emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the chambers. The government to propose laws; the chambers may amend them.

Under the second title, which relates to electoral colleges, and the mode of election, few alterations are made in the original constitution, except that manufacturing and commercial industry and property have awarded to them special representatives.

The third title relates to taxation. The general direct tax, whether in land or moveables, is voted only for one year; indirect taxes may be voted for several. No tax can be levied, no loan made, nor any levy of men ordered for the army, but in virtue of a law. All propositions on these subjects must be made to the chamber of representatives.

The fourth title relates to ministers and their responsibility. Every act of government is to be counter-signed by a minister. The ministers are made responsible for acts of government, as well as for the execution of the laws; every minister, and every commandant of an armed force, by land or by sea, may be accused by the chamber of deputies, and tried by their peers, for having compromised the safety or honour of the nation.

Title five regards the judicial power. All judges receive their appointments from the emperor; but they are irremovable, and for life. The institution of juries is continued; the discussions on criminal trials are to be public; military offences alone are to be tried by military tribunals. The right of pardon is lodged in the crown.

The sixth and last title relates to the rights of citizens. Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law, whether to contributions, to taxes, and public burthens, or for admission to civil and military employments. No one can be withdrawn from the judges appointed to him by law. No one can be prosecuted, arrested, detained, or exiled, but in cases provided by law, and according to the prescribed forms. Liberty of worship is guaranteed to all. All property, possessed or acquired in virtue of the laws, and all debts of the state, are inviolable. Every citizen has the right of printing and publishing his thoughts, on signing

them with his own name, without any previous censorship, and subject only to legal responsibility, in a trial by jury, after the publication. The right of petitioning is secured to all the citizens of the state.

The first part of the 67th article was considered as retaliatory upon the declaration of the allies of the 13th of March, and breathes a vindictive spirit, unworthy of the constitution of which it forms a part. It is in these words:—"The French people moreover declare, that in the delegation which they have made and make of their powers, it is not meant, and does not mean, to give a right to propose the reinstatement of the Bourbons, or any prince of that family, on the throne, even in case of the extinction of the imperial dynasty; or the right of re-establishing either the ancient feudal nobility, or the feudal and seignorial rights or tithes, or any privileged or predominant religion; nor the power to alter the irrevocability of the sale of the national domains. All propositions on that subject are formally interdicted both to the government, the chambers, and the citizens."

This constitution, though formed by men of cool heads and rational and sober views of government, was by no means free from objections. The interdict against all propositions on the subject of the recall of the Bourbons was absurd and nugatory; but, setting aside some minor objections, there was in this document much to approve. It was calculated to secure to the French as much freedom as they were capable of bearing. It granted to the people liberty without licentiousness, and to the prince power without despotism.

The promulgation of the *acte additionnel* took place on the 23d of April, and every Frenchman of mature age was invited to inscribe his vote for or against it, in registers which were opened in every town and district of the empire. These votes were to be collected, and the grand result published at the *Champ de Mai*, which was appointed to be held on the 26th of May.

In the age of Charlemagne, a monarch whom Napoleon claimed as his prototype; and in the reigns of other early French sovereigns, assemblies of deputies from the people had taken place, sometimes once, and sometimes twice a year. The place near Paris, where these deputies assembled, still retained the name of the *Champ de Mars*, from the month in which the meetings generally took place, and, like the *Campus Martius* at Rome, had for ages been appropriated to the review of troops, and to horse and foot races on public festivals. In the middle of the eighth century, Pepin transferred the general assemblies of the nation to the month of May, and after that period the scene of these assemblies was styled indifferently the *Champ de Mars*, or the *Champ de Mai*. Splendid preparations were made for the approaching ceremony, but the slow arrival of the deputations from the electoral colleges, and other unforeseen circumstances, delayed the meeting till the 1st of June. No effort was spared to ren-

der the spectacle solemn and imposing ; in the hyperbolic language of the official organ, “ every thing that could interest and elevate the soul—the prayers of religion—the compact of a great people with their sovereign—France, represented by the selection of her citizens, agriculturalists, merchants, magistrates, and warriors, collected around the throne—an immense population covered the *Champ de Mars*, and joined in vows for the great object of that magnificent ceremony—all excited the most ardent enthusiasm of which the most memorable epochs have left us the recollection.”

A throne was erected for the Emperor in front of the military school, and in the centre of a vast pentagonal semicircular inclosure, two thirds of which formed, on the right and left, grand amphitheatres, in which fifteen thousand persons were seated. The other third, in front of the throne, was open. An altar was erected in the middle, and beyond it, at a distance of two hundred yards, was placed another throne, which commanded the whole *Champ de Mars*. Eighty-seven banners, bearing the names of the departments of France, decorated the rotunda. The imperial eagles, surrounded with garlands, were planted in the vacant space, and the national colours mingled with the banners of the departments. At twelve o'clock a discharge of cannon announced the departure of the emperor from the Thuilleries ; and shortly afterwards, the commandant of Paris, Count Hulin, and his staff, with the heralds at arms, approached, and passed down the line formed by the troops which were drawn up on each side, along the whole length of the plain. The commandant was followed by fourteen state carriages, each drawn by six horses, the last of which contained the three imperial princes—Joseph, Jerome, and Lucien Bonaparte. The imperial carriage, drawn by eight horses, each led by a groom, and attended by two marshals of the empire on each side, then presented itself, and Napoleon was seen through the glass pannels, in the full costume of his imperial office. At one o'clock the emperor, amidst a mass of his nobles and princes, appeared from the apartments of the military school, when the whole assembly arose with a shout, the artillery still thundering from the battery. All were uncovered, except Napoleon, who wore his Spanish black bonnet, shaded with plumes, looped with a large diamond in front ; and his mantle of purple velvet, embroidered with gold, and lined with ermine. The officers of the crown took their station in the rear, the ministers of state surrounded the emperor, and the generals were ranged on each side of the throne. The electors sat under the rotunda ; the grand national authorities pressed to the tribunes in front,

and three hundred thousand spectators occupied the other parts of the field, or surrounded the enclosure. The Archbishop of Tours, and the Cardinal Cambaceres, with four bishops and assistants, ascended the tribune of the altar, and celebrated mass. The central deputation from the electors of the empire, amounting to about five hundred, chosen by a selection from all the colleges, then advanced to the foot of the throne, and the advocate Duboys d'Angers, the organ of deputation, addressed the emperor in a speech expressive of the devotion of a "faithful, energetic, and generous nation to an heroic leader."

At the close of this speech the arch-chancellor rose, and proclaimed by the herald-at-arms, in the name of the emperor, "that the additional act to the constitutions of the empire had been accepted by the French people."* A table was then placed in front of the throne, and at a quarter past two o'clock the emperor gave to the additional act the sanction of his signature. Being again seated on the throne, he uncovered himself for a moment, and spoke as follows:—

"Gentlemen, electors of colleges, of departments, and arrondissements!—

"Gentlemen, deputies from the army and navy to the *Champs de Mai*!—

"Emperor, consul, soldier! I hold every thing from the people. In prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the rule and constant object of my thoughts and actions. Like the King of Athens I sacrificed myself for my people, in the hope of witnessing the realization of the promise given to guarantee to France her national integrity, her honours, and her rights.

"Indignant on beholding those sacred rights, acquired by twenty-five years of victory, slighted and lost for ever; the cry of insulted French honour, and the wishes of the nation, have brought me back to that throne which is dear to me, because it is the *palladium* of the independence, of the honour, and the rights of the people. Frenchmen! in my progress amidst the public joy, through the different provinces of the empire to my capital, I had every reason to reckon upon a long peace. Nations are bound by the treaties concluded by their governments, whatever they may be. My thoughts were then wholly engaged with the means of founding our liberty on a constitution conformable to the wishes and the interests of the people. I convoked the *Champs de Mai*.

"I was soon apprised that the princes who have violated all principles, who have shocked the public opinion, and the dearest interests of so many nations, design to make war upon us. They meditate the increase of the kingdom of the Netherlands; they would give it for barriers all

* The number of votes in favour of the constitution were 1,288,357; the negatives amounted to 4,207; the army (for every armed citizen of France had the privilege of a vote) gave in 222,000 names for, and 320 against, the act; and the navy about 22,000 affirmatives, and 275 negatives; exclusive of eleven departments, and some of the regiments, which had not sent in their registers.

our northern frontier fortresses, and would make up the quarrels which still divide them, by sharing among themselves Lorraine and Alsace. It was necessary to prepare for war.

"However, before personally exposing myself to the risks of battles, my first care was to give without delay a constitution to the nation. The people has accepted the act which I presented to it. Frenchmen! when we shall have repelled these unjust aggressions, and Europe shall be convinced of what is due to the rights and the independence of twenty-eight millions of Frenchmen, a solemn law, enacted according to the forms prescribed by the constitutional act, shall combine the different provisions of our constitutions that are now scattered.

"Frenchmen! you are about to return into your departments. Tell the citizens that circumstances are arduous!—that with union, energy, and perseverance, we shall come off victorious from this struggle of a great people against its oppressors; that future generations will severely scrutinize our conduct; and that a nation has lost all, when it has lost its independence. Tell them that the foreign kings whom I either raised to the throne, or who are indebted to me for the preservation of their crowns; who all, in the time of my prosperity, courted my alliance, and the protection of the French people; are now aiming their blows at my person. If I had not seen that it is against the country that they are really directed, I would place at their mercy this life, against which they manifest such animosity. But tell the citizens also, that while the French shall retain for me the sentiments of love of which they give me so many proofs, this rage of our enemies will be impotent.

"Frenchmen! my will is that of the people; my rights are their rights; my honour, my glory, my happiness, can never be distinct from the honour, the glory, and the happiness of France."

The prolonged cries of *Vive l'Empereur! Vive Marie Louise! Vive la Nation!* for some time interrupted the ceremony; but when the popular fervour had expended itself, the grand almoner approached the throne, and kneeling, presented the gospels to the emperor, who took the oath in the following terms:—"I swear to observe the constitutions of the empire, and to cause them to be observed." The arch-chancellor then advanced to the throne, and swore "obedience to the constitutions and to the emperor," and the words *Nous le jurons*—we swear it, were appointed to be said by all the assembly; but not being perfect in their part, this portion of the ceremony was either wholly omitted, or at least only partially performed.

Te Deum was next sung, and the steps to the throne being cleared, the eagles from the wings, borne by the ministers of the interior, of war, and of the marine, pressed forward into the centre of the area, forming one long dazzling mass of gold, from the tribune of the altar to the foot of the throne. Napoleon, with an animation in his manner and countenance which gave to the ceremony of the presentation of the eagles a superior interest to any other event of this national assembly, threw off his imperial mantle, and leaping from the throne, advanced to meet his eagles. The waving sword and beating drum commanded silence, and taking the standards in his hand,

he returned them to the three ministers, and thus addressed them:—

“Soldiers of the national guard of the empire—Soldiers of the land and sea forces, I intrust to you the imperial eagle of the national colours; you will swear to defend it at the expense of your blood against the enemies of the country and of the throne! You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign!--You swear it!”

The concluding sentence was delivered in a tone that pierced the immense assembly, and was answered by the exclamation of the troops—“We swear it.”

“The drums beat, and shortly afterwards the emperor, still in his short crimson tunic, accompanied by all his marshals and dignitaries, and lost to the sight of the spectators,” from one of whom we quote,* “in the blaze of uniforms, and eagles and banners, descended the steps, traversed the area, passed through the opening of the theatre by the altar, and crossing between files of soldiers, mounted the platform in the open plain. He seated himself on his throne, surrounded by his marshals and court, who occupied the steps on each of the four sides of the structure. The scene was more magnificent than any pen can describe. The monarch on his open throne, which seemed a glittering pyramid of eagles, and arms, and military, crowned by his own white plumes—an immense plain, as it were, of soldiers, flanked with multitudes so innumerable that the sloping banks on each side presented but one mass of heads—the man—the occasion—all conspired to surprise the mind into a most unqualified, unphilosophical admiration of the whole spectacle; which was not diminished when the bayonets, and cuirasses, and helmets, flashing to the extent of the view, and the flags of the lancers fluttering, and the music bursting from the plain, announced that the whole scene was in motion.” In the midst of all this splendour the emperor, in his character of colonel of the national guard of Paris, and of the imperial guard, then proceeded to present the eagles to the presidents of the departments, and the six arrondissements, and to the chiefs of his guard. The national guards “swore never to suffer the capital to be again polluted by the presence of a foreign army;” and the imperial guard, “to exceed their former prowess, and to die rather than let foreigners dictate laws to their country.” The whole army, amounting to fifty thousand, of which twenty-seven thousand were national guards, now filed before the throne, with their eagles, in admirable order; and at four o’clock the procession left the amphitheatre in nearly the

* Letters from an Englishman resident in Paris during the last reign of the Emperor Napoleon.

same order in which it had arrived, passing between a line of spectators the whole length of the *Champ de Mars*. The departure, like the entry, was announced by the batteries of the military school, and the bridge of Jena.

Such was the *Champ de Mai*. As a *spectacle*, nothing could be more splendid and interesting, but as a national assembly, it is scarcely possible to imagine any thing more puerile. It was the assembly of the registration of votes, and of the presentation of colours ; but it as little resembled the fields of March and May, at which assembled the warlike estates of Charlemagne and his successors, as it resembled the memorable federation of 1790, when the same plain was thronged by deputations from all parts of the kingdom, collected to celebrate and seal the triumph of the people.

On the day which intervened between the *fete* of the *Champ de Mai* and the meeting of the chambers, the peers, to the number of one hundred and sixteen, of whom nearly one half were general officers, were named by the emperor.

The chambers met on the 3d of June ; the peers at the Luxembourg, and the deputies at the palace of the legislative body. M. Thibeaudeau, and M. Valence, were chosen secretaries of the chamber of peers, who, together with the President Cambaceres, and the Counts Sieyes and Rœderer, were named members of the commission for the internal regulation of the assembly. The representatives met at nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded, by ballot, to the choice of the *bureau*, consisting of the president, the vice-presidents, and the secretaries. The decision of the chamber on this point was sufficiently indicative of its character ; Lanjuinais, a legislator, who voted against conferring the imperial title on Bonaparte, and who was one of the most active members of opposition in the late house of peers, was chosen president by a large majority. Flauguergues, an eloquent senator, celebrated for his boldness in the legislative assembly of 1813, was the second on the list ; and La Fayette, who had resisted the earnest importunities of the emperor to accept the dignity of the peerage, held the next rank in the scale of suffrages. The preference given to Lanjuinais was grounded upon his known firmness and invincible integrity, which rendered him a faithful and fit channel of communication between the representatives of the people and the monarch. The same motives influenced the assembly in the selection of the four vice-presidents, of whom Flauguergues was first chosen, Dupont the second, La Fayette the third, and General Grenier the fourth ; all of them men distinguished for their independence of either the court of Louis or Napoleon.

The interval between the 3d and the 7th of June was occupied in those matters of form and arrangement essential to the proper regulation of popular assemblies. It soon became evident, that the representatives of France, freely chosen, were determined to submit to no dictator; and their watchful jealousy over the liberties of their country gave to the proceedings of the chambers a sternness of manner, and an impatience of control, which the deference due to the head of the state was scarcely sufficient to repress. Four days after the meeting of the chambers the emperor proceeded in state to the hall of the representatives, when the members of the two chambers having taken the oath of obedience to the constitution, and fidelity to his majesty, the session was opened by the following speech from the throne:—

“ Messieurs of the chamber of peers, and Messieurs of the chamber of representatives.

“ For three months past, circumstances, and the confidence of the people, have invested me with unlimited power. At this moment the most anxious wish of my heart is accomplished. I have commenced a constitutional monarchy. Men are too feeble to secure the future; legal institutions alone fix the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary to France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people. Our constitutions are scattered; one of our most important occupations will be to consolidate them into one body, and arrange them in one simple system. This labour will recommend the present epoch to the gratitude of future generations. I am anxious that France should enjoy all possible liberty; I say possible, because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute government.

“ A formidable coalition of kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers. The Melpomene frigate has been attacked and taken in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English vessel of seventy-four guns. Blood has been shed in the time of peace. Our enemies rely upon our internal divisions. They excite and foment civil war. Risings have taken place. Communications are held with Ghent, as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are indispensable. I place unreserved confidence in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

“ The liberty of the press is inherent in the existing constitution. No change can be made in that respect without altering the whole of our political system; but some restrictions are necessary, more especially in the actual state of the nation. I recommend this important subject to your serious consideration.

“ My ministers will acquaint you with the situation of our affairs. The finances would be in a satisfactory state but for the increased expenditure rendered requisite by existing circumstances. Nevertheless, all might be met, if the receipts comprised in the budget could all be realized within the year; my minister will direct your attention to the means of arriving at this result.

“ It is possible that the first duty of a prince may soon call me at the head of the children of the nation to combat for the country. The army and myself will do our duty. Do you, peers and representatives! give the nation the example of confidence, energy and patriotism; and, like the senate of the great people of antiquity, resolve to die rather than survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!”

While the address, in reply to the emperor's speech, was under discussion, fresh evidence was given of that laudable watchfulness with which the new parliament had determined to guard themselves from every suspicion of undue deference and adulation towards the constitutional monarch. On the day after the opening of the session a proposal was made by Felix Lepelletier, to decree in the address the title of *Saviour of his Country* to Napoleon, in imitation of the title of Louis *The Desired*, given by his senators to the French King. This unpopular proposal, grounded upon so inauspicious a model, was received in all parts of the house with tumultuous cries for the order of the day; and M. Dupin, mounting the tribune, exclaimed, "We are here to counsel, not to flatter, our emperor; would you suffer the poisoned breath of adulation to find its way already within these walls? If we anticipate events, what means will be reserved by which we shall demonstrate our gratitude at the moment when the emperor *shall* have saved the country?" The president having put Lepelletier's proposal to the vote, the whole assembly rose to pass to the order of the day.

Four days elapsed before the addresses of the chambers in answer to the speech of the emperor were completely prepared. That of the peers expressed sentiments honourable to the independence of that body; and while they promised not to be depressed by adversity, they added, that their constitutions guaranteed to all Europe, that the French government could not be carried away by the seductions of victory. To this latter sentiment Napoleon replied, in the very opening of his answer, and sufficiently evinced his feeling of the censure it conveyed on his former conduct, when he said—"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seduction of prosperity is not the danger which menaces us at this moment. It is under the caudine forks that our enemies would now force us to pass."

The address of the deputies was conceived in the same spirit of firmness and moderation; and, at the same time that it expressed their determination to make the establishment of a free constitution their first care, and declared, that the will even of a victorious prince would be impotent in the endeavour to draw the nation beyond the limits necessary for its defence, it declared, that they were ready to co-operate to the utmost with the monarch of their choice, in every effort for maintaining the liberty, the honour, and the dignity of France.

To these declarations Napoleon replied, that he recognised with satisfaction his own sentiments in those expressed by the deputies; and added, "I depart this night to place myself at

the head of the army." The expression—"I depart this night," thrilled through the whole assembly. Already the army had marched to the frontier, and the moment now approached when the fate of Europe was to be decided, in a battle more tremendous in its immediate effects, and more important in its ultimate consequences, than any engagement of modern times.

CHAPTER VII.

BELGIC CAMPAIGN OF 1815: Europe again in Arms—Plan of the Campaign formed by the Allies---Marshal Blücher's Proclamation to his Army on taking the Field---Napoleon's Objects and Means---His Proclamation---Sudden Commencement of Hostilities---Passage of the Sambre by Napoleon on the 15th of June---Battles of Quatre Bras and of Ligny-sous-Fleurus on the 16th---Retreat of the Allied Armies under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher on the 17th---Advance of the French---British Position---French Position---Battle of Waterloo on the 18th---Furious Attacks made by the French on the Right, the Centre, and the Left of the British Positions---Progress of the Engagement---The British Centre carried---The French Repulsed---Advance of the Prussians on the Right of the French Position---Last desperate Effort made by the French Army---Repulsed---Simultaneous Advance of the whole of the British Forces---Entire Overthrow of the Enemy---Pursuit of the Fugitives by the Prussians under Marshal Blücher---Dreadful Slaughter---Complete Dispersion of the French Army---Marshal Blücher's Official Letter to the Governor of Berlin---British Official Account of the Battle of Waterloo---French Bulletin of the Campaign---Prussian Proclamation---Honours and Privileges conferred on the British Army.

THE combined armies of Europe, stretching from the North Sea to the Adriatic Gulph, and from the Rhine to the Oder, were all again in motion; France being the point of concentration, and the overthrow of Napoleon's throne the ultimate object of all this military array. Murat, the son-in-law, and the only ally of the emperor, had already fallen, and that part of the army of Austria which had been employed in expelling the King of Naples from his kingdom, was left at liberty to advance towards the French frontier, on the side of Italy, for the purpose of co-operating in that mighty effort which appeared too stupendous for human resistance. The army of France, by which alone the power of Bonaparte was to be supported, consisted of eight hundred and fifty thousand men, of whom three hundred and seventy-five thousand were regulars, including the forty thousand imperial guards.*

* Exposition of the State of the Empire by the Minister Carnot, dated June 14, 1815.

Chart Of the Belgian Campaign of 1815.



On the side of the allies eleven hundred thousand regular troops, flushed with the victorious result of the preceding campaign, and supported by the exchequers of England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Holland, the states of Italy, and the minor powers of Germany, had already taken the field. A frontier, of the extent of a thousand British miles, lay before them; and a royalist army, under the command of La Roche Jaqueline, was again in a state of activity in La Vendee. As a counterpoise to this vast disparity of force, Bonaparte entertained hopes that by sudden and vigorous efforts he should be enabled to destroy his adversaries in detail, or if the country should be invaded, to rouse the same spirit of enthusiasm against the enemy which displayed itself in the year 1792.

According to the first plan of the allies, three armies were to penetrate into France at one and the same time, independent of each other, but tending towards Paris, the common centre—the army of the Upper Rhine, under Prince Schwartzemberg—the army of the Lower Rhine, under Field-marshal Blucher—and the army of the Netherlands, under the Duke of Wellington. The Russian armies, under Marshal Barclay de Tolly and General Wittgenstein, which could not arrive till a later period, were to form the reserve, and the Austrian army in Italy was destined to press into the south of France immediately after the completion of the conquest of that peninsula. The speedy conclusion of the campaign in Italy induced the Duke of Wellington strenuously to urge the union of the two armies of the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands, each to remain under their respective commanders, and neither of them to be subordinate. The unparalleled exertions of the Prussian government enabled the allies to make the alterations recommended with so much earnestness by the Duke of Wellington, and before the end of June a force was accumulated by that power amounting to two hundred and thirty thousand men,* by which the interval was filled up between the army of the Upper Rhine and that of the Netherlands. This army was divided into seven corps, four of which formed the army of the Lower Rhine—the 1st, under Lieutenant-general Ziethen, stationed at Fleurus; the 2d, under Lieutenant-general Count Bulow, between Liege and Hannut; the 3d, under Lieutenant-general Borstel, at Binch; and the 4th, under Lieutenant-general Thielman, at Namur; the four corps forming an army of 120,000 men, under the chief command of Field-marshal Blucher. On placing himself at the head of his troops the

* Life and Campaigns of Field-marshal Prince Blucher, by General Gneisenau, Quarter-master-general of the Prussian Army.

illustrious veteran issued the following proclamation from his head-quarters at Liege :—

“COMRADES ! His majesty the king has been pleased to confide to me the chief command of the army. I receive this favour with most lively gratitude. I am rejoiced to see you again---to find you on the field of honour prepared for a new contest, full of new hopes. It is given to us again to combat for the great cause---for general peace. I congratulate you upon it. The course of glory is again open to you. An opportunity offers to increase, by new deeds, the military renown which you have already acquired. Placed at your head, I doubt not of certain and glorious success. Show me, in this new struggle, the confidence you placed in me during the last, and I am convinced that you will gloriously extend the fame of your brilliant deeds in arms.”

The Duke of Wellington had joined his troops in the month of April, and established his head-quarters at Brussels, in the neighbourhood of which city his army was so disposed that it might be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and directed on any point of the French frontiers. The first corps, commanded by the Prince of Orange, occupied Enghien, Braine-le-Comte, and Nivelles, and consisted of the first and third British divisions, under Generals Cooke and Alten ; the first and second Hanoverian divisions ; and the second and third Belgic divisions. The second corps, commanded by Lord Hill, included the second and fourth British divisions, under Generals Clinton and Hinuber ; the third and sixth Hanoverian, and the first Belgic divisions, were established at Ath, Oudenarde, and Grammont. The reserve, stationed at Brussels and Ghent, comprised the fifth and sixth British divisions, under Generals Picton and Cole, and the fourth, fifth, and seventh Hanoverian divisions ; the cavalry occupying Grammont and Ninove. Of this force thirty-eight thousand were British ; the German legion consisted of eight thousand men ; the Hanoverian troops comprised fourteen thousand five hundred ; and the Belgians, Brunswickers, and Nassau troops amounted to twenty-two thousand ; and making an aggregate of eighty-two thousand five hundred men.

No part of Napoleon's political life, marked as it has always been by the most rapid and extraordinary promptitude in military preparations, affords such a display of activity, as was manifested during the hundred days which formed the duration of his second reign. Amidst all his political pursuits, he was never for an instant diverted from his military preparations. Cannons, muskets, and arms of every description, were forged and issued from the manufactories and arsenals with incredible celerity. The old corps were recruited ; the regular army, which on his return from Elba consisted but of one hundred and seventy-five thousand men, was swelled to three hundred

and seventy-five thousand ;* new levies were instituted under the various names of free-corps, federes, and volunteers ; the martial spirit of France was again roused to hope and energy ; and the whole kingdom seemed transformed at once into an immense camp, of which Napoleon was the spring and the leader. One large army defiled towards Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the English and the Prussian troops excited alarm ; other armies were assembled at Alsace, in Lorraine, in Frenche Compte, at the foot of the Alps, and on the confines of the Pyrenees.

But it was in Belgium where the decisive blow was to be struck, and quitting Paris early in the morning of the 12th of June, attended by Marshal Soult, his Major-general, Napoleon passed Laon on the 13th, and on the 14th presented himself at the head of a formidable army on the old battle-field of Europe.

The French army, already in the highest order, was still further augmented in number and equipments. The marches and combinations of the various corps d'armee were marked in a distinguished manner by that high military talent which planned Napoleon's most fortunate campaigns. In the same day, and almost at the same hour, three armies—the army of Laon, headed by the emperor in person ; the army of the Ardennes, commanded by General Vandamme ; and the army of the Moselle, under the orders of General Girard ; having broken up from the different cantonments, attained by a simultaneous movement an united alignment upon the frontiers of Belgium. The troops, thus combined, composed five corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-generals d'Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Girard, and the Count de Lobau. The cavalry were divided into four corps, commanded by the Generals Pajol, Excelmans, Milhaud, and Kellerman, the whole under the orders of Marshal Grouchy. The deficiency of artillery was chiefly apprehended ; the allies had, in 1814, carried off most of the French field trains ; but by incredible exertions, the loss was more than supplied ; for besides the usual train attached to separate corps, each division of the army had a park of reserve, and the imperial guard in particular, had a train of guns, consisting almost entirely of new pieces, and many of them bearing the republican inscriptions of *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*. The army of the north possessed in all more than three hundred guns, a quantity which was considered rather beyond the usual proportion. The cavalry was another species of force in which Bonaparte was

* Carnot's Exposition, June 14, 1815.

supposed to be peculiarly weak, but a finer body of horse never took the field. Their number exceeded twenty thousand, of which the lancers were distinguished by their address, activity, and ferocity; and the cuirassiers, of whom it is stated that there were nine regiments, by the excellence of their appointments and the superior power of their horses.* The infantry were principally veteran troops. The *elite* of the army consisted of the imperial guards, who were at least twenty thousand strong. The other corps of infantry, all of whom were animated with the most unbounded confidence in themselves and their general, amounted, including the artillery, to one hundred and ten thousand men, which, with the guards and cavalry, formed an aggregate of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, completely armed and equipped, and amply supplied with all the munitions of war.

The anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland afforded a proper occasion to renew that charm, or *prestige*, as Napoleon himself was wont to call it, which once attached to his name and fortune, and on the 14th of June the emperor issued from Avesnes the following proclamation to his army:—

GENERAL ORDER.

Avesnes, June 14, 1815.

“SOLDIERS! This day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! We believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes whom we left on the throne! Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they would destroy the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. Let us march, then, to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers, at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one against three, and at Montmirail one against six! Let those among you who have been prisoners of the English, detail to you the hulks, and the frightful miseries which they suffered! The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to lend their arms to the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations; they know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, six millions of Bel-

* The French cuirass forms a kind of coat-of-mail, consisting of a thorax or breast-plate, made pigeon-breasted, and joined by clasps to the back-plate, like the ancient armour. Those of the soldiers are of iron highly polished, and those of the officers of brass, inlaid with steel, and are both proof against a musket-ball if it strikes upon them in an inclined direction. To this armour is added a helmet, with cheek-pieces; and the weapons of offence used by the cuirassiers are a long straight broad sword and pistols, but no carbine. In close action they are protected from the sabres of their antagonists by their armour, except the stroke falls on their neck or limbs, but the shape and weight of the cuirass necessarily impedes the motion of their arms, and renders them far inferior to the British in the dexterous use of the sabre.

gians, it must devour the states of the second rank of Germany. The madmen! a moment of prosperity blinds them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but, with steadiness, victory will be ours—the rights, the honour, the happiness of the country will be re-conquered! To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is arrived to conquer or perish.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON."

This proclamation was received by the soldiers with transports of joy. The enthusiasm of the French army was at its highest pitch; and at day-break, on the morning of Thursday the 15th, the corps were put in motion on the banks of the Sambre to invade Belgium, with the hope of surprising the Prussian army in its cantonments, and cutting off the communication between Prince Blucher and the Duke of Wellington. The second corps, under General Reille, commenced the attack upon the Prussian posts near Thuin, and General Ziethen, finding himself overpowered by superior numbers, was repulsed as far as Marchiennes-au-Pont. In their retreat the Prussians suffered considerable loss from the charges of cavalry made upon their squares of infantry, and the French troops, after forcing the passage of the Sambre, advanced towards the village of Gosselies, in order to intercept the Prussian garrison of Charleroi should it attempt a retreat in that direction. About mid-day Napoleon entered Charleroi, and the Prussians, surprised by the suddenness of the attack, retreated precipitately upon Fleurus, where their army was concentrated. Napoleon's squadron of service charged several times in the course of the day upon the routed Prussian infantry; and in one of these charges General Letort, colonel of the French guard, was mortally wounded. The result of these various engagements was decidedly in favour of the French. According to their telegraphic bulletin, fifteen hundred prisoners were made, six pieces of cannon captured, and four Prussian regiments destroyed with comparatively little loss. However this may be, the passage of the Sambre was carried, Charleroi was gained, with its magazines, and the campaign was opened with that *eclat*, which has its inspiring influence upon the military bodies, but on none so much as on the armies of France. Napoleon, with his usual policy, profited by these early successes; the most exaggerated statements were published; the prisoners were collected and marched into France on the routes by which the corps in the rear were advancing; and the sight of the captives served to inflame the French soldiers, who, with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur*," were hastening forward to share in the glory of their comrades.

On the night of the 15th the news arrived at Brussels that hostilities had commenced. The Duke of Wellington, who was clearly taken by surprise, was sitting after dinner, with a party of officers, when the despatches from Marshal Blücher were presented to him. On the same night the Duchess of Richmond gave a ball at Brussels, at which the Duke of Brunswick, and Lord Uxbridge, with many others of the British officers were present; and the Duke of Wellington, considering the first intimation as merely relating to an affair of posts, after giving orders that the troops should hold themselves in readiness, had joined the assembly. At midnight a second messenger arrived, with intelligence that Charleroi was taken, that the French had advanced to Fleurus, and that a general engagement on the following day seemed inevitable. In the midst of the festivities at the Duke of Richmond's, the bugle sounded, and the drum beat to arms. The officers hastened to place themselves at the head of their troops, and many of them received their death wounds on the approaching day in their ball-room dresses. In less than an hour the troops began to assemble in the park. The artillery, the cavalry, and the waggon-train, were all in motion; and at sun-rise the march began, each regiment quitting the parade with three cheers, while the inhabitants of Brussels crowded their line of march, and followed them with their blessings.

The Duke of Wellington, attended by his staff and some squadrons of light horse, proceeded on the gallop to Les Quatre Bras, where the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur, intersect each other, and give this name to a farm lying between Genappe and Gosselies. Sir Thomas Picton, who had arrived from England on that very night, was seen at the head of his division, mounted upon his charger, with his reconnoitering-glass slung across his shoulder and gaily accosting his friends as he rode through the streets of Brussels, never to return. The position of Les Quatre Bras was of considerable importance, and was the point by which the Prince of Orange, co-operating with a corps under Prince de Weimar, had kept up the communication from Nivelles and Brussels with Marshal Blücher's army. The Prussians were at this time posted on the heights between Bry and Sombref, and occupied with a large force the two villages of St. Amand and Ligny, in the front of those places. At three o'clock in the morning, the columns of the French army, which were still on the right side of the Sambre, were put in motion, and after effecting their passage, the whole army marched forward. The command of the left wing, composed of the first and second corps of infantry, and four divisions of cavalry

under General Kellerman, was conferred on Marshal Ney, who had only arrived on the preceding day at head-quarters, and who, in obedience to his orders, had marched upon Goselies and Frasnès, towards Brussels. The centre, composed of the third and fourth corps, having the sixth corps and the guard in reserve, constituted the main body of the French army, and was directed upon Ligny-sous-Fleurus, by the emperor in person; and Marshal Grouchy, with the horse of Pajol and some battalions of infantry, commanded on the right, and manœuvred towards the village of Sombref, upon the route to Namur.

During the morning there had been much skirmishing in the vicinity of Les Quatre Bras, and about three o'clock in the afternoon Marshal Ney commenced a vigorous attack upon the British position at that place. The Brunswick corps and the fifth division had happily arrived, and maintained the position with the most signal intrepidity, under the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack. Early in the engagement a corps of Belgians was ordered to advance, with the 42d highland regiment, to support a detachment which was briskly pushed by the French. From some cause the two battalions were separated, when a column of French lancers, who were lying in ambush, concealed by some hedges, and high standing corn, suddenly rushed upon them. Colonel Macara, perceiving the danger to which the troops were exposed, ordered his regiment to form into a square; but, in performing this evolution, two companies were left out, when the lancers charged upon them with desperate fury, and in a moment overwhelmed and literally annihilated them. Encouraged by this success, the French troops charged on the square, and though repulsed with loss, they succeeded in cutting down great numbers of the Highlanders, amongst whom was their brave colonel. Again and again these charges were repeated, but not a man thought of retreating; the gallant Scots stood like adamant; and it was not until their regiment was reduced to a tenth part of its original number, that the enemy was put to flight. The Prince of Orange, impelled by the ardour of the fight, advanced into the ranks of the enemy, and was made prisoner; but a battalion of Belgians, seeing his danger, rushed to his relief, and in a moment rescued him from the enemy. "There, my brave fellows," said the prince, taking off the insignia of his order and throwing in amongst them, "take it, you have all deserved it." This mark of affection his soldiers were not slow to return; in a moment the star was fixed to the top of their colours, and they all swore to defend this sacred deposit or to perish.

This oath was speedily ratified ; numbers of them fell while pronouncing it.

The Duke of Brunswick, who had entered the campaign with a spirit almost chivalrous, and had determined to avenge the death of his father, led to the charge his celebrated "Black Brunswickers," so called from the mourning which they wore for his father. The duke, in the ardour of the battle, rashly exposed himself amidst the fire of small arms, and in this situation he was struck by a musket-ball, which, passing through his bridle hand, entered his liver, and numbered him with the dead. Sir Thomas Picton, though more fortunate than the duke, received a wound in the early part of the day, but it was not till after his death that this wound, so heroically concealed, and dressed only by himself with a piece of a torn handkerchief, was discovered. Colonel Cameron, who had so often distinguished himself in Spain, fell while leading the 92d regiment to charge a body of cavalry, and many other regretted names were read on the bloody list ; but if it was a day of sorrow, it was also a day of triumph. Repeated as were the enemy's attacks with large bodies of infantry and cavalry, they were all repulsed ; and the successive arrival of Generals Alten, Cooke, Maitland, and Byng, enabled the Duke of Wellington to maintain his ground against the superior force with which he was assailed. In a battle so warmly contested, the loss on each side must have been considerable, and we accordingly find that the killed, wounded, and missing, in the British army, amounted to 3018 ;* while the loss of the French is stated at 4200.†

In the heat of the battle, and when the enthusiasm of the allies had attained the highest pitch, Marshal Ney sent orders for the first corps of infantry, which he had stationed in reserve at Frasnes, to march to the front at the *pas-de-charge*, and to throw themselves upon the ranks of the British ; but what was his astonishment to learn, that the emperor, who was engaged with the Prussians at the same moment in front of the village of Ligny, had disposed of this powerful reserve without informing him of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard, of the second corps, and that instead of eight divisions of infantry he had actually left under his command only three ! Confounded by this intelligence, Marshal Ney was obliged to renounce all hopes of victory, and to call forth the utmost efforts of his troops even to maintain his position. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were paralyzed,

* London Gazette.

† French Bulletin.

and idly paraded, during the whole of the battle, from the right to the left and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

No immediate and decisive advantage resulted to the British from the battle of Les Quatre Bras, but a great deliverance had been achieved. The opportunity for striking a decisive blow against the English, before their army was completely assembled, had, by the "false movement" and "bad arrangements" of Napoleon, passed unimproved. "By what fatality," says Marshal Ney, "did the emperor, instead of leading his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack (on Les Quatre Bras) as secondary? How did the emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double our's, and to do what military men who were witness to it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been demolished between Les Quatre Bras and Genappe; and this position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have opened for the emperor an opportunity of advancing to the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn."* However well founded Marshal Ney's censure may be, and his authority upon such a subject is not to be contemned, it is very improbable that all the results he imagines would have flowed from *his* plan of operations. The Duke of Wellington was not in the habit of permitting his army to be demolished; nor was Marshal Blucher a commander to be held in check by a corps of observation, whilst his allies were seriously engaged within the range of his operations. The British commander-in-chief has observed, with that ingenuousness which forms a leading characteristic in his transcendent military career, "that when other generals commit an error their army is lost by it, and they are sure to be beaten; but that when he gets into a scrape his army always gets him out of it;" and it is more than probable that his army would have extricated him from that danger of demolition which the Prince of Moskwa apprehends awaited him, had Bonaparte directed his principal force against the British instead of the Prussian army. It may also be urged in favour of the plan pursued by Napoleon, that he obtained on the 16th a signal, though not a decisive victory, over the Prussian army.

* Report of the Prince of Moskwa to the Duke of Otranto, dated Paris, June 26th, 1815.

When Bonaparte moved with his centre and right wing upon Blücher, he certainly conceived that he had left Marshal Ney a more easy task than his own; and that the marshal would find no difficulty in pushing his way into the vicinity of Brussels, before the English army could be concentrated in sufficient force to arrest his progress. To himself he reserved the task of coping with Marshal Blücher, hoping, by his overthrow, to cut off all communications between the Prussian and British armies, and to compel each to seek safety in isolated and unconnected movements. On advancing to the Prussian position, Marshal Blücher was found posted with his right in the village of St. Amand, his centre at Ligny-sous-Fleurus, and his left at Sombref. In this strong position the Prussian commander had assembled three corps of his army, amounting to eighty thousand men; the fourth corps, under General Bulow, being in distant cantonments between Liège and Hannut, had not yet arrived at the point of concentration. The force of the assailants is stated in the Prussian despatches at one hundred and thirty thousand; but as Ney had at least thirty thousand in active service, and a still larger number in reserve, it is probable that the troops under Bonaparte's immediate command in the battle of Ligny did not exceed in number the force of his adversary; and the courage and animosity of the two armies was, like their strength, equal. Napoleon, having reconnoitred the strength and position of the enemy, resolved on an immediate attack; and while his left, under General Vandamme, marched upon St. Amand, General Girard, at the head of the centre, advanced to Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy, with the right wing, presented himself in front of Sombref.

The engagement commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon, by a furious cannonade, under cover of which the third corps of the French army, commanded by Vandamme, attacked the village of St. Amand at the point of the bayonet, and notwithstanding the most determined resistance, succeeded in carrying the village. This village, which formed the key of the right wing of the Prussian position, the most desperate efforts were made to recover; and Marshal Blücher, placing himself at the head of a battalion, impelled his forces upon the French ranks with so much vigour and success, that one end of the village was again occupied by the Prussians. At this moment Bonaparte despatched his orders for the advance of the first corps, by which the efforts of Marshal Ney were paralyzed, and the left wing of the French army exposed to the most imminent danger, but before the arrival of the reserve, the French had established themselves so firmly in the

church and the burial-ground, that all the efforts of the Prussians to dislodge them proved unavailing.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon ; the battle had become general ; but the principal efforts of the combatants were directed against Ligny. Here a murderous scene commenced, which for fury and inveteracy had never been equalled in any of the former contests between the French and the Prussians. Each soldier appeared to be avenging his own personal quarrel : the hatred between the two nations was of the most deadly kind ; and neither party seemed disposed either to give or to ask quarter. The terrain of action was confined to a very narrow space ; fresh troops were on both sides continually brought into the field ; and for four hours two hundred pieces of cannon were directed from each side against the village, which was on fire at one and the same time in several places. The possession of the heights of St. Haye, which had been carried by storm three times, and remained in possession of the Prussians, seemed to give a favourable turn to their affairs ; but the general fortune of the day was evidently in favour of Napoleon. The issue, however, seemed to depend on the arrival of a reinforcement of English troops, or on the junction of the corps under General Bulow. But in this emergency news was brought that the British division, destined to support Marshal Blucher, was violently attacked by the French army under Marshal Ney, and the arrival of General Bulow was invoked in vain. The danger became every hour more urgent ; the Prussian commander-in-chief repeatedly led his divisions into the fire, but he had not a single corps in reserve, and neither the gallantry of the troops, nor the personal bravery and example of the intrepid Blucher, could much longer maintain the contest against the skill, enterprise, and devotion of the enemy. About eight o'clock in the evening, the French had become masters of the villages of St. Amand and Ligny. But the Prussians still preserved a strong position in the rear of a ravine which separates the village of Ligny from the height of the mill of Bussi. Napoleon, from the commencement of the battle, had been manœuvring in such a way as to give him the power, at the proper moment, to direct a superior force beyond the ravine. This moment had now arrived ; and eight battalions of the guard, formed into one formidable column, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, and the horse-grenadiers of the guard, traversed the village of Ligny at the *pas-de-charge*. Advancing into the ravine, they began to ascend the heights, under a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. This murderous discharge they sustained with

great gallantry, and on reaching the Prussian line, the impression made upon the masses of which it consisted was so tremendous, that the field was, in an instant, covered with slain, and the centre being broken, the communication between the wings became endangered.

At this crisis of the battle, the gallant Blucher had nearly closed his long and illustrious career. The field-marshal had himself headed an unsuccessful charge against the French cavalry, and, while the enemy was in vigorous pursuit, a musket-ball struck the veteran's horse, which instead of being stopped by his wound, began to gallop more furiously, and did not stop till he fell down dead. Stunned by the violence of the fall, Marshal Blucher lay entangled under his charger, and the enemy's cuirassiers, following up their advantage, passed over him without observing the prostrate commander. His only attendant was an adjutant in his own army, who, with an honourable self-devotion, had alighted to share his fate. In the mean time the Prussian cavalry had rallied, and having repulsed the French, became in their turn the pursuers. Still the Prussian general was laid on the ground, and was again passed, by both his own troops and the enemy, without being recognized. The danger was imminent; "but" says General Gneisenau, "heaven watched over him:" he was disengaged from the dead animal, and immediately mounted the horse of a trooper.

Night put an end to the sanguinary battle of Ligny. The French became masters of the field; but the Prussians effected their retreat in good order, and formed again at Tilly, a distance not exceeding half a league from the scene of operations. The loss in both armies was extremely severe: according to the French accounts, the Prussians had fifteen thousand men put *hors de combat*; and, on the same authority it is stated, that their own loss did not exceed three thousand men in killed and wounded.

Marshal Blucher, in his precipitate retreat, left fifteen pieces of cannon in the hands of the enemy, and the whole number of pieces captured on the 16th, are stated, in the French bulletin, to amount to forty. During the night, the villages of Bry and Sombref remained in possession of the Prussians under General Thielman; but at the dawn of the following morning this corps commenced its retreat by the route of Gembloux, where it was joined by General Bulow's division; and in the course of the 17th, the whole of the Prussian army was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Wavre.

The French exaggerated their advantages with a licence more than poetic. Marshal Soult, Napoleon's lieutenant, in a despatch to the Prince of Eckmuhl, the French minister-at-

war, did not scruple to announce, "that the emperor had succeeded in separating the line of the allies." "Wellington and Blucher," he adds, "saved themselves with difficulty: the effect was theatrical—in an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions." Another despatch, published with great pomp in the French official paper, said, "There are upon the field of battle eight enemies to one Frenchman! Their loss is said to be fifty thousand men! The cannonade was like that of the battle of Moskwa. Whole bands of prisoners are taken; they do not know what is become of their commanders. The rout is complete on this side, and I hope we shall not so soon hear again of the Prussians, if they should ever be able to rally again. As for the English, we shall see, now the emperor is here, what will become of them."

Napoleon now cherished the hope that the great object of his first movements was effected, and that he had completely succeeded in separating the English and Prussian armies, by cutting off their communication. Under this persuasion, he marched on the morning of the 17th towards Quatre Bras, after leaving the third and fourth corps, with the cavalry of General Pajol, under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, to follow the retreating Prussian army.

The retreat of Marshal Blucher demanded a corresponding movement on the part of Lord Wellington, and at ten o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 17th, the British army retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon the forest of Soignies, by the rout of Genappe. The Duke of Wellington had scarcely commenced his march, when the masses of the enemy began to appear. The French cuirassiers and lancers formed the advanced-guard, and pressed closely upon the rear of the British column. The rain, which fell in torrents, had rendered the roads almost impassable, and the open country could not be traversed even by the cavalry. From this circumstance, the enemy was unable to harass the flanks of the retiring army, and forced to confine all their efforts to the centre, which proceeded on the high road. The Duke of Wellington, on passing Genappe, expressed his surprise that he had been allowed to move through that narrow defile unharassed by the attacks of the enemy, and surmised that Napoleon did not command in person the pursuing divisions of the French army; but in this conjecture the British commander was mistaken, and it was found that the apparent want of activity was to be imputed to the heavy loss sustained on the 16th, to the tempestuous state of the weather, and to the impracticability of the roads. Lord Uxbridge, to whom was confided the

duty of covering the rear of the British army, finding his cavalry much pressed by the French lancers, resolved to attack the advancing squadrons as they issued from the pass at Genappe. This attack, which was most gallantly led by the 7th hussars, was received by the French cavalry with distinguished firmness, and the hussars were repulsed with loss. Animated by the native valour of Britons, the attack was again renewed, but the massive columns of the enemy remained unbroken. The heavy household troops were now ordered to charge, and to strike only at the limbs of their adversaries. Dismayed by this novel mode of attack, and unable to withstand the resistless torrent, the lancers turned their horses, and the British troops were permitted to continue their retreat, without further molestation, to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, three miles in front of Waterloo.

At five o'clock in the afternoon the English army arrived at its destination, and the Duke of Wellington, having made his arrangements for the night, established his head-quarters at a petty inn in the small village, on whose name he was destined to confer imperishable renown. The duke had travelled through this part of the country at a time when there was no appearance that hostilities would be soon renewed, and seeing every thing with the eye of a soldier, had observed, that were he ever to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels, Waterloo was the ground which he would choose as the scene of operations. At Brussels, which city had been thrown into extreme consternation, by some runaway Belgic cavalry, who had passed through the town on the morning of the 17th, proclaiming that the French army was in close pursuit, the alarm and despondency of the inhabitants was heightened by the intelligence that the Duke of Wellington had fallen back on Waterloo. A retrograde movement bears with it so many symptoms of defeat, and it is so often either the consequence or the prelude of an overthrow, that the inhabitants of a large city where every thing is at stake, may well be excused for giving way to those feelings from which the British army itself was not altogether free. The French, on the contrary, glowed with the most sanguine expectations. No one suffered himself to believe that the English would halt, till they reached their vessels, and Napoleon himself calculated confidently upon holding on the following day, one of his Sunday reviews in the magnificent square of the Place Royale at Brussels.

On the arrival of the Duke of Wellington in his position at Waterloo, a messenger was despatched by his lordship to Marshal Blucher, to inform him that the duke was resolved to accept battle on the following day, if the Prussians could support

him with two of their corps. The answer of Blucher was highly characteristic—he promised not only to support the duke with two corps, but with his whole army; adding, that if Napoleon did not choose to attack them, the allies should unite their whole force and attack him. The French, whose force was gradually coming up during the evening, occupied a ridge nearly opposite to the position of the English army, and while Napoleon established his head-quarters at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit, a village in the rear of his position, the bivouacs of his numerous army covered the declivity of the hill, and rose to its summit.

The night of the 17th was dreadful; the rain fell incessantly and in torrents; the soldiers, in their open bivouacs, were up to their knees in mud; and many of them, particularly the officers, who had advanced from Brussels in their ball-room dress, worn out by the fatigues they had encountered, stretched themselves on this cheerless bed, to rise no more. Few places could be found sufficiently free from mud to admit of a fire being lighted, and the pelting of the storm, even in those situations, instantly extinguished the flame. The interval usually appropriated to rest was not lost by the British troops. In the course of the night, time was found to cleanse their arms, distribute ammunition, and make the necessary preparations for the approaching conflict.

It was the general fear in the French army that the English would disappear during the night, and when the slow and gloomy dawn of the morning of the 18th exhibited them still in possession of the opposite heights, Napoleon could not suppress his satisfaction, but exclaimed, while he stretched his arm towards their position, *Ah! je les tiens, donc ce Anglois!** The adverse armies were now preparing for battle. For the first time, the two generals, the most renowned of their age and nations, were opposed to each other. The previous reputation which each of them had acquired; the rivalry which existed between them; and the almost uniform success which had attended their different systems of tactics, powerfully excited them to call into exercise all the genius of their almost inexhaustible minds. But glory, however stimulating to a military commander, was by no means their principal object. The approaching engagement was not one of those battles that might be lost or won without any material influence upon surrounding nations. The fate of Europe depended upon the result of this day. The stake was immense; one of the chiefs fought to preserve a diadem, and the other, to restore the tranquillity of an agitated world.

* Ah! these English, I have them at last.

The tactic of Napoleon was simple but grand. It resembled that which, adopted by the first of our naval commanders, had raised the renown of the British navy to the summit of glory. The whole weight of his army was usually directed against one point, either where his opponent appeared to be the most weak, or where success must be followed not merely by the discomfiture, but by the demolition of the foe. Regiments, divisions, nay whole armies, were hazarded without hesitation, to accomplish his favourite object. When one body retired in confusion, another was immediately ordered to occupy its place. "Forward! Forward!" was the general reply to every intelligence of repulse or disaster; and candour demands the acknowledgment, that his calculations were usually correct, and his efforts crowned with success.

The system of the Duke of Wellington was altogether the reverse. Never was any general more sparing of the blood of his soldiers. He usually awaited the attack of his adversary. No temporary or partial success could allure him to compromise the safety of his army; but his keen and eagle-eye detected the first error of the enemy, and, with a promptitude as characteristic as his previous coolness and immobility, he availed himself of the critical moment, and usually secured the fortune of the day.

The field of the battle of Waterloo, with the aid of the annexed plan, is capable of a very lucid description. The ground occupied by the two armies was the smallest in extent of front, compared with the number engaged, of any field of battle in the recollection of military men. The English line did not exceed a mile and a half in length; and the French line not more than two miles; and to this circumstance must in part be attributed the unparalleled loss which each party sustained. The forest of Soignies, says a Belgic traveller, from whom we quote, is an immense wood composed of beech-trees, growing unusually close together, and is intersected by a long broad road, which, upon issuing from the forest, reaches the small village of Waterloo, at a distance of twelve miles from Brussels. Beyond this point, the wood assumes a more straggled and dispersed appearance, till it reaches a ridge called Mount St. Jean, from a farm house situated upon the Brussels road, where the trees disappear, and the country becomes quite open. Along this eminence the British forces were dispersed in two lines. The second line, which consisted chiefly of Lord Hill's corps, lay behind the brow of the hill, and was in some degree sheltered from the enemy's fire. The first line, consisting of the *elite* of the infantry, under the Prince of Orange, occupied the crest of the ridge, and was

on the left partly defended by a long hedge and ditch, which, running in a straight line from the hamlet of Mount St. Jean towards the village of Ohain, gives name to two farm houses, La Haye Sainte and Ter la Haye. The ground at Ter la Haye becomes woody and broken, and formed a strong point at which to terminate the left of the British line. A road runs from Ter la Haye to Ohain, and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the Duke of Wellington kept up a communication by his left, with the Prussian army at Wavre. The centre of the British army occupied the village of Mount St. Jean, in the middle of the ridge, just where the great causeway from Brussels divides into two roads, one of which branches off to Nivelles, and the other continues the straight road to Charleroi. A strong advanced post of Hanoverian sharp-shooters occupied the house and farm-yard of the holy hedge, as the name La Haye Sainte imports, situated in advance upon the Charleroi road, and just at the bottom of the hill. The right of the British army, extending along the same eminence, occupied and protected the Nivelles road as far as the inclosures of Hougomont, or more properly Goumont, and turning rather backwards, rested its extreme right upon a deep ravine at Braine la Leude. The ground in front of the British position formed a gentle declivity into a valley, nearly half a mile in breadth, which lay between the two armies, and at that time bore a tall and strong crop of corn.

The French position ran along an eminence parallel to the British lines, at a distance of from twelve to fourteen hundred yards, and the opposing hills were each of them lined with three hundred pieces of artillery. Early in the morning of the 18th, numerous bodies of French cavalry began to occupy the ridge of La Belle Alliance. At nine o'clock the rain had somewhat abated, and the 1st corps was at that hour put in motion, and placed opposite the centre of the British position, with the left on the road to Brussels. The second corps, resting its right upon the same road, and its left upon a small wood in front of Hougomont, was placed within cannon shot of the English army. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in the rear of the right to oppose a Prussian corps, which, having escaped Marshal Grouchy, threatened to fall upon the French right flank; and the cuirassiers and the guards were in reserve behind the eminence, and upon the heights of La Belle Alliance.*

The force of the two armies has been variously stated; ac-

* French Bulletin.

according to the French accounts, the English army consisted of eighty thousand men, and the Prussian corps, on the left of the British position, of fifteen thousand; the allied force was therefore upwards of ninety thousand, and the French less numerous.* Marshal Blucher says—"The English army was about eighty thousand strong, and the enemy had about one hundred and thirty thousand."† The Duke of Wellington, with his usual caution, makes no statement of numbers—it is to the results mainly that he directs his attention. From a paper indorsed "Enumeration of some corps of the army," in the hand-writing of a French officer, found in Bonaparte's Portfolio, taken at Genappe after the battle, it appears that the French corps which fought at Waterloo, did not exceed eighty thousand.‡ And it is pretty clear that, after making the proper deduction for the loss in the battle of Quatre Bras, the aggregate amount of the miscellaneous force brought this day into the field by the Duke of Wellington, including British, Belgian, Hanoverian, and Brunswickers, did not amount to more than seventy thousand men.§

A little before mid-day the battle commenced by the almost simultaneous advance of three entire French *corps d'armee*, on the right, left, and centre of the British lines. The Prussian corps under Bulow, struggling with the defiles of St. Lambert, were urging forward their course towards the scene of action, and the cheering cry of "Keep your ground, brave English, till we come up," was addressed on every hand to a British officer of engineers, who had been despatched early in the morning by Lord Wellington, to inform the Prussian commander that an engagement had become inevitable. Both the rival commanders were in full view of the field when the battle began, and remained upon it all day, without retiring for a moment. Napoleon's first post was a high temporary ob-

* French Bulletin.

† Prussian Official Report.

‡ See No. II. of Napoleon's Portfolio, published at Brussels.

§ The Duke of Wellington's force was divided into two *corps d'armee*, under the orders of General the Prince of Orange, and Lieutenant-general Lord Hill, under whom the infantry was commanded by

LIEUTENANT-GENERALS Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Henry Clinton, and Baron Sir C. Alten.

MAJOR-GENERALS Sir H. de Hinuber, Sir James Kempt, Sir Colin Halkett, Sir Denis Pack, George Cooke, Peregrine Maitland, Frederick Adam, Sir John Byng, and Sir John Lambert.

The cavalry was commanded by Lieutenant-general the Earl of Uxbridge, and under him by

MAJOR-GENERALS Lord Edward Somerset, the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby, Count Sir William Dornbeg, Sir Colquhoun Grant, Sir R. Husse Vivian, and Sir John Ormsby Vandeleur.

The artillery was under the command of Colonel Sir George Adam Wood; and the engineers under Col. Smyth.

servatory, constructed some weeks before, by order of the King of the Netherlands, as a point of observation for the persons employed in making a trigonometrical survey of the country; but his principal station, during the day, was a small elevation in front of the farm of La Belle Alliance, and on the left-hand side of the road leading to Brussels. Soult, Ney, and other officers of distinction, commanded under him, but he issued all orders, and received all reports in person. The well-chosen station of the Duke of Wellington formed the precise centre of the British line, near the top of Mount St. Jean, under a tree, on the Brussels road, which commanded a full view of the intermediate plain, and of the whole of the enemy's force upon the adverse slope, and from which every movement made or threatened, could, with the aid of his achromatic telescope, be distinctly seen. Here the British commander, dressed in a blue regimental frock-coat, and wearing a plain cocked-hat, kept his post during the whole day, except when engaged in confirming the unconquerable spirit of his gallant countrymen, or in leading them on to that final charge which decided the fate of nations.

The two points of the greatest importance in the British lines were, the chateau of Hougoumont, with its wood and garden in front of the right; and the farm of La Haye Sainte in front of the left. Hougoumont in particular was the *point d'appui*, or key, of the Duke of Wellington's position, and here three companies of General Byng's brigade of guards, under Lord Saltoun, were placed, while the gardens and woods were lined with Nassau troops as sharp-shooters. The attack on the right was made by a division of the second corps of the French army, under Jerome Bonaparte, and such was its fury and impetuosity, that the Nassau troops abandoned their post at Hougoumont in dismay. The French forced their way to the very gates of the court-yard, but there they were received by the guards with so close and well-directed a fire, that they retired in confusion, or were charged with the bayonet, and repeatedly repulsed. In less than half an hour fifteen hundred men perished in the orchard only, which did not exceed four acres in extent. A station of so much importance was to be obtained if possible at any price, and fresh reinforcements were sent in succession to this scene of carnage. At length the house and out-buildings took fire; but even amidst the flames the combat continued with unabating fury. In one of the out-buildings, the wounded of both armies, who had in this place sought a temporary refuge, perished by the most horrible of deaths. In vain their shrieks reached the ears of the conflicting armies. The combatants were too fiercely en-

gaged to lend them any assistance, and it was soon impossible to extricate them from the devouring element. The house and offices were now reduced to mere shells, and the post of Hougoumont being in some degree insulated, and its defenders no longer in close communication with the British army, the French cavalry were enabled to pour round it in great strength. Here, as in the other parts of the field, the British forces were, during this memorable action, drawn up in squares, each regiment forming a separate square by itself, not quite solid, but nearly so, the men being drawn up several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded space enough to draw up the battalions in line, when they should be ordered to deploy, and the regiments were posted, with reference to each other, much like the alternate squares upon a chess-board.—It was, of course, impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without exposing themselves to the danger of being at once assailed by a fire in front from that square which was in the rear, and on both flanks from those between which it had moved forward. These dangers were far from repressing the courage of the French, who pressed forward in defiance of every obstacle, and in their furious onsets seemed to unsettle the firm earth over which they galloped; but as often as they advanced to the lines they were driven back with the bayonet, and although these efforts were repeated during the whole day, such was the constancy of the troops to which the defence of Hougoumont was confided, that the ruins of the chateau never for a moment passed into the hands of the enemy.

The attack upon Hougoumont was accompanied by a heavy fire from more than two hundred pieces of artillery upon the whole British line; and under cover of this fire repeated attacks were made. Columns of French infantry and cavalry, preceded by formidable artillery, advancing from every point, ascended the eminence on which the British were posted, and precipitated themselves on their squares. In vain the French artillery mowed down whole ranks of their enemies. The chasms were instantly filled, and not a foot of ground was lost. "What brave troops!" exclaimed Napoleon to his staff, "it is a pity to destroy them; but I shall beat them after all." The principal masses of the 6th corps of the French were at this moment directed on the left of the British position, where were posted the divisions of Generals Picton and Kempt. The object of Napoleon in this attack was to turn the left of the allies, and, by separating them from the Prussians, to cut off the retreat of the Duke of Wellington in the direction of Ter la Haye. Nothing could be more tremendous than the mode

of attack ; it was headed by artillery, which discharged showers of iron grape shot, each bullet larger than a walnut. It was a battle, on the part of the French, of cavalry and cannon ; and at the head of their columns were the iron-cased cuirassiers, in complete mail, upon which the musket-balls were heard to ring, as they glanced off without injuring or even stunning the wearer. The 42d, 79th, and 92d, highlanders, supported by the 1st and 28th regiments, met this phalanx without dismay, and displayed all the gallantry by which they had been distinguished in the battle of the 16th. The advancing column marched on amidst the destructive fire of the British artillery, and gained the height, determined to carry the position. Already some of the foreign corps posted at this point had given way, and it required all the skill of the British commander, and all the courage and discipline of his soldiers, to withstand the shock.* The Duke of Wellington, who happened to be in this part of the field at the moment, moved up a body of British troops to a kind of natural embrazure, formed by a hedge and bank in front of the line. Sir Thomas Picton, without waiting for the attack, formed his division into solid squares, and advanced to the charge. The Royals, the Greys, and Enniskellens, co-operating in this bold manœuvre, wheeled upon the flanks of the advancing column ; and the French, after suffering immense loss, were driven into the plain. It was at this moment that Sir Thomas Picton fell gloriously while leading his troops to the charge. The enemy, confounded at finding their masses met in such a manner, fired, and retreated ; when a musket-ball struck the right temple of the British general, went through the brain, and was retained only by the skin at the opposite side of the skull. In the death of Sir Thomas Picton the British service lost an officer of distinguished merit, who had served his country for five and forty years with a zeal and devotion which age could not damp, and whose skill and gallantry had been displayed in the American Archipelago, in the marshes of Holland, and the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

It was in this part of the field, but at a more advanced period of the battle, that the mild, yet intrepid Sir William Ponsonby fell, leading on his men to victory. In order to check the destructive attacks made by the Polish lancers against the British infantry, he led his brigade into the heat of the battle, and a more brilliant and successful charge was never witnessed. Two thousand prisoners served to announce his success ; but the impetuous valour of two of his regiments

* General Alava.

having hurried him too far in the pursuit, he entered a newly ploughed field, and being badly mounted, his horse sunk in the mire, and was incapable of extricating himself. At this instant a body of lancers approached him at full speed; and Sir William, anticipating his fate, took out a picture and his watch, and was in the act of consigning them to his aide-de-camp, to be delivered to his wife, when the lancers came up, and terminated the career of both the general and his attendant. His body was found soon after, pierced with no less than seven wounds. But he did not fall unavenged; before the close of the day the Polish lancers were almost annihilated; and two of those imperial eagles, on which were emblazoned the names of Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, and Wagram, and which had been presented to the 49th and the 105th regiments only seventeen days before, at the *Champ de Mai*, fell into the hands of the British. The struggle for the eagles was maintained principally by the 92d regiment, who broke into the centre of the French column with the bayonet, and the moment they had pierced the line the Scotch Greys dashed in to their support, both regiments greeting each other with the exhilarating cry of "Scotland for ever." By the effort which followed, the enemy's column to a man was put to the sword or made prisoners; and the Greys, charging through the second line, took the eagles. The emperor, surrounded by his staff, and attended by the trembling farmer Lacoste,* witnessed the recoil of his best troops, and

* Early in the morning of Sunday, the 18th of June, Jean Baptiste Lacoste, the tenant of the farm of La Belle Alliance, was called upon by three French officers, who, after having ascertained that he was well acquainted with the country, sent him to Bonaparte, to serve as a guide. On his arrival at the French head-quarters he was placed on a horse immediately between Napoleon and his first aide-de-camp, his saddle being tied to the saddle of a trooper behind him, that he might not escape, as a former man employed in the same capacity had done. During the whole day he remained in attendance upon the emperor, and did not quit him till he had re-passed the Sambre. The narrative of this man, if less interesting than might have been expected from the station he occupied, is nevertheless curious, and bears evident marks of authenticity. Observing how the chasms in the British troops were filled up the instant they were made by the French artillery, Napoleon, he says, exclaimed—" *Quelles braves troupes ! comme ils travaillent ! tres-bien !*" —"What brave troops ! how they do go through their work ! admirable ! admirable indeed !" During the battle, the emperor held a map of the scene of action in his left hand, and seemed intent upon his military command all the day, incessantly taking snuff from his waistcoat-pocket in large pinches. This was all the refreshment he took for fourteen hours. Seeing Lacoste flinch at the shower of shot; he said—"Don't stir, my friend, a shot will kill you equally in the back as in the front, or wound you more disgracefully." The emperor's dress consisted of a grey sur-tout, with a green uniform coat, and, in honour of his party's badge, a violet coloured waistcoat and pantaloons.

felt himself constrained, in spite of himself, repeatedly to utter compliments to the spirit, rapidity, and steadiness of the British cavalry :—" These English fight admirably," said he to Soult, " but they must give way," " No, sire," was the reply, " they prefer being cut to pieces." The Scotch Greys especially struck him, and he often repeated—*Regardez ces chevaux gris !*—Observe those grey horses !

The attacks on the right and left of the British line having failed, Napoleon now directed his efforts against the centre. La Haye Sainte was a point as important to be carried as Ter la Haye, and inferior only to Hougoumont. If the enemy succeeded here he indulged the hope that the line would be broken, and the communication with Brussels cut off. Both parties felt the importance of this position, and nobly exerted themselves, the French to carry and the British to defend it. Perpetual reinforcements occupied the places of the weakened battalions, and for more than an hour the contest was maintained with doubtful and equal success. While the contest still hung in suspense, it was discovered that the ammunition of the detachment of the legion which occupied La Haye Sainte was expended, and that the enemy had occupied the only communication with that place. But even in this extremity, the German legion scorned to surrender ; they defended themselves desperately with the bayonet ; nor was the position carried till its defenders had ceased to breathe. Napoleon, with his characteristic promptitude, seized the advantage which now presented itself, and pressing on with immense masses of infantry and cavalry, redoubled his attacks against the exposed centre. The first battalions that he encountered, overwhelmed by superior numbers, gave way ; and the emperor, deeming the fortune of the day no longer doubtful, despatched couriers to Paris with the intelligence that the day was won. An awful crisis had now arisen ; and had Napoleon brought up his reserves of infantry, or waited till the British squares had been thrown into confusion by the tremendous fire of artillery which he was enabled to direct against them from the position he had conquered, it might have been impossible for the unrivalled skill even of the Duke of Wellington to retrieve the disaster. But the impetuosity of the French troops was not to be restrained by the caution of their general ; and " by a movement of impatience," says the French bulletin, " so frequent in the military annals of France, and which has been so often fatal to them, the cavalry of reserve, having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from the batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowded the heights of Mount

St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, might have decided the day, being made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal." "Having no means of countermanding it," it is added, "the British showed many masses of cavalry and infantry, and the two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all the French cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled the French troops to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry—an advantage out of proportion with the loss which their cavalry experienced by the grape-shot and musket firing.*

During this part of the conflict the cuirassiers and lancers rushed on at the head of their columns, and precipitated themselves on the British squares. A few battalions, who were slow or awkward in their evolutions, were in a moment cut to pieces; but wherever the squares were formed the enemy could make no impression. In vain, with unexampled courage and self-devotion, the French cavalry walked their horses round the British squares, and dashed at the slightest opening; in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have nobly sacrificed themselves, by receiving the fire of their adversaries, while the main body waited to charge on the British ere they could re-load their pieces, or fill up the chasm. The troops, with a steadiness to which no language can do justice, did not pull a single trigger, but continued to present a barrier of steel against the advance of the main body of the enemy. Other squadrons of cavalry penetrated between the squares, and desperately charged on the position occupied by the Duke of Wellington and his staff. It was evidently their object to signalise themselves by the death or capture of the British commander. Even his personal escort was compelled to be continually on the alert, and was frequently engaged with the most enterprising of the advancing columns. The cavalry took a distinguished part in the action. They fiercely engaged the cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs, who had penetrated the line, and the battle was bravely contested man to man. Notwithstanding the most undaunted exertions on the part of the Earl of Uxbridge, seconded by those of the cavalry officers of the British army, the light cavalry were found to suffer severely in their unequal encounter with the ponderous and sword proof cuirassiers.

* French Official Account of the battle of Waterloo, dated Paris, June 21, 1815.

Even the German legion, so distinguished for discipline and courage during the peninsular conflicts, were found unequal on the field of Waterloo to the shock of the French cavalry. But no sooner had Sir John Elley asked and obtained permission to bring up the heavy brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Oxford Blues, and the Scotch Greys, than a charge was made which overwhelmed all resistance. The armour of the cuirassiers, the weight of their squadrons, and the power of their horses, united, proved altogether unable to withstand the shock of the heavy brigade; they were literally ridden down upon the field; and, in the homely but emphatic language of one of the life-guards-men, "hundreds of them were unhorsed, and cracked like lobsters in their shells." Others were forced headlong over a sort of quarry or gravel pit, where they rolled a confused and undistinguished mass of men and horses, exposed to the galling fire of the 95th, which, being poured closely in upon them, soon put a period to their struggles.

Napoleon, perceiving the error that had been committed, in the "movement of impatience," brought forward the whole centre of his infantry to assist, and, if possible, to disengage his cavalry. A close column of French pressed forward, with irresistible vigour, and marched on to carry the village of Mount St. Jean, in the rear of the British position. The Duke of Wellington felt the critical situation in which his army was placed, and presenting himself wherever the danger was most imminent, led on in person several successive charges, exclaiming repeatedly—"We must not be beat; what would they say in England?" When any of the squares appeared to falter, he threw himself into the midst of them, and the consciousness of the treasure committed to their care rendered them firm as the rock, against which the spray beats harmlessly. By the constancy of his troops he succeeded in arresting the further progress of the enemy, and snatched from them that advantage which they had gained. The enemy, in his turn, now began to retreat; the farm of La Haye Sainte was re-taken, and the combatants again occupied the situation which they had held at the commencement of the attack on the British centre, with this difference only, that the French troops had established themselves on a small mount on the left of the road from Brussels to Charleroi, and never quitted it till the grand advance of the British army at the close of the engagement.

It was with the greatest difficulty the duke could restrain the impetuosity of his troops; and in visiting the different stations he was often received with shouts of impatience. The gallant 95th in particular, wearied with the iron cases and the

iron grape shot, requested to be led on : " Not yet, not yet, my brave fellows ! " was the duke's reply ; " be firm a little longer. "

The attacks on the right, the left, and the centre, now described, formed a fair specimen of the reiterated contests till four o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour a new series of attacks commenced along the whole extent of the British line, but principally upon the centre, sometimes with infantry, at others with cavalry, and frequently with both united ; while three hundred pieces of artillery on each side vomited forth their death-dispersing charges. Terrible as the slaughter was, it would have been yet more dreadful, had not the shells, owing to the wetness of the ground, frequently buried themselves in the earth, and when they exploded, produced no other effect than that of casting up a tremendous fountain of mud.

The Duke of Wellington had placed his best troops in the first line ; already they had suffered severely, and it was found that the quality of those brought up to support them was in some instances unequal to the duty they were required to discharge. A Belgian regiment, that had given way on entering the first line, was again brought to its post by the duke in person ; but no sooner had they crossed the ridge of the hill, and again become exposed to the storm of balls and shells, from which they had before retreated, than they once more marched to the right about, and left their general to find in a Brunswick regiment more steady and resolute followers. In another part of the field the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland, as they were called, a corps distinguished for their high plumes, and the other embellishments of continental military foppery, were ordered to avail themselves of an opportunity that presented itself to charge the French cavalry ; but instead of making the proposed advance they retreated, and took up a position behind the hamlet of St. Jean.*

* The colonel of this regiment, when ordered to advance, urged the enemy's strength—their cuirasses—and the consideration, which had unaccountably, he said, escaped the commander-in-chief, that his regiment were all gentlemen. This diverting response was carried back to the Duke of Wellington, who despatched the messenger again to say, that if the *gentlemen* would take post upon an eminence, which he pointed out in the rear, they would have an excellent view of the battle ; and he would leave the choice of a proper time entirely to their own sagacity and discretion, in which he had the fullest confidence ! The colonel, not perceiving the sarcasm conveyed by the messenger, actually thanked the aide-de-camp for this distinguished post of honour, and followed by his gallant train, was out of danger in a moment.—*Simpson's Visit to Flanders.*



J. B. G. & Co. del.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO .



- A *La Belle Alliance.*
 B *La Sainte Hare, with Prisoners of War.*
 C *Wood of Hougoumont.*
 D *French Lines thrown into disorder by the fugitives of the Imperial Guard's Cuirassiers, and the attack of the Prussians in their rear.*
 E *42^d Scots, in Square, (Col. Macara) attacked by French Lancers.*
 F *Part of General Ponsonby's Brigade of Cavalry cutting up the Polish Lancers (the toll at their head.)*
 G *Panic-struck troops of the Old Imperial Guard and Cuirassiers flying in.*
 H *Grand Combat between Bonaparte's Cuirassiers and the Scots Greys.*

These instances were by no means characteristic of the general conduct of the Hanoverian or Belgian troops, by both of whom the fight was in other parts of the field gallantly sustained ; but they may serve to show that the duke could not repose implicit confidence in the raw troops and militia of whom his second line was chiefly composed, and will still more highly exalt that prudence which induced him to restrain the ardour of his troops, till the arrival of the Prussians. The invitation held out to a Belgic corps by the French troops, and conveyed in the cry " Brave Belgians, come over, and join your old comrades !" was rejected with disdain.

It was now five o'clock, and still the Prussians, so long expected, and so ardently wished for, had not yet arrived. The British reserves were all in action ; their loss was already severe in the extreme ; and the brave Scotch division was reduced to one-third its number. The sixth division, still less fortunate, because less actively engaged, had been almost destroyed without firing a gun ; and patient endurance, though still as necessary as ever, began to find its limit. The spirits of the soldiers drooped ; they scorned the thoughts of a retreat ; and were eager to be led against the enemy ; but thus to stand as targets for the French columns to direct their fire against was more than they could much longer endure. An indifference to life was fast spreading through the ranks ; and the penetrating mind of the commander became a prey to the most anxious suspense. Success was more than doubtful. Another hour, without the appearance of Blucher, might render defeat inevitable. Still the Duke of Wellington was cool, and collected, and while he looked at his watch with a frequency and intentness that sufficiently indicated the anxiety he felt for the arrival of his allies, he continued firm at his post. " All who heard him issue orders took confidence from his quick and decisive intellect ; and all who saw him caught metal from his undaunted composure." At this juncture an aide-de-camp came with the information that the fifth division was almost destroyed, and that it was utterly impossible that they could longer maintain their ground against the murderous attacks to which they were exposed : " I cannot help it," said the duke, " they must keep their ground. They and I, and every Englishman in the field, must die on the spot rather than give way. Would to God that night or Blucher were come."

The duke's personal staff, who had shared so many glories and dangers by the side of their commander, fell around him in rapid succession. The Prince of Nassau, one of his aides-de-camp, received two balls. The gallant General de Lancy

was struck by a spent ball, while animating and leading back to the charge a battalion of Hanoverians, who had got into confusion, and exclaimed as he fell—"Leave me to die; my wound is mortal; attend to the duke; and do not waste that time on me which may be usefully employed in assisting others." These orders were too promptly obeyed; and, when, on the following morning, the bloody field was traversed, he was found yet living, and to the satisfaction and joy of his friends, hopes, fallacious ones, alas! were entertained of his recovery. He was removed to the village of Waterloo; and Lady de Lancy, who had arrived at Brussels a week before the battle, had the sad consolation to attend her dying husband, who expired six days after the battle—a martyr probably to his own generous disinterestedness. The same, but a more sudden, and consequently more enviable fate, awaited Lieutenant-colonel the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon; while earnestly and affectionately remonstrating with the duke on the too free exposure of his invaluable life, he was struck by a musket-ball, which closed his career by the side of his beloved commander. Colonel Ferrier, of the first life-guards, had led his regiment to the charge no less than eleven times, and several of these charges were made after his head had been laid open by the cut of a sabre; still unsubdued, he made a final effort; it was his last; he sunk in the bloom of life among the slain. Lieutenant-colonel Canning likewise now closed his career of glory. In his capacity of aide-de-camp to the duke he had been sent with some important orders to a distant part of the line, and on his return was struck by a grape shot on the breast. As he fell, his friend, Lord March, hastened to his assistance; the colonel with difficulty raised himself up, and even in his last moments, sensible only to that enthusiastic regard for his commander which the Duke of Wellington so well knew how to inspire, eagerly enquired "Is the duke yet safe?" "He is, my friend," was the reply. A smile of joy played round the lips of the dying hero—"God bless him!" he exclaimed, and then seizing the hand of the young nobleman, he feelingly added, "And God bless you," and expired. About this period of the battle the Prince of Orange, while rallying some of his troops, who had shrunk from the impetuous attacks of the enemy, received a musket-ball in his arm, which lodged in his shoulder, and obliged him to quit the field.

The frequency and impetuosity of the enemy's attacks were now redoubled; and the French, like the English commander, fought with "infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery." Although no credit is to be given to the accounts of the despera-

tion with which he sought every danger, and his apparently firm determination to die on the field, yet he evinced much personal courage, and was always collected, and in full possession of the ample resources of his own capacious mind. The more the obstacles to his success multiplied the more determined he became. He was indignant at these unforeseen difficulties ; and far from hesitating to expose an army whose confidence in him knew no bounds, he continually sent forward fresh troops, with orders to charge with the bayonet, and to carry every thing before them. He was frequently told that at various points the battle was against him, and that his troops began to waver ; but there was no wavering in his purpose—"Forward, forward !" was his only reply : A general sent his aide-de-camp to inform him that he found himself in a position which he could not maintain, owing to the dreadful fire of a battery, and to ask what he should do to support himself against this artillery ? "Seize upon it," said Napoleon, and turned his back upon the aide-de-camp.*

An officer now approached with the intelligence that the Prussians were advancing in the rear of the right wing of the French army ; but Napoleon appeared to be incredulous ; he furiously dismissed the messenger, and affirmed that it was the corps of the French Marshal Grouchy, and that the success of the day was now certain and complete. It was now seven o'clock in the evening, and General Labedoyere was despatched by the emperor to Marshal Ney on the left, to inform him that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on the right of the French army, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread the intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they had experienced. But what was the astonishment, not to say indignation, of the French army, when they learned, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support them, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians, under General Bulow, had attacked the extreme right of their army.† Whether Napoleon was deceived with regard to the time when Marshal Grouchy could support him, or whether the march of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy, longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the time when his arrival was announced to the French army, he was only at

* Relation par un Temoin Oculaire.

† The Prince of Moskwa's Letter to the Duke of Otranto, dated Paris, June 26, 1815.

Wavre, upon the Dyle, which to us, says Marshal Ney, was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle.

The delayed arrival of the Prussians, which had occasioned to the commander of the English army so much anxiety, was to be attributed to no want of energy on the part of the generals. The passage of the Dyle over a narrow bridge had retarded their advance, and the deep defiles of St. Lambert, combined with the badness of the roads, had rendered it almost impossible to reach the scene of action before the fate of the day was decided. The point chosen to issue from the defiles was selected with admirable skill. It was at first proposed to advance above Fritchmont, but the intelligent peasant selected for the guide of the Prussians objected to this proposal, and urged the propriety of descending lower down the vale towards Planchenoit, and more in the rear of the French reserves, for then, said he, we shall take them all. The moment at which these reinforcements arrived was most critical; and one shudders to think that the fortune of such a day should so much depend on the knowledge and fidelity of a single peasant. Had he guided the Prussian corps wrong; had he led them into a neighbouring narrow way impassable to cannon; or had General Bulow's army come up one hour later, the enemy's 6th corps, stationed on the right, to watch the advance of the Prussians, might have been brought to assist their final operation against the British centre, and consequences, fatal perhaps to the whole campaign, might have ensued.

In the mean time the French troops of the 6th corps, under Gen. Count Lobau, had repulsed the advanced guard of the Prussians, and driven them again into the woods. Animated by this success, and fully aware of the exigency of his situation, Napoleon determined to make one of those grand efforts by which he had so frequently snatched victory from the hands of his enemies. Notwithstanding the perseverance with which he had renewed his attacks upon the English positions, and the vast number of his best troops that had already fallen, he had still in reserve four regiments of the middle guard, who, remaining on the heights of La Belle Alliance, or covered by the hill, had never yet come into the battle. On the approach of night, Napoleon determined to devote this proved and faithful reserve, and putting himself at their head, to make one last and desperate effort to force the left centre of the British army at La Haye Sainte. For this purpose, he left the more distant point of observation, which he had for some time occupied upon the heights in the rear of the line, and

descending from the hill, placed himself in the midst of the highway fronting Mount St. Jean, within a quarter of a mile of the British line. The banks, which rise high on each side of the road, protected him from such balls as did not come in a direct line, but it does not appear that he was protected by any ravine in front. Here he harangued his troops while they defiled before him. He reminded them how often he had relied on their valour in cases of emergency, and told them that he had never relied upon it in vain. The enemy's cavalry and infantry, he said, were almost annihilated, and could offer no effectual resistance; their artillery, it was true, was still numerous and formidable, but this force must give way before the point of the bayonet. This animating address he concluded by pointing to the causeway in front and exclaiming—"That, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels!" The prodigious shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, with which the guards answered this appeal, led the Duke of Wellington and the troops under his command to expect an instant renewal of the attack, with Napoleon as the leader; the troops however advanced under the command of Marshal Ney, and the emperor, in failing to take the personal command of his guards, whom he destined to try the last cast of his fortune, disappointed both his friends and his enemies.

The imperial guard, rallying in their progress such of the broken cavalry and infantry of the line as yet maintained the combat, advanced dauntlessly, and a momentary pause took place in the British fire. But no sooner did the head of the French columns present themselves within the range of the British artillery, than an enfilating fire opened upon them with an effect so tremendous as to present the appearance of a large body of men advancing perpetually from the hollow way without ever gaining ground on the plain. Enthusiasm, however, joined to the impulse communicated from the rear, at length carried the whole of the attacking force into the plain. A body of Brunswickers at first attempted to oppose them; but after an ineffectual resistance, they were defeated with immense slaughter. The French troops had now penetrated within the British lines; and it seemed impossible for the duke to rally a sufficient force to arrest their progress. They carried every thing before them, and once more in this strange and eventful battle victory inclined to the side of Napoleon: "In this state of affairs," says the French bulletin, "the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle.....After eight hour's fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army

saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power."*

But the English, it appears, did not know when they were beaten. Immediately in the rear was the Duke of Wellington riding backwards and forwards, and, like the genius of the storm, directing its thunders; and on the brow of the hill, immediately in front of the French advancing columns, a regiment of British guards had been ordered to lie down, to shelter themselves from the enemy's fire. The imperial guard still advanced; and had approached within a hundred yards, when the duke suddenly exclaimed—"Up, guards, and at them." In an instant the guards sprung upon their feet, and assumed the offensive. The unexpected appearance of this fine body of men startled the French battalions, and they suddenly paused; but immediately recovering themselves, they advanced still more rapidly, and at a given signal their artillery filed off to the right and left. They approached within twenty yards of their opponents, and were in the act of dashing upon them with the bayonet, when a volley was poured upon them by the British, now formed in line four ranks deep, which literally threw the enemy back with the shock. A second volley heightened their confusion; and before they had time to deploy or to manœuvre, the British cheered, and rushed furiously upon them with the point of the bayonet, but not one of the French guards stopped to cross bayonets with the household troops of the rival nation. Napoleon witnessed the recoil with the same clearness as the English general, but with feelings how different! He wished to rally the fugitives, and lead them in person to another effort; but Bertrand and Drouet threw themselves before him, and representing how much the safety of France and of the army depended upon his life, besought him to forbear. Napoleon suffered himself to be persuaded; and seeing that all was lost, fell back to his former station.

The main body of the Prussians had already arrived—Marshal Blücher by Ohain, and General Bülow in the direction of Planchenoit. As the Prussian commander-in-chief pressed forward upon the enemy, intelligence was brought him that the corps which he had left at Wavre, under General Thielman, was pressed by a superior force, under Marshal Grouchy, and that they could with difficulty maintain their position. This news made little impression upon the veteran—it was at Waterloo, and not at Wavre, that the battle must

* French Official Account of the Battle of the 18th, dated Paris, June 21st, 1815.

be decided, and the advancing columns continued, under this impression, to urge on their forward movements. The countenance of the Duke of Wellington now brightened into a smile ; his watch, so long held in his hand to mark the progress of time, while he invoked the arrival of night or of the Prussians, was restored to his pocket ; and he exclaimed, exultingly, " There goes old Blucher at last ; we shall beat them yet."

" The decisive moment had arrived. The duke now ordered the whole line to move forward ; nothing could be more beautiful. The sun, which had hitherto been veiled, at this instant shed upon the allies his departing rays, as if to smile upon the efforts they were making, and to bless them with success."* The centre of the advancing army, led on by the Duke of Wellington in person,† proceeded in line to the decisive charge, while the flank regiments were formed into hollow squares, in order to repel any attacks that might be made by the enemy's cavalry. Nothing could resist the impetuosity of the attack. The French fought with bravery and desperation ; but their first line was speedily penetrated ; the second afforded little more resistance, and complete confusion and rout ensued. Cries of " All is lost," issued from all parts of the French army. " The soldiers," says the French bulletin, " pretend that on many points, ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut*—Let him save himself who can. However this might be, a complete panic at once spread itself through the whole field of battle, and the greatest disorder prevailed on the line of communication ; soldiers, cannoniers, caissons, all pressed to this point." Enormous masses of infantry, supported by an immense cavalry, fell upon them in every direction, and summoned the guard to surrender. " The guard never surrender—they die !" was the heroic reply, while they slowly retreated inch by inch. Quarter that was rejected could not be given ; and the carnage terminated only with resistance. The enemy was thus forced from his position on the heights, leaving behind him one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the English.

While these events were passing in the centre the Prussian columns continued to advance. The whole of the 4th corps, and part of the 2d, under General Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury ; some uncertainty was however perceived in their movements, and it was observed that several pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment, the first columns of the corps of General

* See Plate.

† General Alva's Despatch to the Spanish Secretary of State.

Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. The vigour of this charge could not be withstood. The enemy's right wing was broken in three places ; they abandoned their position ; and the Prussian troops, rushing forward at the *pas de charge*, completed their overthrow*. According to the French official account, their whole army was now nothing but a mass of confusion ; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pele mele*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. Perceiving that all was lost, and "that his personal position was likely to be incircled by the British cavalry, Napoleon exclaimed to Bertrand—" *Il faut que nous sauvons*"—"We must save ourselves." He then retreated with his staff about forty yards along the road, and halted about twenty yards from La Belle Alliance, where putting the glass to his eye, he saw the Scotch Greys intermingled with, and furiously cutting, the French troops to pieces. This sight brought from him the exclamation—" *Qu'ils sont terribles ces chevaux gris !*"—How terrible are these grey horses !—" *Il faut nous dépêcher ; nous dépêcher*"—we must decamp ; we must decamp ; and the emperor and his suite galloped off the field."†

Night had now come on, and the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher met in the dark at Belle Alliance, and embraced each other with transport. At the request of Marshal Blucher, the pursuit of the retreating army was consigned over to the Prussians, and while the exhausted English were preparing their bivouacs, their gallant allies made a momentary pause to greet them with their favourite air of "God save the King," which was returned with three hearty cheers, combining the mingled feelings of gratitude and exultation.

The tremendous scenes of the day were surpassed by the horrors of the night. Marshal Blucher assembled all the superior officers of his army, and gave orders to send the last man and the last horse in pursuit of the enemy. The sun had long gone down, but no friendly darkness sheltered the fugitives ; an unclouded moon, near her full, lighted the pursuers to their prey. The causeway, between Waterloo and Genappe, is described as presenting the appearance of an immense shipwreck ; it was covered with innumerable cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, and arms, forming one vast and almost impenetrable chaos. No rallying point had been given to the French army ; and it was now impossible to cause any command to be heard. Fear exaggerated the horrors of the fugitives ; and the night, without being dark, considerably

* Marshal Blucher's Official Report.

† Lacoste's Narrative.

augmented the general disorder. Even Marshal Ney, the second in command, was alone, totally ignorant of what had become of the emperor, and altogether incapable of arresting a single soldier to oppose the progress of the victors.* The Prussians continued the pursuit during the whole night, and revenge itself was satiated with the blood of the panic-struck victims. It may be pleaded, not as a justification, but as an explanation of the ferocious joy with which the Prussians followed and destroyed the retreating army, that a mutual and deadly hatred animated the Prussians and the French, and the sanguinary scenes of Ligny, were amply atoned in the streets of Genappe.

The last stand made by the wreck of the French army, was at Genappe. Bonaparte effected his escape through this town before midnight; and the fugitives, who had intrenched themselves with cannon, and overturned carriages, awaited the approach of the Prussians with symptoms of reviving resolution. The progress of the Prussian troops was, for a moment, arrested by a brisk fire of musketry: some cannon shot, however, followed by a loud *hurrah*, served to renew the panic, and to put the town in possession of the assailants. Here, among other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon, containing his papers, but not his person, was captured by Major Von Kohler; and his hat, sword, and casket of treasure, well stored with Napoleons, enhanced the value of the prize.† His travelling library, consisting of nearly eight hundred volumes, in six chests, was also taken, and among the books were found French translations of Homer and Ossian, the Bible, and the Pucelle of Voltaire!

The Brunswick cavalry, though they had borne their full

* Letter from Marshal Ney to the Duke of Otranto.

† This vehicle was afterwards brought over to England, and exhibited for many months at the London Museum. In this favourite carriage Napoleon travelled to Moscow, and afterwards to Dresden. After the campaign of Paris it bore him to the shores of the Mediterranean, and was shipped with him for Elba. On his return from that island, he made in this, his moving palace, his triumphant journey to Paris, and in it he was conveyed to the field of Waterloo. But the Prussian bulletin is in error, when it states, that Napoleon had just quitted the carriage, at the time it was taken:—he had in fact, never entered it after the battle. The captured carriage is one of the most perfect specimens of elegance and convenience that can well be imagined:—though only of the ordinary size, it is a complete bed-room, dressing-room, dining-room, kitchen, and offices. Packed up in the most compact way are whole services of china, with knives, forks, spoons, and decanters, with a dressing case, containing all the articles for the toilette. A complete wardrobe, bed-stead, bed, and mattresses, afforded their respective accommodations; and all so arranged as to present themselves in an instant, without incommoding the traveller.

share in all the fatigues of the day, asked and obtained permission to join in the pursuit. The destruction on the field of battle had not, in their estimation, sufficiently compensated for the death of their beloved leader. They now eagerly headed the chase, and their savage ferocity knew no bounds: not a man whom they could sacrifice to the *manes* of their prince was spared. As they charged through Genappe, the French General Duchesme, who commanded the rear-guard of the French army, was standing at the gate of an inn, when one of the Brunswick black hussars, perceiving that he was a superior officer, rode up to him, and instantly cut him down, exclaiming, "The duke fell the day before yesterday, and thou also shalt bite the dust." In some of the villages the officers repeatedly attempted to rally the troops, and to maintain themselves under the protection of the houses; but an inexplicable panic had seized on every heart, and they, whose bravery had, a few hours before, excited the warmest admiration of their enemies, were now incapable of the least resistance. The beat of the drums, or the sound of the trumpet of the Prussians, appalled the stoutest of their number, and they either fled, or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners.

Early in the morning of the 19th of June, Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were established at Genappe, and from thence he addressed a letter to the governor of Berlin, announcing "the most complete victory ever obtained."*

At break of day, the feeble wreck of the French army began to arrive at Charleroi and Marchienne, where they eagerly pressed on to re-pass the Sambre. Four days before they had proudly traversed these places as conquerors, which now they stole fearfully through, as if dreading to be recognized, or to find an avenging enemy in the peaceable inhabitants. The most melancholy part of the cavalcade was the long column of

* LETTER FROM MARSHAL BLUCHER TO GENERAL VON KALKREUTH.

"I have to inform your Excellency, that, in conjunction with the British army under the Duke of Wellington, I yesterday gained the most complete victory over Napoleon Bonaparte that ever was obtained. The battle took place in the neighbourhood of a few houses, situated on the road from hence to Brussels, called La Belle Alliance; and a better name cannot well be given to this important day. The whole French army is in a state of perfect dissolution, and an extraordinary number of guns have been taken. Time will not permit me to state more particulars to your Excellency. The details shall follow; and I only beg you to impart this news immediately to the loyal citizens of Berlin.

"BLUCHER."

"Head-quarters, Genappe, June 19,
Half past Five o'clock, A. M."

wounded, who clung to each other as if they sought consolation or protection in the contemplation of the common misery. Some of them crept slowly along on foot ; others were mounted on the horses which they had forcibly taken from the waggons that had been abandoned on every step of the road. They were pale, feeble, and covered with the bloody linen which they had hastily bound round their streaming wounds. As they approached the bridge of Charleroi the horrors of the passage of the Beresina were renewed.* The road, which had previously been completely filled with the strangely mingled columns of the retreating army, here becomes suddenly contracted. Horsemen, infantry, and carriages rushed on, contending who should cross first ; the stronger unfeelingly thrust aside or threw down the weaker, and too often drew their sabres or their bayonets on those who offered any resistance. Numbers fell under the wheels of the waggons or artillery, and at length the heaps of dead bodies, continually increasing, choked up the road, and formed an almost insurmountable obstacle against the advance of the rear. At this dreadful moment the enemy appeared, and the confusion was redoubled. Some hastily cut the traces of their horses, and springing upon them abandoned their carriages, forcing their way through the crowd. Others turned off at the foot of the bridge, and driving furiously along the banks of the Sambre, sought for a passage, and at length, madly plunging in, were swept away by the torrent. Those of the French who had escaped from the field, and who had been able to continue their flight without much impediment, did not expect to be so closely pursued. Worn out with fatigue, and fainting from want of food, they halted at some of the villages to recruit their exhausted powers. But they had scarcely tasted their repast, when crowds of fugitives precipitated themselves upon them, exclaiming that the Prussians were coming. The blast of the trumpet too soon confirmed the intelligence, and they were driven from one bivouac to another, till the victors were glutted with slaughter, or they were unable longer to continue the pursuit from mere fatigue.†

A little beyond Charleroi two roads present themselves, one of which conducts to Avesnes and the other to Philippeville. Napoleon, confident of victory, had fixed no rallying point in case of retreat. No general was at hand to direct their route, and the army divided as chance or inclination determined. The most numerous division took the road by which they had advanced, and marched upon Avesnes, while

* See Vol. III. Book IV. p. 438.

† Boyce's Narrative.

the others moved upon Philippeville. Many fugitives threw themselves into the adjacent woods, with no other design than to avoid the enemy's cavalry; and thus the army became gradually dispersed, and at length nearly disappeared. Thousands of soldiers, wandering about in uncertainty, and quitting the woods in crowds, spread themselves over the country, and raised a general alarm. The unfortunate inhabitants were plunged into despair to find themselves at once a prey to an army let loose from all the restraints of discipline, and to an implacable enemy, rendered still more ferocious by a dear bought victory. Every where the fortresses hastily closed their gates, from fear of surprise, and refused admittance even to their own unfortunate countrymen, who were in consequence obliged to seek for quarters in the neighbouring hamlets, where they committed every kind of excess.*

Napoleon, in the mean time, passed through Charleroi in the night of the 18th, and surrounded by a few of his staff, halted about three leagues beyond that city. In the bivouac at this place, pitched upon a grass-plot, a fire was kindled and refreshments prepared, of which he partook, being the first food he had taken for fourteen hours.† On his departure from that place his guide was dismissed, with the trifling present of a Napoleon d'or for his services, and the emperor and his suite, directing their course to the French capital, took the route of Philippeville, Rocroi, and Mezieres. Marshal Grouchy, who on the morning of the 18th, had forced the passage of the Dyle at Wavre, was advancing on the rear of General Bulow, to co-operate with the French army at Waterloo; but on hearing of the disaster at that place, he retreated to Namur, and by this retrograde movement had the good fortune to preserve his corps from the general overthrow.

While the Prussian field-marshal was employed in pursuing the flying enemy, the Duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The thunders of the artillery, and the clangour of clashing weapons, wielded by combatants engaged in mortal fight, were heard no more. All was hushed and silent, except where the moans of the wounded, or the agonizing shrieks of the dying, burst upon the ear. The moon, riding in unveiled majesty, shed a pale and mournful light on the horrors of the scene. When the duke contemplated the piles of dead which were heaped on every side, and reflected how many hearts even the joyful news of this brilliant but sanguinary victory would sadden; the sternness of the

* Relation par un Temoin Oculaire.

† Lacoste's Narrative.

hero was absorbed in the feelings of the man, and he burst into tears. The glory of a victory so dearly bought afforded him no consolation ; and nothing but a persuasion that the sacrifices of this day would be crowned with the attainment of the first object of his ambition, alleviated his sorrow for the losses the country and the service had sustained.*

* LIST OF BRITISH REGIMENTS

Under the command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, on Sunday, June 18th, 1815, exhibiting their total loss from the 16th to the 26th, of June, 1815, extracted from Official returns :—

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
General Staff, - - - -	12	46	3				61
1st Life Guards, - - - -	2	4		24	49	4	83
2d Life Guards, - - - -	1		1	16	40	97	155
Royal Horse Guards, Blue, -	1	4	1	19	61	20	106
1st Dragoon Guards, - - -	3	4	4	40	100	124	275
2d Dragoon Guards, - - -							
1st, or Royal Dragoons, - -	4	9	1	86	88	9	197
2d, or Royal N. B. Dragoons, -	6	8		96	89		199
6th Dragoons, - - - -	1	5	1	72	111	27	217
7th Hussars, - - - -		7	3	62	109	15	196
10th Hussars, - - - -	2	6		20	40	26	94
11th Light Dragoons, - - -	2	5		10	34	25	76
12th Light Dragoons, - - -	2	3		45	61		111
13th Light Dragoons, - - -	1	9		11	69	19	109
15th Hussars, - - - -	2	3		21	48	5	79
16th Light Dragoons, - - -	2	4		8	18		32
18th Hussars, - - - -		2		13	72	17	104
23d Light Dragoons, - - -		5	1	14	26	33	79
1st Light Dragoons, K. G. L. -	3	11		30	99	10	153
2d Ditto, - - - -	2	4		19	54	3	82
1st Hussars, ditto, - - -		1		1	5	3	10
2d Hussars, ditto, - - -							
3d Ditto ditto, - - - -	4	8		40	78		130
Royal Artillery, - - - -	5	26		62	228	10	331
Ditto, K. G. L. - - - -							
Royal Engineers, - - - -		2					2
Royal Staff Corps, - - -		2					2
Royal Sappers and Miners, -		1			2		3
1st Foot Guards, - - - -							
2d Battalion, - - - -	3	9		73	353		438
3d Battalion, - - - -	4	12		101	487		604
2d Cold. Regiment, - - - -	1	7		54	242	4	308
3d Foot Guards, 2d Battalion, -	3	9		39	195		246
1st Foot, (Royal Scots) 3d Batt.	8	26		33	295		362
4th Foot, 1st Battalion, - -		9		12	113		134
2d Battalion, - - - -							
7th Foot, 1st Battalion, - -							

The British troops, though worn out with fatigue, disdained to indulge in the repose which nature so much required, till they had sought out their wounded companions, bound up

	OFFICERS.			RANK AND FILE.			
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
14th Foot, 3d Battalion, - -		3		7	26		36
23d Foot, - - - -	5	6		13	80		104
25th Foot, 2d Battalion, - -							
27th Foot, 1st Battalion, - -	2	13		103	360		478
28th Foot, ditto, - - - -	1	19		29	203		252
29th Foot, 1st Battalion, - -							
30th Foot, ditto, - - - -	6	14		51	181	27	279
32d Foot, - - - -	1	30		49	290		370
33d Ditto, - - - -	5	17		49	162	58	291
35th Ditto, - - - -				1			1
37th Ditto, 2d Battalion, - -							
40th Ditto, 1st Battalion, - -	2	10		30	159	18	219
42d Foot, 1st Battalion, - -	3	21		47	266		337
44th Ditto, 2d Battalion, - -	2	18		14	151	17	202
51st Ditto, - - - -		2		11	29		42
52d Ditto, 1st Battalion, - -	1	8		16	174		199
54th Ditto, - - - -				2	2		4
59th Ditto, - - - -					2		2
69th Ditto, 2d Battalion, - -	4	7		51	163	15	240
71st Foot, 1st Battalion, - -	1	14		24	160	3	202
73d Ditto, 2d Battalion, - -	6	16		54	219	41	336
78th Ditto, 2d Battalion, - -							
79th Ditto, 1st Battalion, - -	3	27	1	57	390	1	479
81st Foot, 2d Battalion, - -							
91st Foot, - - - -		2		1	6		9
92d Ditto, - - - -	4	27		49	322		402
95th, 1st Battalion, - - - -	2	15		28	175		220
2d Ditto, - - - -		14		34	178	20	246
3d Ditto, - - - -		4		3	36	7	50
13th Veteran Battalion, - -							
1st Lt. Infantry Batt. K. G. L. -	4	9		37	82	13	145
2d Ditto ditto - - - -	3	9	1	40	120	29	202
1st Line Battalion, K. G. L. -	1	6		22	69	17	115
2d Ditto ditto, - - - -	1	2		18	79	7	107
3d Ditto ditto, - - - -	1	5		17	93	31	147
4th Ditto ditto, - - - -	1	7		13	77	15	113
5th Ditto ditto, - - - -	2	3		36	47	74	162
8th Ditto ditto, - - - -	3	4		44	80	16	147
THE DUTCH LOSS, - - - -	27	115		2058	1936		4136
<hr/>							
THE PRUSSIAN DITTO, viz.							
1st Corps, June 15 to July 3, -	38	200	27	2418	5322	6434	14439
2d Corps, June 15 to 23, - -	29	151	7	1280	3915	2234	7616
3d Corps, June 15 to July 3, -	16	107	2	834	2636	1129	4724
4th Corps, June 15 to 23, - -	23	148	5	1132	3871	1174	6353
Total Prussian Loss - -							33132

their wounds, and despatched numbers of them to the hospitals at Brussels and Antwerp. Nor was their humanity confined to their own countrymen, even those who had so lately thirsted for their blood—those by whose ranks they had been thinned, shared in their tenderness. In the left wing alone, more than five hundred Frenchmen were indebted for their lives to the generosity and compassion of the British soldiers. On every part of the field the troops were seen diligently employed in constructing litters, and carefully conveying both friends and foes to the huts they had erected for their comfort, where their hunger and thirst were supplied out of the little stock of their generous benefactors. In many places a still more interesting scene was presented; the wounded soldiers, after their own injuries had been attended to, were seen carefully and tenderly staunching the wounds of their conquered enemies, many of whom afterwards found an asylum in the hospitals of Antwerp.*

The murderous charges at the close of the battle had been fatal to many of the British officers. Sir Francis D'Oyly, of the first foot guards, fell in the very last charge to which his regiment was led, and at the moment when the broken batta-

Total Loss of the Allied Armies during the Campaign.	
BRITISH,	11,116
HANOVERIAN,	2,960
DUTCH,	4,136
PRUSSIAN,	33,132
<hr/>	
Grand Total	51,344

Exclusive of the Brunswick Loss, of which no Returns have been exhibited.

* The inextinguishable zeal of the French soldiery towards their emperor, here assumed a character bordering on romance. Far from considering themselves as wantonly sacrificed, and afterwards basely deserted at Waterloo, the resources of their fertile imaginations were exhausted in order to express their profound attachment to their fallen chief. One man, whose wounds rendered the loss of his arm necessary, tossed his amputated limb in the air with the exclamation of *Vive l'Empereur*. Another, at the moment of the preparation to take off his leg, declared that there was one thing that would cure him on the spot, and save his limb and the operator's trouble. When asked to explain this strange remark, he said—"a sight of the emperor!!" The indispensable amputation did not save his life; he died under the surgeon's hands; and his last words, while stedfastly looking on his own blood, consisted in a declaration that he would cheerfully shed the last drop in his veins for the great Napoleon! A singularly wild, and almost poetic fancy, was the form in which a third displayed his enthusiasm: he was undergoing, with great steadiness, the operation of the extraction of a ball from his left side, when in the moment of his greatest suffering, he exclaimed—"An inch deeper and you'll find the emperor!"—*Simpson's Visit to Flanders*.

lions of the enemy were preparing to quit the field. Colonel Fitzgerald, of the second regiment of life guards, fell nearly at the same moment, while he was cheering his men to the pursuit of the foe. Almost the last shot which was fired on the British, wounded the gallant Earl of Uxbridge—Paget, as Napoleon called him, and which name was familiar to the ears of his countrymen during the peninsular war. He had personally led every charge of cavalry, and was not wounded until almost all danger had ceased. The chair is yet shown in the farm of La Belle Alliance in which his lordship sat and endured the amputation of his right leg without a single groan or contortion of countenance, exclaiming in the midst of the operation—"Who would not lose a leg for such a victory?"

The total loss of the British and Hanoverian troops in the allied army, in the battle of Waterloo, was stated on official authority, to amount to 10,676* men in killed, wounded, and missing; the Prussians lost, on the same day, from five to six thousand men; and the loss of the French was incalculable. In the chamber of peers, on the 22d of June, Marshal Ney stated, that so fatal had been the campaign, that the Duke of Dalmatia, on whom the command of the fugitive army devolved after Napoleon quitted Flanders, could not rally sixty thousand, including the corps under Marshal Grouchy; so that, in the brief campaign of a week, ninety thousand men were lost to the French army; and of this number, at least sixty thousand were killed, wounded, or prisoners, among the latter of whom were Count Lobau and General Cambronne. To add to this enormous disaster, three hundred pieces of cannon were captured from the vanquished, and the whole *matériel* of their army fell into the hands of the allies.

Never did France, in her brightest days, send into the field a nobler army than that which fought at Waterloo. It was an army of veterans, whom many years of service had accustomed to all the evolutions of the field, and rendered expert, fearless, and, in their own estimation, invincible. This army was under the command of a general in the enjoyment of the most unbounded confidence of his legions, who had vanquished and over-run every state in continental Europe; and who had shown, by the events of the four last days, that his eagles, lately checked in their flight, were once more triumphantly expanding their wings, and promising again to soar to the pinnacle of glory. Against this formidable phalanx the British general had to oppose an army inferior in numbers; somewhat

* London Gazette, July 8th, 1815.

dispirited at the retreat of the former day, and a little in awe of those who had two days before conquered, though not subdued the most celebrated general of northern Europe. The courage and impetuosity of the French had never been exceeded. Charges more desperate and persevering modern warfare had not witnessed. Napoleon had studied the character of the French nation profoundly, and his system of warfare, though exposed to the censures which always await the unfortunate, was best suited to their peculiar energies, and was the truest proof of his genius. The French soldiers are capable only of active courage ;—daring, impetuous, enthusiastic, they brave every danger, and surmount every obstacle, when their energies are called into full activity. But of passive courage they are incapable ; and when cool, determined resolution is necessary, the hopes reposed in them are generally disappointed.

On this principle Napoleon adopted his *en avant* system of tactics. The brilliant success which attended his career, until rendered insane by ambition, is a proof that he had calculated justly. Never were these national characteristics more decisively shown than at the battle of Waterloo. While the French were employed in a succession of desperate charges, their courage seemed invincible : at the voice of their commander they returned again and again to the charge, with undiminished alacrity ; and, at the very close of the day, the last and desperate attack of the guards was accompanied with loud and rapturous shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* But when the English in their turn, became the assailants, the scene was suddenly and completely changed : they, whose bravery had excited the warmest applause of their enemies, sunk to the level of poltroons. Their first line was easily broken, the second offered no effectual resistance, and the whole army abandoned itself to a flight more disorderly and disgraceful than any which the annals of ancient or modern warfare record.

In both active and passive courage, the allies, under a British commander, showed themselves decidedly superior to the French. The tremendous and murderous charges of the foe were received by the British with a courage that never faltered. Though their ranks were thinned, and their squares diminished, they still presented a stern and unbroken front. Although, at the close of the day, some of their battalions were nearly annihilated, and the soldiers began to murmur, and almost to despair, yet they did not disgrace their character or their cause. It was not the murmur of fear, or the depression of cowardice. It was the complaint which protracted inactivity produced ; the irresistible and intolerable pain that

arose from the long repression of their energies. They murmured, not because they were forbidden to retreat before a superior and impetuous foe, but because they were restrained from rushing upon him, and convincing him what British valour could do as well as suffer. The moment the duke ordered the general charge, every bosom swelled with enthusiasm, and one universal shout proclaimed their exultation. Though enfeebled by a desperate and protracted contest, their strength and activity were in an instant restored :—they pressed on to the attack, and the day was their own. They had withstood, without confusion or fear, innumerable charges of the enemy, but the first general charge which they were permitted to make, drove the French in disorder from the field.

This splendid victory was not more owing to the unequalled bravery of the troops, than to the skill, the gallantry, and the firmness of their illustrious commander. In all the great achievements which he had hitherto performed, he had never maintained so arduous a struggle, he had never gained so complete and glorious a triumph. There was no species of heroism or of military science which could adorn a field of battle, which was not displayed by the Duke of Wellington on this memorable day. Wherever danger was most imminent there he was uniformly present. “To see a commander of his eminence,” said one of our distinguished statesmen, who scorned the language of adulation, “throw himself into a hollow square of infantry as a secure refuge, till the rage and torrent of the attack was passed, and that not once only, but twice or thrice in the course of the battle, proved that his confidence was placed, not in any particular corps, but in the whole army. In that mutual confidence lay the power and strength of the troops. The duke knew that he was safe when he thus trusted himself to the fidelity and valour of his men; and they knew and felt that the sacred charge thus confided to them could never be wrested from their hands.”* In this “agony of his fame,” his staff rapidly fell around him; every one, except the Spanish General Alava, suffered in his life or his limbs, yet the duke continued fearlessly to expose himself in the very thickest of the fire, and how he escaped unhurt, that power can alone tell who vouchsafed to the allied armies the issue of this pre-eminent contest.

Often in the day he was urged by the officers, and wherever he appeared he was intreated by the men, to lead them against the enemy. “Not yet, not yet,” so frequently repeated by

* Speech of Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, on the grant to the Duke of Wellington, June 23, 1815.

their general, served to restrain the impatience of his troops till the decisive moment ; and it does infinite credit to his discretion and penetration, that not even the partial successes which attended the operations of several periods of the day, could tempt him to depart from the prudent and well-digested plan on which he had determined to act. Had he assumed offensive operations before the arrival of the main body of the Prussians, he could scarcely have hoped to have beat the superior numbers and veteran troops to whom he was opposed ; or, had he been victorious, all that he could have effected, inferior as he was in cavalry, would have been to have compelled the French to a hasty but orderly retreat. Merely to have repulsed the French army would have been to little purpose. It was necessary to strike a decisive blow, and the Duke of Wellington anxiously awaited the favourable moment. He felt all the tortures of suspense, but despair was always far from him. At length the thunder of General Bulow's artillery was heard on the left : a violent and convulsive struggle ensued : symptoms of indecision began to shew themselves in the enemy's ranks. The system of defence was instantly abandoned by the British commander : the restraint, so long imposed upon the impetuous valour of his troops, was withdrawn : the whole line was led on to the charge, and the decisive blow was struck. All the consequences were produced which the sagacious mind of Wellington had predicted. The campaign was terminated, the throne of Napoleon tottered to its fall, and the peace of Europe, excepting only the forms, was again re-established.

The glory of the Duke of Wellington had now reached its summit. Even Napoleon had acknowledged that the duke was the *second* captain of the age, and on the field of Waterloo he established his claim to the title of *la vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*. If any thing could add to the lustre of his fame, it was the singular modesty with which, in his official despatches, the glorious and important events of the day were related ;* and his private letters are distinguished by that

* LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-Street, June 22d, 1815.

Major the Honourable H. Percy arrived late last night with a despatch from Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, K. G. to Earl Bathurst, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the War Department, of which the following is a copy :—

Waterloo, June 19th, 1815.

My Lord,—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and the 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked

characteristic modesty and candour which run through his official communications. In a letter to his mother, written after

the Prussian posts at Thuin, and Lobez, on the Sambre, at day-light in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march; and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Brussels, and on the same evening, the 15th, attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under Prince De Weimar, posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Brussels, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time, I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieut.-general Sir Thomas Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery; he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair, his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, Major-general Sir C. Haiket, Lieutenant-general Cooke, and Major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the inclosed return; and I have particularly to regret His Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell, fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

the battle, speaking of Napoleon he says :—" He did his duty—he fought the battle with infinite skill, perseverance, and

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back, and concentrated his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the contrary, a patrolle which I sent to Sombref, in the morning, found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrolle advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following with a large body of cavalry, (brought from his right) the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouche from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up, in front of Waterloo, crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and, in front of the left centre, we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th, and yesterday morning; and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained, throughout the day, with the utmost gallantry, by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre, was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these, the enemy carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry; but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which, Lord E. Somerset's brigade, Life Guards, Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves; as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

bravery ; and this I do not state from any personal motive of claiming merit to myself, for the victory is to be ascribed to

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated ; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Fricher mont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect ; and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army, to the left of our line, by Ohain ; I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point ; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night ; he has sent me word this morning, that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the imperial guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss ; and, I am sorry to add, that our's has been immense. In Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service ; and he fell, gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was defeated.

The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound, by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct, till he received a wound from a musket-ball, through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-general Maitland, and Major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all ; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, Lieutenant-general Sir H. Clinton, Major-general Adam, Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded ; Major-general Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded ; Colonel Ompteda, Colonel Mitchele, commanding a brigade of the 4th division ; Major-generals Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, Major-general Lambert, Major-general Lord E. Somerset, Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-general Sir C. Grant, and Major-general Sir H. Vivian ; Major-general Sir O. Vandeleur ; Major-general Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance and conduct upon this, as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer departments were conducted much to my

the superior physical force and constancy of British soldiers." In the same spirit of honourable frankness, he says, in a letter to his brother, the Hon. Wellesley Pole,—“ I never fought so hard for victory, and never, from the gallantry of the enemy, was so near being beaten.” The force of this observation will be felt from a perusal of the enemy’s bulletin.*

satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood, and Colonel Smyth ; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-general, Major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-master-general, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon shot in the middle of the action, This officer is a serious loss to his majesty’s service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel, the Honourable Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty’s service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo di Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely ; and General Pozzo di Borgo received a contusion. I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance received from them. The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy’s flank, was a most decisive one ; and, even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this despatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness—I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship’s protection. I have the honour, &c.

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby is killed ; and, in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief for the fate of an officer, who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and who was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S. I have not yet got the returns of killed and wounded, but I inclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out, without the returns ; and I am very happy to add, that Colonel Delancy is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

* FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BELGIC CAMPAIGN.

POSITION OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

Charleroi, June 16th, 1815.

On the 14th the army was placed in the following order :—The Imperial head-quarters at Beaumont.—The first corps, commanded by Ge-

But while the historian dwells with fond exultation on the glory of the British army, and their illustrious commander, a

neral Count D'Erlon, was at Solre-sur-Sambre.—The second corps, commanded by General Reille, was at Ham-sur-Heure.—The third corps, commanded by General Vandamme, was on the right of Beaumont.—The fourth corps, commanded by General Girard, was arriving at Philippeville.

On the 15th, at three in the morning, General Reille attacked the enemy, and advanced upon Marchiennes-au-Pont. He had several engagements, in which his cavalry charged a Prussian battalion, and made 300 prisoners. At one o'clock in the morning, the emperor was at Jamignan-sur-Heure. General D'Aumont's division of light cavalry sabred two Prussian battalions, and made 400 prisoners. General Pajol entered Charleroi at noon. The sappers and the marines of the guard were with the van, to repair the bridges. They penetrated the first into the town as sharp-shooters. General Clari, with the first regiment of hussars, advanced upon Gosselies, on the road to Brussels, and General Pajol upon Gilly, on the road to Namur. At three in the afternoon, General Vandamme, with his corps, debouched upon Gilly. Marshal Grouchy arrived with the cavalry of General Excelmans. The enemy occupied the left of the position of Fleurus. A five o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor ordered the attack. The position was turned and carried. The four squadrons on service, of the guard, commanded by General Letort, broke three squares. The 26th, 27th, and 28th Prussian regiments were put to the rout. Our squadrons sabred 4 or 500 men, and made 160 prisoners. During this time General Reille passed the Sambre, at Marchiennes-au-Pont, to advance upon Gosselies, with the divisions of Prince Jerome and General Bachelu, attacked the enemy, took from him 250 prisoners, and pursued him on the road to Brussels.

Thus we became masters of the whole position of Fleurus. At eight in the evening, the emperor returned to his head-quarters at Charleroi. This day cost the enemy five pieces of cannon, and 2000 men, of whom 1000 are prisoners. Our loss is ten killed and eighty wounded, chiefly of the squadrons of service which made the charges, and of the three squadrons of the 20th regiment of dragoons, who also charged a square with the greatest intrepidity. Our loss, though trifling as to number, is sensibly felt by the emperor, on account of the severe wound received by General Letort, his aide-de-camp, while charging at the head of the squadrons of service. This is an officer of the most distinguished merit; he is wounded by a ball in the stomach, and the surgeon is apprehensive that his wound will prove mortal. We have found some magazines at Charleroi. The joy of the Belgians is not to be described. There are villages, where, on the sight of their deliverers, they made dances; and every where it is a transport which comes from the heart. The emperor has given the command of the left to the Prince of Moskwa, who had his head-quarters, this evening, at Quatre Chemiers (Quatre Bras,) on the road to Brussels. The Duke of Treviso, to whom the emperor had given the command of the young guard, has remained at Beaumont, being confined to his bed by a sciatica. The fourth corps, commanded by General Girard, arrived this evening at Chatel. General Girard reports, that Lieutenant-general Beaumont, Colonel Clouet, and Captain Villontreys, of the cavalry, have gone over to the enemy. A lieutenant of the 11th chasseurs, has also gone over to the enemy. The major-general has ordered the sentence of the law to be pronounced against these deserters.

Nothing can paint the good spirit and the ardour of the army. It considers, as a happy event, the desertion of this small number of traitors, who thus throw off the mask.

large tribute of praise must be awarded to Marshal Blucher and his intrepid legions. The successful result of this ar-

BATTLE OF LIGNY-UNDER-FLEURUS.

Paris, June 21.

On the morning of the 16th, the army occupied the following position:—The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, and the 2d of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasné. The right wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3d corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus. The emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the imperial guard and the 6th corps. The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre Bras, and the right wing upon Sombref. The emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position. The emperor reconnoitred the strength and the positions of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus. General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The 4th division of the 2d corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial ground and steeple of St. Amand; but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force. General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about fifty pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times. Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol, fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy showed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon. At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situate on the bank of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussy. The emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them, four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet, the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field

duous day is, by the British commander himself, attributed to the cordial and timely assistance received from his allies.

of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field of battle. General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us, that Field-marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle. Its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Our's was 3,000, killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasne. There a multiplicity of combats took place; the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the 1st corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square, attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and generals of note killed or wounded; we estimate the loss of the English at from 4 to 5,000 men; our's on this side was very considerable, it amounts to 4,200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre Bras, and proceeded to Genappe.

In the morning of the 17th, the emperor repaired to Quatre Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignies with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field-marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position. At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mount St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignies: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day. The head-quarters of the emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planche-noit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

BATTLE OF MOUNT ST. JEAN—June 18.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mount St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The 2d corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guards in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General D'Aumont, under the order of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, inclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the Eng-

Both nations claim a share in the victory ; the British for having so long sustained the furious attack of superior num-

lish army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, our's less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported, with thirty pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock, Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mount St. Jean, and supported his attack with eighty pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mount St. Jean ; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment, a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces ; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the first corps had occupied at the outset of the battle ; his corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

This done, the emperor had a design of leading an attack upon the village of Mount St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success ; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so much, crowned the heights of Mount St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy showing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry, an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grape shot and musket firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grape shot, we sent four battalions of the mid-

bers, and for having, at the close of the day, thrown the enemy into confusion by their brilliant charge; and the Prussians,

dle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mount St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle: our cavalry having been too soon, and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured us a signal success for next day. After eight hours' fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half-after eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mount St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grape shot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of *All is lost, the guard is driven back*, were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder, and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day—all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadrons of *service*, drawn up by the side of the emperor, were overthrown and disorganized by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short, every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Phillippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of re-union. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge

for occupying all the French reserves, when they were about to be directed—perhaps successfully, against the weakened

from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made ;—our's cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely, engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organization.

The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position : no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night, they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such has been the issue of the battle of Mount St. Jean, glorious for the French arms, and yet so fatal.

PRUSSIAN OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

BATTLE OF THE 18TH OF JUNE.

At break of day the Prussian army began to move from Wavre. The fourth and second corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Fricthemont, to take the enemy in the rear when the moment should appear favourable. The first corps was to operate by Ohain, on the right flank of the enemy. The third corps was to follow slowly, in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mount St. Jean ; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit : the former was about eighty thousand strong ; the enemy had above one hundred and thirty thousand. In a short time, the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments ; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great ; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned them. The decisive moment was come ; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind ; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long un-

lines of the British, to whom the issue of the contest was becoming every moment more dubious, and for effecting the

certain, while the battle with the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening, we received the news that General Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and no where else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone insure the victory, and if it could be obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under General Pirch, had successively come up. The French troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy. His right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, while at the same time the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army; the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, and in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half past nine. The field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French army being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck; it was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages: at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and a motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon shot, followed

total overthrow and dissolution of the enemy's army by their active and vigorous pursuit. In truth, the victory of the 18th of June was the result of *la Belle Alliance* between the arms of Great Britain and Prussia; and the united names of Wellington and Blucher will descend to posterity as the conquerors at Waterloo, and the most distinguished heroes of their respective age and nations.

In one battle the allies had dealt to France a blow that had gone to her heart. The throne she had so lately sworn to defend to the last drop of her blood, was shaken as by an earthquake; her emperor had quitted his troops in despair, and her army retained nothing but the name. The battles of Cressy, Agincourt, and of Poitiers, were eclipsed on the field of Waterloo; and the feelings of national exultation were in England happily combined with the tribute of national gratitude. The mighty debt which was due to the living and the dead it was impossible to repay. There remained no new title for the commander-in-chief; from his knighthood to his

by a *hurrah*, and, an instant after, the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken; he had just left it to mount on horseback, and, in his hurry, had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affairs continued till break of day. About forty thousand men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

At three o'clock, Napoleon had despatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer any army left. We have not yet an exact account of the enemy's loss; it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole were killed, wounded or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Monton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about three hundred cannon, and above five hundred caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called *La Belle Alliance*. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle: it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that, by a happy chance, Field-marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the field-marshal desired that this battle should bear the name of *La Belle Alliance*.

By order of Field-marshal Blucher.

GENERAL GNEISENAU.

dukedom he had won and exhausted them all ; but the parliament added two hundred thousand pounds to his former munificent grants, in order that a palace, not less magnificent than that of Blenheim, might be erected for a general who had surpassed the achievements of Marlborough.

The merits of the army also were properly estimated, and the rewards were, with great propriety, extended to every rank and every individual. The thanks of both houses of parliament were awarded, *nemine contradicente*, to Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, to the general and other officers, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers of his majesty's forces serving under the command of the duke in the glorious victory obtained on the 18th of June. In this vote of thanks, the allied forces, serving under the British commander, were not forgotten ; and Marshal Prince Blücher, and the Prussian army, had the satisfaction to receive the unanimous testimony of the British parliament, that the cordial and timely assistance afforded by them on the 18th of June, contributed mainly to the successful result of that arduous day. By an order from the war office, issued in the name of the prince regent, every British regiment which was present in that battle, was from henceforth permitted to bear the word " Waterloo," inscribed upon their colours and appointments. All the privates were to be enrolled upon the muster-rolls and pay lists of their respective corps as *Waterloomen*, and every Waterloo-man was allowed to count the 18th of June as two years' service in reckoning his time for increase of pay, while he continued in the army, or for pension when no longer engaged in the service of his country. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years' service for that victory ; and a benefit not less important was extended to the whole army, by a regulation, directing that henceforward the pension granted to an officer on account of wounds, should not be confined to the amount attached by the scale to the rank which he held at the time when he was wounded, but should progressively increase with the rank to which he might from time to time be promoted. More was yet due, and the legislature were not slow in expressing the universal feeling of the nation. A national column was decreed to be erected in the metropolis in honour of the victory, and it was determined that the name of every man who had fallen should be inscribed upon this memorial of national glory and public gratitude. Funeral monuments in memory of Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton and Major-general the Honourable Sir William Ponsonby were also ordered to be erected among the tombs of the illustrious dead in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was

further directed that a medal should be struck commemorative of the victory, to be given to each of the survivors, of the same material for officers and for men, that they who had been fellows in danger might bear the same badge of honourable distinction.

The dignity of a Marquis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was granted by the Prince Regent to Lieutenant-general Henry William Earl of Uxbridge, by the style and title of Marquis of Anglesey. An extensive brevet promotion in the army took place in consequence of the battle of Waterloo, and all the commissions bore date from the 18th of June. That the honours of the British heroes might still further be increased, the honours of the order of the Bath were greatly extended, and one hundred and twenty officers were, on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, elevated to the dignity of COMPANIONS of that military order, for their services in the battles fought on the 16th and 18th of June. The decorations of the Austrian orders of Maria Theresa, and the Russian orders of St. George, St. Anne, and St. Wladimir, were conferred upon a number of British officers who had distinguished themselves in the battles during the short but decisive campaign of 1815. The King of the Netherlands, whose dominions had been rescued from the presence of an invading army, manifested his gratitude by elevating the Duke of Wellington to the rank of a prince, under the appropriate title of Prince of Waterloo; while the states general settled upon the duke and his family an estate, consisting of woods and demesnes in the neighbourhood of La Belle Alliance and Hougoumont, producing an annual revenue of twenty thousand Dutch florins.

The annals of the world do not produce a military achievement of more distinguished merit, or more sublime importance, than the victory of Waterloo. When it is considered with a view to the immediate loss inflicted upon the enemy; when its moral and political effects upon the belligerent states, and upon surrounding nations, are taken into consideration; and when it is remembered that the fate of England, of France, and of Europe, were closely bound up in the issue of this day, the prospect becomes transcendently bright, and language labours with a vain effort to describe the feelings it inspired, not only in the British dominions, but in every country in Europe where the rigours of an universally pervading military despotism had been felt, and where the terrors of its revival had out-lived the means by which it had been sustained.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sensation produced by the Return of Napoleon to Paris—Proposal to appoint him Dictator broached in the Council—Declined by himself—Meeting of the Chambers---Their Sitting declared permanent—Meeting of the Imperial Committee in Council—Suggestion in the Presence of the Emperor that his Abdication could alone save the Country—Act of Abdication—Its Reception—Appointment of a Provisional Government—Stormy Discussion in the Chamber of Peers—Napoleon II. acknowledged by the Deputies—Commissioners sent to treat with the Allies for Peace at Haguenau—Departure of Napoleon for Rochefort—Advance of the Allies upon Paris—Arrival of Louis XVIII. at Cambray—Memorial of the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington—Failure of the Negotiations at Haguenau—Arrival of the Armies under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher before Paris—Siege—Capitulation—State of Parties---Interview of the Duke of Otranto with the Duke of Wellington---With the King---Dissolution of the Provisional Government—Conduct of the Chambers---Their Dissolution—Louis XVIII. re-ascends the Throne---Arrival of Napoleon at Rochefort---His Indecision fatal to him—Surrenders to Captain Maitland on board the Bellerophon Man of War---Brought to England---Impression made by his Presence off the Coast---Resolution of the British Government to send him to St. Helena---His Protest---Deportation---Character.

BRIEF as was the interval between the return of Napoleon to the French capital and the close of his political existence, it is a point of time into which much historical incident is crowded. The motive assigned for his return to Paris, was the wish to be himself the messenger of the fatal intelligence of his defeat, and to prevent, by his presence, any strong measures which the chambers might feel disposed to take against his crown. But the impulse under which he acted conducted him to the rock which it was the object of his policy to avoid; and his precipitate departure from the army was the immediate cause of his fall. Even among the soldiers, he lost by this step his most able partizans, and to be the first to despair of his country was an offence never to be forgiven.

The arrival of the emperor in Paris, in the evening of the 20th of June, was considered as the precursor of some disastrous annunciation. The painful suspense of the two past days gave place to feelings of dismay, and the same breath which whispered "the emperor is here," added, "and the army has been defeated." Immediately on his arrival at the Thuilleries Napoleon convoked a council; and the first business of the ministers was to draw up the bulletin of the battle of Mont St. Jean,* the principal part of which was dictated by Napoleon, with more than ordinary frankness. The next

* The name given by the French to "The Battle of Waterloo"---called by the Prussians "The Battle of La Belle Alliance."

business which claimed the attention of the council, was an inquiry into the best method of re-organizing the army; and the emperor expressed his persuasion that the chambers would readily afford him the requisite supply of men and money to repair its disasters. To a suggestion made by the Duke of Bassano, that the deputies would speak of sparing the water and the engine when the house was on fire; seconded by an observation from Count Regnault, that nothing but the energy and promptitude of a dictatorship could now save the country; the emperor replied, that he had commenced a constitutional monarchy and could not consent to dissolve the chambers.† In these sentiments the Duke of Otranto, who had now joined the council, cordially acquiesced, and depicted in animated language the fatal consequences which must infallibly flow from any attempt to dismiss the representatives of the people, and assume the power of a dictator. Such a measure, he said, was the less necessary since all the parties were tranquil, and so far from meditating any design against either the person or the authority of the emperor, they would all zealously co-operate in re-organizing the army and defending the country. Napoleon listened with doubt and embarrassment to these assurances. He hoped that credit might be given to the minister of police, but he had private reasons for suspecting that ever since he quitted Paris private meetings had been held nightly, at the houses of the principal agents of both the royalist and republican party, and that though the latter were far from wishing that disasters should overtake the army, yet should they happen, both parties stood ready to take advantage of them. The emperor, however, expressed his determination to adhere to the forms of the constitution, and rather abruptly broke up the council, appointing a meeting to be held at eight o'clock on the following morning, when the state of public feeling might be discussed, and the necessary measures adopted.

At the appointed hour the ministers again assembled in council; and the question of the dictatorship was again discussed. Prince Lucien vehemently urged the necessity of averting from his brother the disgrace which his enemies were preparing for him, and contended that the only means of preserving his authority and saving the country, were to be found in taking the relaxed reigns of government into his own hands. The Duke of Otranto adhered to the opinion, that the loyal and patriotic sentiments of the chambers rendered such a measure perfectly unnecessary. Count Carnot opposed the

* Nuits de l'Abdication de l'Empereur Napoleon par M. St. Didier.

dictatorship, as resembling too much the despotism by which Napoleon's former government had been characterised ; but he added, that having professed himself the friend of the emperor, he would zealously defend him to the last extremity, and would rather see his master assume the power of dictator, and assert his constitutional privilege in dissolving the chambers, than suffer him to be driven from his throne either by external or internal violence. The Duke of Parma expressed similar sentiments. Count Regnault warmly supported the assumption of the dictatorship, and the Duke of Decres, and the Prince of Eckmuhl, favoured the same opinion. Napoleon, without mixing in the debate, listened with profound attention to the arguments of each party, and at length expressed his determination to cast himself upon the loyalty of the chambers, and concert with them the measures which the present critical situation of the country required.

While the council was deliberating the chambers assembled ; and when the first tumult of surprise and consternation had subsided, General Lafayette mounted the tribune, and thus addressed the deputies :—

“GENTLEMEN—When for the first time during many years, I raise a voice which the ancient friends of liberty will even yet recognize, I feel myself called upon to speak to you of the danger of our country, which you alone at this juncture have the power to save. Sinister rumours have gone abroad ; unfortunately they are all confirmed. This is the moment to rally round the old tri-coloured standard—the standard of eighty nine—the standard of liberty, of equality, of public order ; the standard which alone we have to defend against foreign pretensions, and internal treason. Permit, gentlemen, a veteran in the sacred cause, who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some preliminary resolutions, of which you will, I hope, appreciate the necessity.”

Article 1.—The chamber of representatives declares, that the independence of the nation is menaced.

II.—The chamber declares its sitting permanent. All attempt to dissolve it is a crime of high treason ; whoever shall show himself capable of this attempt shall be regarded as a traitor to his country, and be arraigned as such.

III.—The army of the line and the national guards, who have fought, and still fight, to defend the liberty, the independence, and the territory of France, have deserved well of their country.

IV.—The minister of the interior is invited to call together the general staff, the commanders and legionary majors of the national guard of Paris, to advise on the means of arming and completing that urban guard, whose patriotism and approved zeal, for six and twenty years, offer a sure guarantee to the liberty, the prosperity, and tranquillity of the capital, and to the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

V.—The ministers, of war, of foreign affairs, of police, and of the interior, are invited to present themselves instantly to the assembly.

These propositions were listened to with deep attention, and all, except the fourth, were adopted without opposition. But although the eulogium upon the national guard was

thought to convey an invidious distinction, and on that ground rejected, yet the members of that corps immediately assembled at their rendezvous, and a picquet was sent from each arrondissement to do duty at the hall of the deputies, and to charge themselves with the protection of the national representatives. The next step taken by the deputies was to transmit copies of the articles just passed to the emperor and to the peers ; and such was the supposed urgency of the case, that in passing the last article one of the deputies observed, that in a few moments perhaps the chamber might be dissolved.

A message from the Thuilleries, delivered by M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, announced the arrival of the emperor in Paris at eleven o'clock on the preceding night, and informed the assembly that his majesty was at that moment occupied in framing propositions for the consideration of the chambers. After some time passed in the nomination of a commission of administration to provide for the reception of the national guard, destined for their protection, a second invitation was sent to the ministers, requiring them immediately to repair to the assembly. In reply to this invitation a letter was received by the president from Carnot, Caulincourt, Fouché, and Davoust, stating that they had been detained up to the present moment at the chamber of peers, and in council, but that they were about to present themselves in the chamber of deputies. The four ministers now entered the hall, accompanied by Prince Lucien in the capacity of extraordinary commissary. The gallery being cleared, and the whole house having formed itself into a committee, a message was read from the emperor, informing the chamber of the loss of the battle of the 18th in its fullest extent ; and of the nomination of the Dukes of Vicenza and Otranto, and Count Carnot, as commissioners to treat for peace and the independence of the country with the allies. An ominous silence reigned for some moments at the close of this communication, but at length one of the members rose, and addressing himself to the minister for foreign affairs, said :—

“You talk of peace. What untried means of communication have you in your power ? What new basis can you give to your negotiations ? What is that you call the national independence ? Europe has declared war against Napoleon. Do you henceforward separate the chief from the nation ? For myself, I distinctly declare that I hear no voice but that of the nation ; that I see nothing but one man between us and peace. In the name of the public safety, unveil the secrets of your policy ; show us all the depths of the abyss, and perchance there may still be left in our courage some resources, and our country may be saved.”

The general plaudits which followed this remonstrance

showed to Prince Lucien that the fate of his brother was decided. In vain did he appeal to the honour, the love of glory, the oaths, and the constancy of the assembly. "We have followed your brother," exclaimed Lafayette, interrupting him, "across the sands of Africa, and the deserts of Russia; the bones of our countrymen, scattered in every region, bear witness to our patience and fidelity." Lucien, in continuation, by turns menaced and implored, without success; and at the conclusion of his speech, Marshal Davoust, the minister at war, assured the assembly that the report which had obtained currency that he had ordered the advance of the troops for the purpose of overawing their deliberations, was utterly destitute of foundation. The last act in the proceedings of this momentous sitting was the appointment of a committee of safety, to sit during the night, and to co-operate with the ministers and the house of peers in the measures that might be judged necessary to preserve the general tranquillity.

In the house of peers the articles passed by the chamber of deputies were adopted nearly in the same terms as those used by M. de Lafayette, and a committee of safety was appointed to act in concert with the commission of the commons in the imperial committee.

At night the imperial committee assembled. This body consisted of the ministers of state; the president and four members of the chamber of peers; the president and four vice-presidents of the representatives; the heads of the civil and military authorities of Paris; and several state counselors, peers, representatives, and citizens, who were invited by the emperor, and gave to his party a decided preponderance. The emperor attempted to speak, but the agitation under which he laboured rendered his voice almost inaudible. At first his sentences were imperfect and without connexion, but by degrees he became calm and self-possessed. He described in forcible language the extent of the disasters which had befallen his army. He confessed that he had now no resource but in the affection, fidelity, and zeal of the people; and entreated the advice of the committee as to the measures which it might be necessary to pursue.

Count Regnault proposed that the chamber should make an appeal to French valour, while the emperor was treating for peace in the most steady and dignified manner. "With what prospect of success can the emperor treat for peace?" said M. de Lafayette, "Have not our enemies pledged themselves to a line of conduct, which, adopted when the issue of the contest was uncertain, and while all France appeared to have rallied round the emperor of their choice, will not be readily

abandoned now that victory has crowned their efforts? Mingled sentiments of affection and respect prevent me from being more explicit; there is but one measure which can save the country, and if the ministers of the emperor will not advise him to adopt it, his great soul will reveal it to him." This speech, which was received with cordiality by one part of the audience, excited loud murmurs among the court party; and the Duke of Bassano, with little preface, proposed that all who for twelve years had made parts of different factions, whose common object was the dethronement of the emperor, should be placed under the *surveillance* of a more severe police—"Cause those chiefs to be punished," said he, "who from Paris, from La Vendee, from Lisle, from Toulouse, from Marseilles, and from Bourdeaux, feed the hopes of the court of Ghent, and the animosity of Europe, which they have determined to unite in one coalition. Exclude their accomplices of greatest influence from public functions. Watch over the inferior agents with more strictness, and you will have produced the double effect of disconcerting the foreign enemy, and of strengthening the government and its friends. Had this measure been adopted, a person who now hears me, and who well understands me, would not smile at the misfortunes of the country, and Wellington would not be marching to Paris." A burst of disapprobation, which even the presence of the emperor could not repress, followed this insinuation; and the indignation of the assembly drowned the voice of the speaker. The deliberations continued during several hours, but the assembly broke up without arriving at any satisfactory conclusion.

Scattered parties of the fugitive army began now to arrive from the north, and though shame and despair lowered on their countenances, they still vociferated with unabated enthusiasm their favourite shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* The inhabitants of the suburbs began to be agitated. Many designs against the independence of the chambers were attributed to the federates; and it was well known that deputations had been sent to the palace of the Elysee to demand arms, with a determination to repeat the dreadful scenes which had disgraced the early periods of the revolution. Opposed to these factions were the constitutional monarchists, the Bourbon royalists, and the federalist republicans, who all united to effect the abdication of Napoleon.

The imposing attitude assumed by the chambers on the first notice of the public calamity, was steadfastly maintained in every stage of their proceedings, and when the deputies assembled in the morning of the 22d, they eagerly demanded

the report of the imperial committee. This report, when read by General Grenier, contained nothing but the recognition of the necessity of treating with the allies, and of supporting at the same time the negotiation, by arraying the whole military force of the empire. M. Duchesne considered the report as unsatisfactory, and insisted that the chamber had but one step to take, which was to prevail upon the emperor, in the name of their suffering country, to declare his abdication. This sentiment was received with favour by a large majority of the deputies ; but they were prevented from submitting the proposition to a vote, by a communication from the president, who informed them that he had just received an assurance, that before three o'clock that day they would receive from the emperor a message which would accomplish their wishes. General Solignac demanded that a commission of five members should wait upon his majesty, and declare personally the urgency of his decision, but this proposition was retracted upon information received of the forthcoming message, and it was agreed to protract the demand one hour,* in other words, it was consented that Napoleon should wear the crown for one hour longer, and should have the opportunity of resigning that which would otherwise be snatched from him. At eleven o'clock the sitting adjourned, but was resumed at twelve. At one o'clock the Dukes of Otranto and Vicenza, the Prince of Eckmuhl, and Count Carnot, were introduced. The president then arose, and looking towards the galleries, said—"I am about to read an important act, which is communicated to me by his majesty's ministers. I beg to remind you of the regulation which forbids all signs of disapproval or approbation." He then proceeded thus :—

DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"FRENCHMEN !—In beginning the war to sustain the national independence, I reckoned upon the union of all efforts and of all inclinations, and upon the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had sufficient foundation in hoping for success, and I braved all the declarations of the potentates against me. Circumstances appear to me to be changed. I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hate of the enemies of France. I pray that their declarations may prove sincere, and that their real object of attack has been myself alone. My political life is come to a close, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon the Second, Emperor of the French. The present ministers will form provisionally a council of government. The interest which I feel for my son induces me to invite the chambers to organize a regency, by a law, and without delay. Unite all of you, if you would consult the public safety, and if you would remain an independent nation."

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

*Proceeding in the Chamber of Deputies, June 22d, 1815.

The act of abdication of Napoleon was received with respectful silence. It was known that he had hesitated, and taking counsel of his courtiers, he appeared at one time resolved to measure his strength with the chambers. But that danger was now past, and his apparently spontaneous resignation was hailed with inward pleasure by the representatives, whose authority it confirmed. They who had been the most eager in the cries for his abdication or forfeiture, were the foremost in expressing their gratitude for the sacrifice which Napoleon had made. M. de Lafayette proposed that his person and interest should be placed under the protection of the national honour, and the resolution was carried by acclamation. M. Dupin pronounced the abdication to be a grand and generous act, worthy of the national gratitude. M. Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, in an eloquent and affecting speech, demanded, not as a minister, which he was no longer, but as a citizen of the state and a representative of the people, some expression of national gratitude towards the man who was yesterday at the head of the nation; whom they had proclaimed great; and whom posterity would judge. "Napoleon," said the orator, "was invested by the people with sovereign power. He has laid it aside without reserve, without personal consideration. The chambers should become the interpreter of the sentiments which are due to him, and which the nation will preserve towards him. I propose that the president and the bureau shall proceed to Napoleon, to express to him, in the name of the nation, the gratitude and respect with which it accepts the noble sacrifice which he has made for the independence and happiness of France."

This motion was carried unanimously, and Lanjuinais, the president, attended by the vice-presidents, and secretaries, proceeded to the palace to discharge the duty confided to them. On their return to the chamber, the president informed the assembly, that his majesty had replied to their message by testifying the most touching interest for the French nation, and his most lively desire to see it secure its liberty, independence, and happiness; that his majesty had, above all, insisted upon the motive which had determined his abdication, and had recommended the chamber not to forget, that he transferred the right which France had given him to his son, whom he therefore proclaimed emperor.

Before the departure of the deputation to the palace, the chamber had resolved, that there should be named without delay a commission of five members, of which three should be chosen by the chamber of representatives, and two by the chamber of peers, for the purpose of exercising provisionally the functions of government; and on the president resuming

his seat, the deputies, on their part, conferred this distinguished office on Count Carnot, the Duke of Otranto, and General Garnier.

The deliberations of the peers on this day were unusually tumultuous. They assembled at half past one o'clock, and at their meeting Count Carnot read the act of abdication, which, being already pretty generally known, excited neither surprise or discussion. The count then gave the details of the minister of war, relative to the position of the army of the north, under Marshal Soult, which, according to the report, had rallied at Rocroy on the 20th, and was in free communication with Marshal Grouchy, whose corps remained unbroken. This flattering representation Marshal Ney stigmatised as false. "Marshal Grouchy, and the Duke of Dalmatia," said he, "cannot collect sixty thousand men. That number cannot be brought together on the northern frontier; Marshal Grouchy, for his part, has been able only to rally seven or eight thousand men. The Duke of Dalmatia has not been able to make any stand at Rocroy. You have no other means of saving your country but by negotiation." A warm altercation ensued, which ended by Marshal Ney positively asserting that forty thousand men could not be brought together by Grouchy, at any point, or by any means.

The house now adjourned till half past nine o'clock, and at their re-assembling, the president informed the peers, that he had, in the interval, waited on the emperor with their acceptance of his abdication, and that his majesty had answered, that he received with pleasure their sentiments; but had added:—"I repeat that which I have said to the chamber of representatives—I have abdicated only for my son." Prince Lucien, in an animated speech, in which he asserted, that the chief of a constitutional monarchy never dies, exclaimed—"L'empereur est mort, vive l'empereur! The emperor is dead, live the emperor! L'empereur a abdique, vive l'empereur!" The emperor has abdicated, live the emperor! and concluded by proposing an oath of fidelity to Napoleon II. of which at the moment he gave the first example. Count Labedoyere demanded of the peers to proclaim Napoleon II. otherwise the abdication, which was conditional, would be null and void, and the emperor, surrounded by his faithful soldiers, would draw his sword to assert his rights. "He may," continued the count, "be abandoned by some base generals who have already betrayed him; but if we declare that every Frenchman, who quits his standard, shall be covered with infamy, his house rased, and his family proscribed, we shall then hear no more of traitors—no more of those ma-

nœuvres which have occasioned our late catastrophes, of which some of the authors, perhaps, have seats in this assembly." A cry of order interrupted the orator. "Listen to me," he exclaimed. "I will not listen to you," said Count Valence, "retract what you have said." "Young man," said Marshal Massena, "you forget yourself—you are not at the *Corps de Garde*." After much similar discussion, Count Decres, raising his voice, inquired—"Is this the moment to occupy yourselves about individuals? Let our country be the first consideration—it is in danger; let us not lose a moment in taking the measures which its safety requires. I demand the close of this discussion." This appeal prevailed. The president put the question, which was carried, and the further consideration of Prince Lucien's proposal regarding the oath of fidelity to Napoleon II. was deferred until the next day. The chamber then proceeded to the choice of two members to fill up the commission for exercising provisionally the functions of government, when the Duke of Vicenza, and Baron Quinette, were elected by large majorities.

On the 23d the chamber of deputies met about eleven o'clock, and after disposing of the orders of the day, M. Berenger proposed, in a speech in which he compared Napoleon to Marcus Aurelius and Titus, that the commission of government appointed on the preceding day should be declared collectively responsible. M. Defermon, immediately ascending the tribune, said—"That the provisional government should be responsible to the nation cannot admit of a doubt; but in whose name does this government act? Do we, or do we not, acknowledge an Emperor of the French? Have we not an emperor in the name of Napoleon II.? (Yes! Yes! exclaimed the greater part of the assembly.) Do the representatives of the nation wait for Louis XVIII.? The whole chamber here rose, held up their hats, and exclaimed—"No, no; *Vive l'empereur!*" with a general emotion, which it was proposed to note in the *proces verbal*. M. Boulay de la Meurthe next presented himself, and insisted on the necessity of making some explicit declaration of the succession of Napoleon II. M. Regnault said—"Without some ostensible and positive name, the army will not know whom it obeys, under what colours it fights, and for whom it sheds its blood. In whose name shall our negociators speak?" "In the name of the nation," exclaimed many voices. M. Dupin objected resolutely to the choice of an infant, who could not be expected to do what his father had failed to accomplish. "What," said he, "have we to oppose to the efforts of our enemies?—the nation. It is in the name of the nation we shall fight,

that we shall negotiate. From the nation we must await the choice of a sovereign: the nation precedes every government, and survives them all." To these observations a member sarcastically enquired—"Why do you not propose a republic?" M. Daupin, whose voice was drowned in the general tumult that ensued, showed by his action that he repelled this insinuation, and it is worthy of remark, that during these days of agitation and division, no one proposed the establishment of a republic, nor indeed did any one declare in favour of any other government than a constitutional monarchy. M. Manuel entered into an examination of the question of the succession, and in a long and eloquent speech exhibited a correct representation of the state of parties in France. As to a republican party, he saw no reason to think it existed, either among the inexperienced, or among those whose judgments time and experience had matured. The Orleans party united the opinions of many, because they seemed to admit more chances for the liberty and happiness of the people, under the guarantee of the principles and the men of the revolution, but the discussion of their pretensions seemed to him idle in the extreme. Of the royalist party he said—I hasten to repel the conclusion which may be drawn from what has been said in this place; for although there may be among us some shades of opinion, there is but one wish, but one sentiment, with regard to the end, and the means of this party, and with respect to the lot it would reserve to France. Would you suffer each of these parties to flatter itself that your secret intention is to labour for it? Would you desire, that in order to fix your decision, the different parties should raise each his standard and collect his adherents? What would then become of the safety of the country? Since this discussion has been opened, it is necessary, it is urgent for us to recognize Napoleon II.; but at the same time it is fit that France should know the motives which influenced us in the nomination of the executive commission, and that, in composing it of wise and upright men, we intended to form a council of regency. This discussion has sufficiently made known our firm resolution to do every thing henceforth for France, and not for a family. If the foreign powers refuse to acknowledge Napoleon II. there will still be time to come to a determination, and no one will balance between one individual and twenty millions of men. I move that we pass to the order of the day, on the following grounds:—

I.—"That Napoleon II. is become Emperor of the French by the act of abdication of Napoleon I. and by the power of the constitution of the empire.

II.—That the two chambers desired and meant by their decree of yesterday, in nominating a commission of provisional government, to assure to the nation the guarantees necessary under the present extraordinary circumstances for their liberty and repose, by means of an administration possessed of all the confidence of the people.”

When the president read this declaration, and put the question, the whole assembly, without one exception, rose spontaneously ; and when he said, “the proposition is adopted,” cries of *Vive l'Empereur !* burst from all parts of the hall, and were reiterated from the galleries. But when it was proposed that the commission of government should take the oath of allegiance to Napoleon II. the house passed to the order of the day ; several voices crying “no more oaths,” as if enow had already been broken, and as if those now proposed might speedily share the same fate.

The new government hastened to assume its functions ; and on the morning of the 23d the inhabitants of Paris learned that the commission had chosen for their president the Duke of Otranto. Marshal Massena was named commander-in-chief of the national guard of Paris, Count Andreossy commander of the first military division, and Count Drouet of the imperial guard. Baron Bignon was chosen minister provisionally for foreign affairs, Count Carnot of the interior, and Count Pelet de la Lozere of the police. The first public act of the provisional government was the publication of a proclamation, dated the 24th, by which the nation was informed that a great sacrifice had become necessary, and that that sacrifice was already made—Napoleon had abdicated the imperial power, and his son was proclaimed in his stead. The new constitution, which possessed as yet only good principles, was, it was said, about to undergo its practical application, and even those principles were to be purified and extended. There no longer existed powers jealous of each other. The space was free to the enlightened patriotism of the representatives, and the peers felt, thought, and voted, according to the dictates of the public will. Plenipotentiaries had departed in order to treat, in the name of the nation, and to negotiate with the powers of Europe, that peace which they had promised on one condition, which was now fulfilled. The whole world, like the people of France, would be attentive to their reply ; and their answer would show whether justice and promises were still held sacred. In conclusion, the French nation was conjured to be united, and reminded that the experience of all ages had proved, that an intrepid people, combating for justice and liberty, could not be vanquished.

The commissioners sent to treat with the allies were M. de la Fayette, General Sebastiani, M. d'Argenson, M. Laforest,

and Count de Pontecoulant, attended by M. de Constant as secretary ; and on the evening of the 24th they left Paris to repair to the head-quarters of the allies. On the same day, the government, upon the resolution of the chambers, that all Frenchmen were called to the defence of their country, decreed, that the remainder of the conscripts of 1815, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the moveable national guards, should be completed in all the garrisons. The house this day heard an important communication from General Lamarque, dated the 20th of June, announcing distinguished successes in La Vendee, and the demand of an armistice from M. Augustus Laroche Jaquelin, the royalist chief, which General Lamarque hoped would end in the general pacification of the country.

By a decree of the 24th, Marshal Davoust, minister of war, was ordered to take every measure relative to the defence of Paris ; and the seal of the war department was, *ad interim*, intrusted to his secretary, Baron Marchant. Another decree of the following day ordered all soldiers absent from their regiments to join the nearest corps, or to repair to Paris ; and on the 27th, a law was proposed to the chambers, enabling the state to borrow one hundred and fifty millions of francs, for the payment of the debts and arrears of the military and other establishments.

On the 25th a communication was read from the commission of government to the chambers, regarding the state of the army, in which it was stated, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived at Rocroy with twenty thousand infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a corresponding train of artillery, and that Marshal Soult was making every effort to rally the army. It was added, however, that in three days from the 19th the allies would reach the neighbourhood of Laon. The armies of the east and of the south were stated to be in a satisfactory position. The day following the government transmitted to the chambers a bulletin tending to confirm the favourable accounts from the army ; and on the same day, a proclamation, signed by all the members of the provisional government, was placarded on the walls of Paris, announcing, that "the decrees and judgments of the courts and tribunals, and the acts of the notaries, shall provisionally be intituled—*In the name of the people*. Thus Napoleon II. after an equivocal reign of three days, was replaced by the French people, and the Duke of Otranto, who was in reality the head of the government, had disembarrassed himself in his communications with the allies from even the mention of the fallen dynasty.

The abdication of Napoleon had excited a violent emotion

in the metropolis. The military and the federates clung to the hope that affairs had not come to such an extremity as to call for the sacrifice of the imperial authority, and on the night of the 23d a plot was discovered to seize the military depots, to march to the Hotel Elysee, and to re-seat the emperor on his throne. But the vigilance of the Duke of Otranto frustrated this design, and under his direction, two hundred of the ring-leaders of the sedition were seized by the national guard of Paris, and placed in a state of security. Napoleon, although he does not appear to have identified himself with this plot, still lingered at the Elysee, and on the advance of the allies, demanded to be put at the head of the French army, and to march as their general,* but the proposal could not be entertained. Nine hundred thousand bayonets had already penetrated the French territory on all sides, and the government had not one hundred thousand men under arms.* The retreat of the army was therefore resolved on, and Napoleon was invited first to quit Paris for Malmaison, and afterwards to take his departure from thence to the United States. Finding himself deserted by victory, stripped of his imperial power, and urged to quit his country by those who had so lately obeyed his commands, it was expected that he would have exercised the convenient privilege of ancient heroism, and this thought suggested itself to his mind; but in a conversation held with Count Labedoyere at Malmaison, on the subject of suicide, he magnanimously observed—that whatever might happen he would not anticipate his fate one hour—his words were, *Quelque chose qui arrive, je n'avancerai pas la destinee d'une heure.*

On the 25th Napoleon applied to the provisional government for two frigates to convey himself and his suite to America, which were immediately granted, and at the same time a letter was addressed to the Duke of Wellington, by Count Bignon, minister *ad interim* for foreign affairs, requesting that the emperor might be furnished with passports for his voyage. To this application the duke replied, that he had no authority from his government to grant the required passports; and without authority he did not choose to act in an affair of such moment. The unfavourable nature of this reply did not prevent Napoleon from entering upon his proposed journey, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th he quitted Malmaison for Rochfort, uttering his wishes for the establishment of the peace and prosperity of France.†

* Letter of the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

† Letter from General Count Beker to the Duke of Otranto, dated Malmaison, June 29.

After the battle of Waterloo, the fugitive army continued for several days its disastrous retreat. At Mezieres, where Marshal Soult first endeavoured to rally the broken regiments, not more than four thousand men could be collected; but under the walls of Laon his efforts to recall the troops to their standard were more successful; and when, at length, Marshal Grouchy, who had retained the principal part of his artillery, had formed a junction with Soult's corps, their united force amounted to upwards of fifty thousand men.

In the mean time Marshal Blucher afforded the enemy no respite. On the day after the battle the Prussian army crossed the Sambre, and penetrated into France by Beaumont.* From thence they advanced to Avesnes, and having carried that fortress by escalade, captured forty pieces of cannon. The country through which the invading army advanced suffered considerably from the Prussians, who seemed determined to avenge the horrible devastations committed in their own country in former campaigns. Even the veteran field-marshal had drank deeply into that spirit of vindictive animosity which actuated the hostile nations, and in a letter to Major-general Dobschutz, he directs that the garrison of Avesnes shall be marched to Cologne, that the soldiers shall be "employed in working in the fortifications, and that all the prisoners shall be treated with the necessary severity." On the 24th Marshal Blucher took possession of St. Quintin, after it had been abandoned by the enemy; and the Prussians flushed with victory, pursued their rapid march on Paris. At Villers Coterets, on the 28th, the van-guard was attacked, but the main body of the troops coming up during the engagement, the French were defeated, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and one thousand prisoners.

The Duke of Wellington remained at Waterloo on the 19th to provide for the wounded, and to reorganize his army for future operations. On the 20th the British army, with the auxiliary troops, under the command of the duke, were put in motion, and in the course of that day they arrived at Binche, at which place the following regulations for the government of the conduct of the army were issued:—

ORDER OF THE DAY, June 20th, 1815.

"As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations which are at present under the command of Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are the allies of his Majesty the King of France, and that France therefore ought to be treated as a friendly country. It is then

* The forces of the allied armies which were on their march into France at this period have been estimated as follows :--Russians, 225,000 ;

required that nothing should be taken either by the officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner, and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the marshal, or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their provisions are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in the way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made for their own government in the several dominions to which they belong.

(Signed)

“J. WATERS, A. A. G.”

The Prussian and English armies advanced in nearly parallel lines towards the capital of France, but the country presented to each a strangely different appearance. The Prussians found only depopulated and deserted villages. The wretched inhabitants had fled into the woods, and the soldiers were often compelled to break open the secret recesses in which the provisions and property of the fugitives were concealed; and it too frequently happened that the hamlet which had afforded shelter to the troops during the night, was early on the following morning enveloped in flames.

After the British, who took the direction of Bavay, had advanced a few stages into France, the report of their moderation and good conduct preceded them, and the inhabitants tranquilly awaited their approach. Every accommodation in their power was eagerly produced, and they often refused the recompense which the soldiers, faithful to the orders of their chief, uniformly offered. In this glorious campaign it will be recorded to the honour of the British nation, that they twice conquered their enemy—first, by their valour on the plains of Waterloo, and afterwards, by their unexampled forbearance and generosity during their march to Paris. If the former was the more splendid, the latter was the more honourable, victory.

From Bavay the Duke of Wellington advanced to Cateau Cambresis, from whence he despatched a corps to the right to take Cambray. The command of these troops was intrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Colville, who, on the 24th, attacked the town by escalade, at four different points, in every one of which the efforts of the British troops were crowned with complete success. The town being in the hands of the

Austrians, 250,000; Prussians, 150,000; British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, 100,000; Saxons, 15,000; Bavarians, 40,000; Wirtembergers, 12,000; contingents of the German Princes, 30,000; making a grand total of 822,000 men.

allies, and the citadel not showing itself disposed to offer any serious opposition, a messenger was despatched by the British commander to Louis XVIII. who, on the 22d, had quitted Ghent, on his route to Paris, urging him to repair to Cambray, and proposing to confer upon him the honour of summoning and taking the place. The summons of the citadel, by a French officer, in the name of the king, was promptly obeyed, and Cambray surrendered in the course of the day by capitulation.

The entrance of the king into Cambray, which took place on the 27th, was attended by acclamations as loud, and no doubt as sincere, as those which the inhabitants had a fortnight before bestowed upon a division of Napoleon's troops, on their march through that place to the army. The French monarch, on his advance towards his capital, was advised to issue two proclamations indicative of his future intentions, and in which, while he held out the promise of clemency to his misled subjects, he denounced the vengeance of the law against "the instigators and authors of a treason of which the annals of the world present no example."*

While the allied armies continued to advance upon Paris, the French legislature was occupied in preparing a civil compact or bill of rights, to be signed by the prince that might be called to reign over them; and the provisional government left no effort untried to arrest the progress of the invading armies, by setting on foot a negociation for peace. With this view, the Duke of Otranto despatched a memorial to the Duke of Wellington, explanatory of the intention of the French na-

* PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre,—To all our faithful subjects health.

At the time when the most cruel of enterprises, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, compelled us to quit momentarily our kingdom, we informed you of the dangers which threatened you, unless you hastened to shake off the yoke of a tyrannical usurper. We were not willing to unite our arms, nor those of our family, to the instruments which Providence has employed to punish treason. But now that the powerful efforts of our allies have dissipated the satellites of the tyrant, we hasten to re-enter our states, there to re-establish the constitution which we have given to France; to repair, by all the means in our power, the evils of revolt, and of the war, its necessary consequences; to reward the good, and to put in execution the existing laws against the guilty; in short, to call round our paternal throne the immense majority of Frenchmen, whose fidelity, courage, and devotedness, have brought such pleasing consolations to our heart.

Given at Cateau-Cambresis, 25th of June, in the year of Grace 1815, and our reign the 20th.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

The Minister of War, DUKE OF FELTRE.

[The second proclamation, issued three days afterwards, is of the same tenor.]

tion, and lamenting the hostility between France and England.* To this document the duke returned no reply. The resolution was already taken by the allied courts to dictate the terms of peace within the walls of the French capital, and to restore Louis to the throne unfettered by conditions which might abridge his prerogatives, or restrain the exercise of his power.

The commissioners appointed to treat for peace arrived at the head-quarters of Prince Blucher on the 25th, and requested a suspension of arms, on the ground that the change which had taken place in the government of France, by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, had removed the obstacles to peace. To the application for an armistice the Prussian field-marshal gave a peremptory refusal; and it was not till after much altercation and recrimination that passports were granted to the French plenipotentiaries to proceed to Haguenau, in the department of the Lower Rhine, at which place the coalesced sovereigns had now arrived. The conferences were conducted by Count Walmoden, for Austria; Count Capo d'Istria, for Russia; and General Knessebeck, for Prussia. Lord Stewart, though not invested with any direct powers, attended also, by invitation, on the part of England, and took a very prominent part in the discussions. The conferences, which took place on the 1st of July, were conducted with due regard to diplomatic etiquette, but the French com-

* MEMORIAL FROM THE DUKE OF OTRANTO TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Paris, June 27, 1815.

"My Lord,—You have just illustrated your name by new victories over the French. It is you especially who can appreciate the French nation. In the council of sovereigns, united to fix the destinies of Europe, your influence and your credit cannot be less than your glory.—Your law of nations has always been justice, and your conscience has ever been the guide of your policy. The French nation wishes to live under a monarch, but it wishes that that monarch should live under the empire of the laws. The republic made us acquainted with the extreme of liberty. The empire with the extreme of despotism. Our wish now (and it is immoveable) is to keep at an equal distance from both those extremes. All eyes are fixed upon England. We do not claim to be more free than she, we do not wish to be less. The representatives of the nation are incessantly employed on a civil compact, of which the component powers, separated but not divided, all contribute by their reciprocal action to harmony and unity. From the moment this compact shall be signed by the prince called to reign over us, the sovereign shall receive the sceptre and the crown from the hands of the nation. In the existing state of Europe, one of the greatest calamities is hostility between France and England. No man, my Lord, has it more in his power than yourself to replace Europe under a better influence, and in a finer position. Accept, my lord, the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed)

THE DUKE OF OTRANTO,
President of the Government.

missioners received no definite answer to their applications. They were, indeed, informed, that it was not the intention of the allied sovereigns to control France in the choice of her government,* but it was added, that no negotiations could be entered into except in concert with England, whose minister had not arrived.† The plenipotentiaries on their return were accompanied by two Prussian officers, and the road they were obliged to take was so circuitous that they did not arrive in Paris till the morning of the 5th of July.

The steady march of the allied armies brought them on the 29th of June under the walls of Paris. During their advance the fortifications which had been commenced by Napoleon before his departure for Flanders, were hastily completed, and the remnant of the army of the north, under Soult and Grouchy, had arrived in the capital, where they were, in the course of the following day, joined by the troops under Vandamme. In the midst of the military preparations with which they were menaced, neither the government nor the people betrayed any indications of dismay. Although the thunder of the cannon was heard at a distance, and every hour continued to approach nearer the city, not a single voice was heard, either in the chamber of the peers or of the representatives, to plead for submission; and even in the streets and promenades, though much levity and indifference were betrayed, no one uttered a wish for the return of the Bourbons. The army, feeling still more strongly than either the people or their deputies an aversion towards the restoration of the king, put forth an address to the representatives of France, in which they expressed the most entire devotion to the national cause, and their readiness to die in its defence.‡

* M. le Comte de Pontecoulant's communication, as reported to the chamber of Deputies, July 5.

† In the Imperial Gazette of the 10th of July, it is stated, that a positive demand was made to deliver up Napoleon into the power of the allies. To this demand General La Fayette is reported to have answered, that the person of the ex-emperor was under the protection of the national gratitude and honour, and that when a proposal was made to the French people to commit an act of unexampled treachery, he did not expect that the prisoner of Olmutz would be selected as the fit medium for its execution.

‡ ADDRESS FROM THE ARMY.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE! We are in the presence of our enemies. We swear before you and the world to defend, to our last breath, the cause of our independence and the national honour.

It is wished to impose the Bourbons upon us, and these princes are rejected by the immense majority of Frenchmen. If their return could be subscribed to, recollect, representatives! that you would sign the anni-

Addresses equally energetic, though less hostile to the Bourbons, were received from the national guard, from the federates, and from all the constituted authorities. Every description of people seemed animated by the same spirit, and the city presented the strange spectacle of an universal and determined resistance against the allies of a monarch, to whom some of them wished success, and to whom they were all convinced they must soon bow as a master.

The advanced guard of the allied army, under the Duke of Wellington, crossed the Oise on the 29th of June, and on the 1st of July the whole of the British army took up a position with the right on the heights of Rochebourg, and the left upon the Bois de Bondy. On the 30th Marshal Blucher attacked the village of Aubervilliers, where a severe engagement took place between the Prussians and the French, the latter of whom had rallied a force for the defence of the capital, amounting to upwards of seventy thousand men, of whom fourteen thousand were of the old guard.* This village, which was taken and retaken several times, at last remained in the hands of the Prussians. The obstinacy with which Aubervilliers had been defended showed the danger of attacking Paris on the side of Montmartre and Belleville, both of which were strongly fortified, and could not have been carried without immense loss. The Prussian commander resolved therefore to file off to the right, and crossing the Seine at St. Germain, he took up a position to the south, with his right at Plessis Pique, his left at St. Cloud, and the reserve at Versailles. At this point

hilation of the army, which for twenty years has been the palladium of French honour. There are in war, especially when it has been long conducted, successes and reverses. In our successes we have been seen great and generous. If it is wished to humble us in our reverses, we shall know how to die.

The Bourbons present no guarantee to the nation. We received them with sentiments of the most generous confidence, we forgot all the calamities they had caused us in their rage to deprive us of our most sacred rights. Well! what return did they make for this confidence? They treated us as rebels and vanquished. Representatives! these reflections are terrible because they are true. Inexorable history will one day relate what the Bourbons have done to replace themselves on the throne of France; it will also tell the conduct of the army, of that army essentially national, and posterity will judge which best deserved the esteem of the world.

(Signed)

THE MARSHAL PRINCE OF ECHMUHL, Minister-at-War.

COUNT PAJOL, commanding the First Corps of Cavalry.

COUNT D'ERLON, commanding the Right Wing.

COUNT VANDAMME, General-in-chief;

Camp at Vilette, June 30th.

And fifteen other Generals.

* Report of the French Commissioners appointed to communicate the thanks of the Representatives to the Army.

the ground was more obstinately contested than on the north of Paris ; and the town of Versailles was the scene of the most sanguinary combat. Several times in the course of the 2d of July the city was alternately in the power of the Prussians and of the French ; but the determined valour and superior numbers of the troops under General Ziethen surmounted every obstacle, and they succeeded finally in establishing themselves on the heights of Meudon, and in the valley of Issy. While these events were taking place at Versailles, the Duke of Wellington threw a bridge over the Seine at Argenteuil, and sent forward a corps towards the bridge of Neuilly. Paris was thus completely invested by an army consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand troops, and fears began to be entertained of an approaching famine ; but the Duke of Wellington, unwilling to drive the inhabitants to desperation, allowed the usual supply of provisions to pass through the British camp, and thus disarmed the hostility of a numerous party, who, indignant at the inexplicable conduct of the allies, had almost resolved to join the ranks of the army and the federates.

It was now determined to make one final effort to raise the siege of the capital ; and at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d the French army commenced a desperate attack upon the Prussians in the valley of Issy. The assailants fought with the fury of despair. They were, however, repulsed at every point, and driven to the very gates of Paris. The ramparts, and the windows, as well as the tops of the houses near the walls, were crowded with spectators, who viewed with unutterable anguish the failure of this last struggle for the safety of their capital, and the independence of their nation. On a sudden the firing ceased. As soon as the government perceived that the case was hopeless, a herald was despatched to the allied generals, demanding a suspension of arms for a few hours, while commissioners could be appointed to treat for the surrender of the city. To this proposal the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher readily consented ; and at two o'clock in the afternoon, the commissioners authorized by the respective parties, met in the palace of St. Cloud. This conference was conducted not merely in the favourite palace of Napoleon, but in the very chamber in which he had been accustomed to hold his councils of state. In that chamber which had so often been the scene of discussions, which had for their object the subjugation of Europe, English and Prussian commissioners were now negotiating for the surrender of the French capital, and the final overthrow of the imperial sway ! Both parties were in earnest, and the negotiations were speedi-

ly brought to a close. The convention, which bears date the 3d of July, provides, that there shall be an immediate suspension of arms under the walls of Paris. That on the following day the French army shall be put in march to take up a position behind the Loire; Paris to be completely evacuated in three days, and the movement beyond the Loire effected within eight days. That at mid-day on the 4th, St. Denis, St. Ouen, Clichy, and Neuilly, shall be given up; the day after Montmartre to be surrendered; and on the 6th the barriers of Paris to be opened to the allied army. That the duty of the city of Paris shall continue to be done by the national guard and the corps of the municipal gen d'armerie, and that the actual authorities shall be respected so long as they shall exist. The eleventh article provides, that public property shall be respected; and the twelfth, on which much discussion afterwards arose, runs thus:—"Private persons and property shall be equally respected. The inhabitants, and in general all individuals who shall be in the capital, shall continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account either as to the situations which they hold, or may have held, or as to their conduct or political opinions." The remaining articles stipulate, that the foreign troops shall not interpose any obstacle to the provisioning of the capital; that the present convention shall serve to regulate the mutual relations till the conclusion of peace; and that should any difficulty arise in the execution of any article of the present convention, the interpretation of it shall be made in favour of the French army and of the city of Paris. This convention is declared common to all the allied armies; the ratification to be exchanged at six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, at the bridge of Neuilly, and commissioners to be named to watch over its execution.

The inhabitants of Paris had, during the morning, been a prey to the most anxious and gloomy suspense; but no sooner was it proclaimed that a suspension of arms was concluded, and that the generals of the allied armies had guaranteed the city from pillage and destruction, than the most frantic joy succeeded this feeling of despondency. Very different, however, were the feelings of the army. They had been kept in ignorance of the determination of their generals to abandon a city which they had pledged themselves to defend to the last extremity, and their mortification was extreme to find that Paris was surrendered without a struggle within its walls. A persuasion of treachery soon became prevalent, and some insurrectionary movement on the part of the troops and the federates was confidently anticipated. During the night seven-

ral skirmishes took place between the irritated troops of the enemy and the out-post of the allied armies ; but by degrees the indefatigable exertions of the superior officers of the French army succeeded in reconciling the troops to a convention in which their reputation had not been compromised ; and on the morning of the 4th several regiments were under arms, and on their march towards the Loire. The conduct of the federates was still more tumultuous than that of the regular army. Their rage was not directed against the enemy, but was levelled against those who in their estimation had disgraced their country by the surrender of the metropolis. For a while the destruction of Paris seemed to be threatened by this part of its misguided population ; but the national guard, under the Prince of Essling, acted with most exemplary firmness, and to the thirty thousand armed citizens who formed this body, the Parisians were probably indebted for their preservation from plunder and outrage. The discontents produced by the capitulation were by no means confined to the soldiery, or to the lower classes. They found their way into the chambers, and some of the members, in their confidential conversations, did not hesitate to urge against the Duke of Otranto the heinous imputation of treachery and treason.

Up to the moment of the capitulation of Paris the chambers continued their deliberations, and on the day when the humiliation of their country seemed completed, the national representatives issued a declaration of the rights of Frenchmen, resembling in its spirit and in its principal features the bill of rights claimed by the parliament of England from William III. and it is assuredly a tribute of no ordinary value offered to the constitution of England, that at the very time when her army was at the gates of the French capital, our national institutions were the objects of the perpetual eulogy, and the subjects of the imitation, of the statesmen of the hostile nation. The constancy of the chambers was put to a severe trial. The king had arrived at Compiègne, and nearly a million of foreign troops were hastening from every quarter to reinstate him on the throne, and yet not one member in either house thought proper to propose his restoration.

To tranquillize the public mind, the provisional government published a proclamation, stating the motives by which they had been actuated in the surrender of Paris. " Called upon, says the proclamation, to defend the interest of the people and of the army, which had been equally compromised in the cause of a prince abandoned by fortune and the national will, they conceived it their duty to rescue the capital from the horrors of a siege, and the chance of a battle. And in-

spired with too much confidence by the declarations of the sovereigns of Europe, to dispute that those promises could be violated, or that the liberty and dearest interests of France could be sacrificed to victory, they did not hesitate to accept that peace which was necessary to the prosperity and happiness of a nation which for five and twenty years had been a prey to the alternate and temporary triumphs of factions. The guarantees which had hitherto existed only in the principles and courage of Frenchmen, they would now find in their laws and constitution, and above all, in their representative system."

The national representatives also addressed the people with a firmness of tone, and in a spirit of independence, that will entitle them to the admiration of future ages:—"A monarch," say they, in language similar to that held by the convention parliament of England, "cannot offer any real guarantee, if he does not swear to observe the constitution framed by the national representation, and accepted by the people; it hence follows, that any government which shall have no other title than the acclamation and will of a party, or which shall be imposed by force; and every government which shall not guarantee the rights and liberties of a people claiming the privileges of freemen, will have only an ephemeral existence, and will neither secure the tranquillity of France nor of Europe."

In the crisis which had now arisen, France was greatly divided respecting the choice of the sovereign who should succeed Napoleon. The return of the Bourbons, it was feared, would be signalized by a system of vengeance and re-action, and the proclamations of the 25th and 28th of June, gave too much countenance to these apprehensions. It was supposed impossible that a dynasty which had suffered so much from revolutions, could sincerely pardon the actors in the revolutionary drama. All those, both in the civil and military orders, who, during the last five and twenty years, had acquired rank, fortune, and glory, felt the most affecting and gloomy disquietudes in contemplating the recall of Louis XVIII. One party desired a foreign prince as the most likely to guarantee with impartiality all existing arrangements, and the Prince of Waterloo was said to stand high in the list of those on whose head it was proposed to place a crown, and whose hands were to wield a diadem. Another party was desirous to maintain the regency. But an authority which should have governed in the name of the spouse and the son of Napoleon, would have favoured the belief that it was Napoleon himself who governed. The name of the Duke of Orleans was in-

voked by one portion of the public. His personal qualities—his name as a Bourbon, and the facility with which a social compact entirely new could be acceded to with him, presented a tranquillizing aspect, and pointed him out to his supporters as a fit occupant of the throne. Others insisted upon the principles of legitimacy; but the Duke of Otranto, from whom we quote, considers the principles of legitimacy as the mere political law of a country; and Montesquieu shows, that there may occur, between a dynasty and a people, such incompatibilities, as to render it necessary to change the law in order to save that very country.

Amidst these conflicts of opinion, Louis XVIII. approached towards Paris. Wherever the invading army appeared the king was proclaimed, and apprehensions were entertained that it was the determination of the allied powers to force the Bourbons upon the French people, notwithstanding the declaration made by the Prince Regent of England upon the coalition treaty of the 25th of March,* and the still more recent assurances given to the French commissioners at Haguenau. To this act of national degradation, the Duke of Otranto, the head of the provisional government, does not appear to have urged any very strenuous objections, though in his letter to the Duke of Wellington he states, that those form a very false idea of the position in which he stood, who reproach him with not having defended the rights of the nation to choose their own prince, and to fix the condition of his power. “These two points,” he adds, “were decided by the force of circumstances. The present was no longer in our power. All would have been easy, if, as I had proposed, Napoleon had abdicated at the *Champ de Mai*—his tardy abdication subjected us to the yoke of events.”†

On the 6th of July, the Duke of Otranto had a conference with the Duke of Wellington at Neuilly, in which he was informed, that all the allied powers had engaged to replace Louis upon the throne of France. This decision it was found impossible to revoke; and the president of the provisional government, passing to a subject second only in importance to that which had just been discussed, said, that at the instant when the throne was about to be re-established, it was the interest of the king to adopt a system of clemency and oblivion; urging, that that which is crime in a well regulated state, may be only delirium in a state of disorder. Several individuals, who

* See Vol. IV. Book V. Page 241.

† Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

had been suspected of treason, had, he said, been only misled in the path in which the crisis had engaged them; and that as long as a man believed that he had not abandoned his duty, it was possible to reclaim him from his error. These views met the approbation of the duke.* On the following day the Duke of Otranto held the same language to the king, in a conference to which he had the honour to be admitted with him at St. Denis. The king seemed sensible that the nation had need of repose, to re-unite all the elements of order dispersed by the times and by misfortunes; that it was necessary to veil all errors with extreme benevolence, and to employ every possible means to inspire all hearts with sentiments of sincere attachment to the throne. From this interview, the particulars of which were immediately communicated to those most interested in its result, it was presaged that the nation had reached the close of its dissensions. But the French people required something more than presages, and nothing but a positive engagement on the part of the sovereign was considered as a sufficient guarantee for the liberty of the nation, and the security of those who had borne arms against the Bourbons.*

In the afternoon of the 6th a sight was witnessed at the barriers of Paris of which history furnishes no former example—the surrender of the capital of France to a British army. This ceremony took place at half past four o'clock, when all the gates of the city were placed in the hands of their new masters. Numerous regiments of the allies now traversed the streets, on their way to their respective quarters, and their peaceable demeanour and modest deportment made a considerable impression in their favour on the minds of every well disposed spectator. In addition to the sprig of laurel which each soldier wore in his cap, his arm was bound round with a white scarf. This, the federates, and a portion of the populace, considered as a symbol of adherence to the cause of the king, and pursuing the march of the troops, they vociferated in their ears—"No Bourbons;" "The representative government for ever;" while others continued to indulge in their still favourite cry of "*Vive l'empereur!*" The allied troops were prepared for these popular ebullitions, and treated the cries and the insults offered to them by the infuriated mob with silent disdain. Some of the Prussians were quartered upon the inhabitants, and others encamped in the Elysian Fields:

* Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Duke of Wellington, dated Dresden, January 1, 1816.

but the whole of the British army encamped on the night of the 6th under the walls, or on the Boulevards of Paris.

During the progress of these military movements the chambers continued their deliberations without interruption; but on the morning of the 7th, the provisional government, finding that foreign troops had occupied the Thuilleries, and that their deliberations were no longer free, came to the resolution to dissolve themselves, and on the meeting of the chambers a communication to that effect was made to the deputies.*

This annunciation, though not altogether unexpected, filled the members with astonishment and dismay. A profound silence ensued. At length, M. Manuel, advancing to the tribune, thus addressed the assembly:—

“What has happened you have all foreseen; with whatever rapidity events have succeeded each other, they have not surprised you; and already your declaration, founded upon the deep feelings of your duty, has told to all France that you are able to fulfil and complete your glorious design. The commission of government has been reduced to a position which leaves it incapable of farther defence. As to ourselves, it is our duty to allot to our country all our last moments, and, if need be, the last drops of our blood. The time, perhaps, is not far distant, which shall restore you to all your rights, consecrate public liberty, accomplish all your wishes, and fulfil all the desires of every Frenchman: that time it becomes us to look forward to with the calm dignity worthy the representatives of a great people. Let there be neither shouts, nor complaints, nor acclamations. You are animated by one firm resolve, which the dictates of wisdom must develope, adorned with her characteristic qualities, and clearly demonstrated to be the settled impression of every generous heart. Forget, I demand it of you, every personal in-

* DISSOLUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

“*To the Representatives of the French People,*

“Hitherto we believed that the intentions of the allied sovereigns were not unanimous upon the choice of the prince who is to reign in France. Our plenipotentiaries gave us the same assurances at their return.

“However, the ministers and generals of the allied powers declared yesterday, in the conferences they had with the president of the commission, that all the sovereigns had engaged to replace Louis XVIII. upon the throne; that he is to make his entrance into the capital this evening or to-morrow.

“Foreign troops have just occupied the Thuilleries, where the government is sitting.

“In this state of affairs, we can only breathe wishes for the country; and our deliberations being no longer free, we think it our duty to separate.

“The Marshal Prince of Essling, and the Prefect of the Seine, have been charged to watch over the maintenance of public order, safety, and tranquillity.

(Signed)

“THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

“COUNT GRENIER.

“QUINETTE.

“CARNOT.

“CAULAINCOURT, DUKE OF VICENZA.”

terest ; suffer no apprehension to hide from your eyes the good of your country : you will complete your work by continuing your deliberations. Gentlemen, one of two things must happen ; either the allied armies will permit the usual sittings of your assembly, or violence will tear you from this sanctuary. If we are to remain free, let us not have to reproach ourselves with any hesitation or interruption ; if we are to bend beneath the laws of force, let us leave to others the odium of such a violation, and let the disgrace of having stifled the accents of independence fall with all its weight upon those who dare to undertake so base an office. You have protested beforehand ; you protest again, against every act aggressive on our liberties, and the rights of your constituents. Alas ! would you have to fear such evils, if the promises of kings were not given in vain ? What then, remains, but to exclaim with that orator whose words have resounded throughout the whole of Europe : ‘ We are here by the will of the people—the bayonet alone shall drive us hence.’ ”

Four distinct peals of applause greeted the orator as he concluded his speech, and the chamber having agreed unanimously to M. Manuel’s proposal, entered upon the business of the day. The articles of the constitution were still under the consideration of the assembly, and among other votes come to this day, it was decided, after two divisions, that the peerage should be hereditary and unlimited. After this vote, which was concluded at six o’clock, the chamber adjourned till eight o’clock the next morning.

In the peers, the sitting had no sooner commenced, than Marshal Lefebvre, the Duke of Dantzic, notified to the house that Prussian troops had taken possession of the Luxembourg Gardens, in defiance of the convention of Paris, and moved that a deputation should remonstrate with Marshal Blucher on this subject. At that moment a messenger from the provisional government announced its dissolution. The communication was listened to in silence, and the example immediately followed by the spontaneous and final separation of the peers.

At the appointed hour on the morning of the 8th, a number of the members of the chamber of deputies presented themselves at the palace of the legislative body, where they found the gates shut, and guarded by sentinels of the national guard, who invited them to retire. The alternative of M. Mirabeau and M. Manuel had occurred : the representatives indeed were not expelled, but they were excluded by the bayonet. Although the members had neither the power nor the inclination to resist the mandate by which the doors of their hall were closed against them, they had too much courage and patriotism to depart without solemnly protesting against the injustice of the proceeding. About one hundred of their number repaired to the house of the president, Lanjuinais, and there drew up and signed the following process verbal :—

"In the sittings of yesterday, the chamber of representatives passed to the order of the day on the message by which the provisional committee gave notice that it had ceased its functions. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the constitution which it had pledged itself to frame, and when its sittings were suspended, adjourned to this day, the 8th of July, at eight o'clock in the morning. In consequence of this adjournment, the members of the chamber of representatives repaired to the usual place of their meeting. But the gates of the palace being closed, the avenues being guarded by a military force, and the officers who commanded it having declared that they had received a peremptory order not to grant admittance to any of the members; the undersigned members of the chamber have assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, and there they have formed, and signed individually, the present process verbal, to authenticate the above facts."

Signed by all the members present.

July 8th, 1815.

The white standard of the Bourbons now displaced the tricoloured flag on the towers of Paris, and the intention of the king to make his entry this day into his capital was publicly announced. The Parisians, to whom a public spectacle has irresistible charms, hastened to behold, and to swell, the royal procession. When the king reached the barriers, which were thrown open for his admission, the acclamations of the populace became unbounded, and the prefect of Paris, attended by the whole municipal body, addressed a congratulatory speech to his majesty, full of those protestations of inextinguishable loyalty to his person and his house, which had, one hundred days before, been lavished with equal profusion upon the returning emperor. The reply of the king to this courtly address was cool and sententious:—"In removing from Paris," said he, "I experienced the greatest sorrow and regret. The testimonies of the fidelity of my good city of Paris reached me. I return with emotion. I foresaw the misfortunes with which it was threatened; it is my wish to prevent and repair them."

The day after his arrival the king announced his new ministry, which consisted of Prince Talleyrand, president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for foreign affairs; Baron Louis, minister of finance; the Duke of Otranto, minister of police; Baron Pasquier, minister of justice; Marshal St. Cyr, minister of war; Count de Jaucour, minister of marine; and the Duke of Richelieu, minister of the household. The object of the king in the choice of this ministry was to include men of all parties, and thereby to inspire universal confidence; but this was a vain effort, and a short time served to dissolve a body in which there was no common principle of adhesion.

Louis XVIII. was thus once more seated upon the throne of his fathers, but he reigned only in the Thuilleries. To the foreign troops by which he was surrounded he was solely in-

debted for his elevation. The national will had not been consulted ; and the same potent agency which placed him on the throne could alone maintain him in his present situation. Indebted to the enemies of his country for his elevation—surrounded by a discordant ministry—compelled to impose heavy burthens upon his people as the price of his restoration—and forced to subscribe to conditions humiliating to the glory of France, the opening of his second reign was inauspicious in the extreme, but it was not utterly hopeless. Whatever might have been the errors of his former government, or however unpromising his present circumstances, he enjoyed personally the respect of the French nation. The people were wearied with revolutions. Their military passion, which, before the return of Napoleon, constituted the great danger of the French monarchy, was subdued ; and the nation wished for peace and a moderate share of freedom, both of which the king possessed the power and the inclination to confer.

The English army, ever since its entrance into Paris, continued to maintain that noble character for strict discipline which it had acquired during its march to the capital. Not a single act of atrocity was laid to their charge. The inhabitants traversed their camp in perfect security, and soon began to regard them rather as visitors than as conquerors. In the quarters and in the camp of the Prussians a different scene was presented. The inhabitants of the houses in which they were quartered were frequently treated with unjustifiable severity ; their best apartments were seized ; their furniture was wantonly injured and destroyed ; and when their wretched hosts were no longer able to supply their exorbitant demands, their houses were frequently stripped, and every portable article carried away and sold. Both officers and men seemed less solicitous to conciliate the subjects of their ally Louis XVIII. and to secure the permanency of his reign, than to avenge themselves of the French nation for the enormities to which the inhabitants of Prussia had been exposed from French cruelty and exactions during the invasions of their country. They forgot, that in the revolutionary wars, Prussia, not France, was the first aggressor ; and the coalition of Pilnitz, the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick, and the denunciations of his famous proclamation, were events which a recollection of the wrongs of Germany had entirely obliterated from their minds. Even the Prussian commander-in-chief so far suffered his resentment to overcome his magnanimity, that the bridge of Jena was mined by his order, and would have been blown into the air, in spite of the king's remonstrances, had not the Duke

of Wellington placed a sentinel upon it, with orders not to quit his station.

The short but splendid campaign of the allied armies, under the command of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher, obscured the operations of the Austrian and the Russian armies, and their advance from the Rhine to the French capital, though distinguished by several spirited engagements, did not fix for a moment the attention of Europe. Two days after the return of Louis XVIII. the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, arrived in Paris; and Lord Castlereagh, with several of the most distinguished statesmen and ministers attached to the principal courts of Europe, had repaired to the same city, to negotiate those treaties by which the political relations of France with the other states of Europe, were to be regulated and guaranteed.

The 3d of July, the day of the capitulation of Paris, was signalized also by the arrival of Napoleon at Rochfort, with the intention of embarking for the United States of America. The two frigates appointed by the provisional government to convey the emperor and his suit to the western shores of the Atlantic, had already arrived, and that promptitude of action for which he was once so much distinguished, was alone wanting to secure his escape. Hesitation now proved his ruin. Misfortune seemed to have paralyzed his energies; and in the language of one who was perfectly acquainted with all his movements, "he was too unfortunate to have a will."* On his arrival at Rochefort he established himself at the maritime prefecture; and from the 3d to the 10th of July he occupied himself in preparations for a voyage which he was doomed never to undertake. In the mean time the British cruisers hovered off the coast, and Captain Maitland, in his majesty's ship the *Bellerophon*, of seventy-four guns, appeared in Basque Roads. The situation of Napoleon now became every moment more perilous. The expectation that he might be recalled by the affection of the army, or the difficulties of the state, to re-assume the reins of government, forsook him when he learned that the allies had actually entered Paris. He now determined instantly to depart; but the moment for escape had passed away; all his efforts for that purpose proved unavailing; and that navy which, in the days of his prosperity, had opposed the principal obstacle to the fulfilment of his schemes of universal empire, relaxed not its vigilance when adversity had hurled the imperial fugitive from

* The Duke of Otranto.

his throne, and compelled him to seek an asylum in a foreign land.

In this extremity he formed the resolution to cast himself upon the generosity of the British nation; and on the morning of the 14th Count Las Cases, and General L'Allemand, were despatched on board the *Bellerophon*, with a proposal to Captain Maitland to receive Napoleon and his suit on board his vessel. This proposal was of course accepted without hesitation; but that no misunderstanding might arise, the captain explicitly and clearly explained, that he had no authority whatever for granting terms of any sort; and that all that he could engage to do, was to convey Napoleon and his suit to England, to be received in such a manner as the prince regent might direct.

During the night between the 13th and 14th, Napoleon had repaired on board the French brig *l'Epervier*; and on the evening of the 14th, the Count Las Cases, and General L'Allemand, having returned, he ordered his suit and his baggage to embark on board the same vessel. At the dawn of day on the 15th, *l'Epervier* set sail with a flag of truce, and Napoleon, with all those who had attached themselves to his fate, amounting in the whole to about fifty persons, and including the Count and Countess Bertrand, and three children; the Count and Countess Montholon Semonville, and one child; Marshal Savaroy, Duke of Rovigo; and Generals L'Allemand, Gourgaud, and Las Cases, embarked in the course of the morning on board the *Bellerophon*. On ascending the quarter-deck Napoleon advanced to Captain Maitland, and in a firm tone of voice, and with a dignified manner, said—"I am come to claim the protection of your prince and of your laws." The British captain, having received no orders to the contrary, received him with all the respect due to his former rank, and afforded him all the accommodation in his power.

Captain Maitland lost not a moment in despatching a frigate to England, with the important intelligence of the surrender of the fallen emperor, and in the same vessel Marshal Gourgaud was embarked, charged with the delivery of a letter from his master to the prince regent, claiming the hospitality of the British nation.* To this letter it does not appear that

* COPY OF BONAPARTE'S LETTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT.

Rocheport, 13 Juillet, 1815.

"Altesse Royale—En butte aux factions qui divisent mon pays, et à l'inimitié des plus grandes puissances de l'Europe, j'ai terminé ma

any answer was returned, except the conduct adopted towards Napoleon may be considered in this light. On the 16th the *Bellerophon* sailed from the French coast for England, and on the 24th the telegraph at Plymouth announced her arrival in Torbay. During the voyage, the officers and crew of the English man of war treated Napoleon with all the respect they would have shown to a sovereign prince; and although orders were soon after issued by the British government to consider and treat him merely as a general officer, yet so completely had he ingratiated himself into the favour of all on board, during his short voyage, that these orders were but very imperfectly obeyed.

His suite treated him with the most profound respect.—They never approached him, or entered into conversation with him, but at his invitation, and always uncovered; but he conversed frequently and familiarly with the officers of the *Bellerophon*, and even with the seamen and marines. On every political subject he expressed his opinions freely and without reserve. He declared that he would have perished, rather than he would have delivered himself up to either Russia, Austria, or Prussia. The sovereigns of these countries were despotic, and might have violated with impunity all justice and good faith, by his imprisonment or death, but in surrendering himself to the British nation, he threw himself upon the generosity of every individual, and on the protection of the laws. Politics he had for ever abandoned; and to the invitation of the French army of the Loire, to place himself at their head, he had, before he left Rochefort, returned a decided negative, from a determination that not another *goutte de sang*—drop of blood, should be shed on his account. Speaking of the battle of Waterloo, he gave a similar account of the cause of his disaster, to that which had already been given in his memorable bulletin of the battle of Mount St. Jean—adding, that he was betrayed by some of his generals, and that he had

carri'ere politique; et je viens, comme Themistocle, m'asseoir sur les foyers du peuple Britannique. Je me mets sous la protection de ses lois; que je reclame de V. A. R. comme le plus puissant, le plus constant, et le plus ge'ne'reux de mes ennemis.

“NAPOLEON.”

TRANSLATION.

Rochefort, 13th July, 1815.

“Your Royal Highness—Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under

no chance against the bravery of the best troops in the world, and the treachery of those in whom he most confided. Speaking of his former achievements—"I ought," said he, "to have died when I entered Moscow; then I had attained the pinnacle of my glory, but from that hour reverses and disgrace have perpetually pursued me. And yet, had I followed the dictates of my own mind, I might now have been great and happy. I would have made peace at Dresden. I would have made peace at Chatillon, had not the Duke of Bassano, with well meant, but fatal zeal, dissuaded me."*

While the British cabinet was deliberating upon the proper course to be pursued towards their fallen enemy, Napoleon yielded to the illusory hope that he should be permitted to reside in England, under some strict, but not oppressive, *surveillance*. Cheered by this expectation, he seemed almost to forget his misfortunes, and the novel and impressive scene exhibited by upwards of a thousand boats, occupied by at least ten thousand spectators, which floated around the Bellerophon, to catch a sight of its imperial guest, dissipated for a moment the gloom that hung over his future destiny. On his appearance on deck, the officers and seamen, by a simultaneous movement, uncovered without orders, and when he advanced to the starboard gang-way, to view the sublime spectacle before him, and to gratify the curiosity of his visitors, the spectators in their return became uncovered, and the bay resounded with acclamations. During several days these scenes were repeated, and the sensation made along the coast, by the presence of this too celebrated personage, is indescribable. Misfortune had not impaired his personal appearance. When he was chief consul of France his figure was slender, and his visage thin, and somewhat haggard; at the time when he assumed the imperial purple, he was more robust; but, since adversity first hurled him from his giddy eminence, he had become absolutely corpulent. His person is thus described by an officer on board the Bellerophon:—"Napoleon is about five feet seven inches in height, very strongly made, and well proportioned; very broad and deep chest; legs and thighs proportioned, with great symmetry and strength; a small,

the protection of its laws, which (protection) I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

"NAPOLEON."

* See Narrative of an Embassy to Warsaw and Wilna, by M. de Pradt, Archbishop of Malines.

round, and handsome foot. His countenance is sallow, and, as it were, deeply tinged by hot climates ; but the most commanding air I ever saw. His eyes grey, and the most piercing that you can imagine. His glance, you fancy, searches into your inmost thoughts. His hair dark brown, and no appearance of grey. His features are handsome now, and when younger he must have been a very handsome man. He is rather fat, and his belly protuberant, but he appears active notwithstanding. His step and demeanour altogether commanding. He looks about forty-five or forty-six years of age."

The decision of the British government, acting "in conjunction with the allied sovereigns,"* disappointed Napoleon's expectations, and doomed him to pass the remainder of his life in the island of St. Helena ; and as a place of security, the world does not afford one more eligible. Situated in the middle of the Southern Atlantic, at a distance of twelve hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and eighteen hundred from South America, with an inaccessible coast, formed by an almost uninterrupted chain of rocks, rising in nearly a perpendicular direction, to the height of from six to twelve hundred feet, it is absolutely impregnable either by surprize and external stratagem, or by an open and regular attack. Gibraltar or Malta are neither of them to be compared with St. Helena as a place of security. Nature has, indeed, been so profuse in strengthening this station, and has left so little for art to perform, that out of twenty-eight miles of coast, the fortified lines of defence, collectively, do not exceed eight hundred and fifty yards.† To this settlement it was determined that Napoleon should be sent, on board the Northumberland man of war, under the command of Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn. And in thus disposing of an august stranger, who had sought the protection of the British laws, without the sanction of parliament, there is no doubt but the ministers of the crown incurred a heavy responsibility, but the necessity of the case justified the decision, and parliament, at their meeting, did not hesitate to grant them an indemnity.

In confiding to British officers a mission of such importance, the Prince Regent felt it necessary to express to them his earnest desire, that no greater personal restraint might be employed than what should be found necessary faithfully to perform the duties of which Admiral Cockburn, as well as the

* London Gazette, August 26th, 1815.

† See Major-general Alexander Beatson's Tracts on St. Helena, written during a residence of five years, between the years 1808 and 1814, in the capacity of governor-general.

governor of St. Helena, were never to lose sight, namely, the perfectly secure detention of *General Bonaparte*. Every thing which, without opposing this grand object, could be granted as an indulgence, it was the wish of his royal highness should be allowed to the general; but the admiral was cautioned not to suffer himself to be misled, or imprudently to deviate from the performance of his duty.

Napoleon heard of the decision of the council, through the medium of the newspapers, before it was officially announced to him, and his rage and mortification were extreme. At first he peremptorily declared that he would never be taken over the sides of the *Bellerophon* alive; and his suite fully participated in his feelings. Sir Henry Banbury was the commissioner charged to make known to Bonaparte, the determination of the British government to send him to St. Helena. This explanation took place on the 2d of August, on board the *Bellerophon*; and at the same time he was informed, that four of his friends, (with their families) to be chosen by himself, and twelve of his domestics, would be allowed to attend him into exile.* Although this information was received

* That no doubt or uncertainty might exist as to the conduct to be pursued towards Napoleon, a memorial, dated the 30th of July, 1815, was communicated by government to Admiral Cockburn, which was to serve by way of instructions, and by which it was directed, that at the moment when Bonaparte was trans-shipped from the *Bellerophon* on board the *Northumberland*, the effects which he had brought with him should be examined. His baggage, wine, provisions, and table-service, were to be taken on board the *Northumberland* for his use. His money, diamonds, bills of exchange, and valuable effects of whatever kind, were to be delivered up—not to be confiscated, but merely to be administered under the direction of the British government in such a way as to prevent their owner from using them as means to promote his escape. The interest, or the principal, according as his property might be more or less considerable, to be applied to his support; and in case of his death, the whole of his property to be disposed of according to the directions of his last will and testament. On his arrival in St. Helena, “the general,” says the memorial, “must be constantly attended by an officer, appointed either by the admiral or the governor, and if he be allowed to go out of the bounds where the sentinels are placed, one orderly-man at least must accompany the officer. When ships arrive at the island, and as long as they remain in sight, the general must be confined to the limits where the sentinels are placed, and during this time all communication with the inhabitants is forbidden, both to the general and his suite.” An attempt to fly on the part of Napoleon to subject him to close confinement; and any plot, on the part of his attendants, to aid his flight, to subject them to be separated from him. All correspondence with the general by letter to undergo the inspection of the admiral or the governor. The whole coast of the island, and all the ships and boats that visit it, are placed under the *surveillance* of the admiral, who is charged to watch over the arrival and departure of every ship, and to prevent all communication with the coast, except such as he shall deem it proper to allow. In case the general should be seized with a serious illness,

without surprise, yet Napoleon protested against the measure in the most emphatic manner. On Friday, the 4th, the *Bellerophon* sailed from Torbay to meet the Northumberland off Berry-head, and on the Sunday following, Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn proceeded on board the former ship, to settle with Napoleon the exact period of his intended removal. The ceremony with which the fallen emperor had hitherto been treated was now to be discontinued, and the admiral approaching him, simply pulled off his hat, as he would have done to any other general-officer, and said—"How do you do *General Bonaparte*?" Surprised at being thus saluted, Napoleon hesitated an instant, and then replied to the inquiry in a slight and laconic manner. After a long expostulation against the "perfidy and injustice" practised towards him, he concluded by a peremptory refusal to quit the ship. Lord Keith, in reply, observed, that he acted under the orders of his government, and that he hoped he should not be under the necessity of resorting to coercive measures—"No, no," replied Napoleon, "you command! I must obey! You may take me, but let it be remembered that I do not go with my own free will." He then presented to his lordship a formal protest in writing, against his deportation, in the presence of several witnesses.*

two physicians, one appointed by the admiral and the other by the governor, shall attend him, in common with his own physician, by whom a daily report on the state of his health shall be made, and in case of his death his body shall be conveyed to England.

To give increased efficacy to these regulations, two acts, passed in the following session of parliament (Cap. xxii. and xxiii.) "for the more effectual detaining in custody Napoleon Bonaparte; and for regulating the intercourse with the island of St. Helena;" by the former of which it was enacted that General Bonaparte should be considered as a prisoner of war, and that any British subject attempting his rescue, or aiding, assisting, or furthering him after he had effected his escape, should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; and by the latter of which, all intercourse with the island of St. Helena, except in ships of the East India Company, or by license of his majesty, was interdicted.

* PROTEST OF NAPOLEON.

"I protest solemnly in the face of heaven and of men against the violation of my most sacred rights, by the forcible disposal of my person, and of my liberty. I came freely on board the *Bellerophon*. I am not the prisoner, I am the guest of England. Once seated on board the *Bellerophon*, I was immediately entitled to the hospitality (*Je fus sur le foyer*) of the British people. If the government, by giving orders to the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my suite, intended merely to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour, and sullied its flag. If this act be consummated, it will be in vain that the English will talk to Europe of their loyalty, of their laws, of their liberty. The British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal therefore to history. It will say that an enemy who made war for twenty

At the close of the interview, Sir George Cockburn inquired at what hour, on the following morning, he should come to take the general on board the *Northumberland*, to which Napoleon replied, at ten.

Early on Monday morning Admiral Cockburn went on board the *Bellerophon* to superintend the inspection of the baggage ; and about half past eleven o'clock, Lord Keith, in the barge of the *Tonnant*, proceeded to the same ship, to receive Napoleon and those by whom he was to be attended. As soon as the baggage was removed, the parting scene commenced, and the separation was truly affecting. All wept ; but Marshal Savary and a Polish colonel appeared the most deeply affected. The Pole had accompanied Bonaparte through many of his campaigns, and had received seventeen wounds in his service. He clung to his knees, and requested from Lord Keith permission to attend his master even in the most menial capacity, but the orders of government to send off the Polish officers were peremptory, and the brave officer's request could not be complied with. Count Bertrand, his wife, and three children ; the Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Cases, and General Gourgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Bonaparte. Marshal Savary and General L'Allemand were left behind in the *Bellerophon*, to be sent to Malta, and the remainder of his suite were put on board the *Eurotas* frigate. M. Maingault, the surgeon of Napoleon, alone, of all his attendants, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by Mr. O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*. At twelve o'clock the barge reach the *Northumberland*. During the trans-shipment Napoleon exhibited no symptom of despondency, but, on the contrary, he appeared more cheerful than usual. He mounted the side of the vessel with the activity of a seaman, and advancing to Sir George Cockburn, he said—"Admiral, I once more protest against the injustice of your country." To Lord Lowther, and the Hon. Mr. Lyttleton, who were on board the *Northumberland*, he bowed, and soon after entered into a familiar conversation with them on political subjects, which continued for two hours. His motives for his attack on Spain—the Berlin and Milan decrees—the war against Russia—and

years on the people of England, came freely in his misfortune to seek an asylum under its laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and of his confidence ? But how did they answer it in England ? They pretended to hold out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and when he surrendered himself to them in good faith, they sacrificed him.

*"Dated on board the Bellerophon,
at sea, August 4, 1815."*

"NAPOLEON."

his refusal to sign the treaty of Chatillon, were all discussed with considerable freedom, and far from avoiding, he encouraged the discussion. "I was called to Spain, said he, by Charles IV. to assist him against his son." "Rather," said one of the young noblemen, "to place King Joseph on the throne." "I had," replied Napoleon, "a grand political system. It was necessary to establish a counterpoise to your enormous power at sea; and besides, the Bourbons had always entertained the same feeling and adopted the same system. I wished to revive Spain, and to do much of that which the cortes afterwards attempted." Speaking of his invasion of France, he said, with great animation, "I was then a sovereign. I had a right to make war. The king had not kept his promise." He then added, exultingly, and with a smile—"I made war on the King of France with six hundred men, and beat him too." In treating him as the English now did, he said, they acted like a little aristocratical power, and not like a great and free people. Of Mr. Fox he said, he knew him; he had seen him at the Thuilleries; "he had not," added he, "your prejudices." "Mr. Fox, general," said one of the gentlemen, "was a zealous patriot with respect to his own country, and he was a citizen of the world." "He sincerely wished for peace," said Napoleon, "and I wished for it also. His death prevented its conclusion. The others were not sincere." He afterwards observed—"I do not say that I have not for twenty years endeavoured to ruin England—that is to say, to lower you—I wished to force you to be just, at least less unjust." To a question respecting Louis XVIII. he replied, "he is a good sort of man, but too fond of the table and pretty sayings. He is not calculated for the French. The Duchess of Angouleme is the only *man* in the family. The French must have such a man as myself." He afterwards broke out into some invectives against the conduct of the allies, which he called perfidious and treacherous towards France; and again adverted indignantly to the subject of his deportation to St. Helena. "You do not know my character," said he, "why not let me remain upon my parole of honour in England?"*

A few days served to complete the preparation of the Northumberland for sea, and in the course of the week the vessel was under way for her destination. During the voyage the imperial exile maintained his usual equanimity of temper; and on the 17th of October, he, who had once aspired to the

* These passages, forming part of a long conversation, rest upon the authority of the gentlemen to whom that conversation was addressed.

dominion of Europe—the Emperor of the West, and the descendant of Charlemagne, found himself immured, probably for life, in a small volcanic island, measuring ten miles in length and seven miles in breadth, at a distance of six thousand miles from the scene of his immortal exploits in arms, and separated from the two great continents of Africa and America by unfathomable seas.*

* ST. HELENA, so far from being desolate and barren, as is generally imagined, is in many parts pre-eminently fertile, and capable of the highest improvement. The land, of which from two to three thousand acres might be ploughed with the great facility; and even much more brought into cultivation, is not inferior in the production of wheat and every other grain, as well as of potatoes, and all sorts of esculents, to the very best land of Europe. The annual produce is indeed much greater, on account of the certainty of two seasons of rain and two harvests in the year. The plain of Long-Wood and Dead-Wood comprises 1,500 acres of fine land, elevated 2,000 feet above the sea, with a beautiful sward, covering a deep and fertile soil, and is become the first place of pasture in the island; but with all these advantages a large proportion of St. Helena exhibits the appearance of a barren and reluctant waste. The climate is perhaps the most mild and salubrious in the world, and is remarkably congenial to human feelings. Neither too hot nor too cold, it presents throughout the year that medium temperature which is always agreeable. From thunder and lightning this climate may be said to be wholly exempt. In the course of sixty years only two flashes of lightning are recollected, and even these are said not to have been accompanied by thunder. Neither is this settlement subject to those storms and hurricanes which occasionally afflict and desolate many other tropical islands. The idea that rats are so numerous and destructive in St. Helena, that it is impossible to raise corn, is altogether erroneous; some years ago these vermin were extremely troublesome, but during the two last years they have been wholly extirpated. The population of the island, in 1812, exclusive of the civil and military establishments, and the free blacks and the East India Company's slaves, amounted to 582 whites, and 1150 blacks. Provisions are always in plenty; and the supply of fish is so ample, that no less than seventy-seven species are enumerated as frequenting the coast of that island.

As a military station this settlement is absolutely impregnable. The principal landing places, which consist of Rupert's Bay, James Town, and Lemon Valley, are all well fortified by *fleur d'eau* batteries, provided with furnaces for heating shot, and flanked by cannon placed upon the cliffs, far above the reach of ship guns. Mortars and howitzers for showering grape-shot upon the decks of ships, or upon boats attempting to land, are also provided, and in short, it is utterly impossible to force a descent at any of these points. Besides the principal landing places, there are several ravines, or vallies, interspersed throughout the coast, where an enemy might undoubtedly land, but most of these are also protected by batteries, and are so easily defended by rolling stones from the heights, that no body of troops attempting to gain the interior could have the least chance of success if proper vigilance were exerted. Two or three men, provided with iron crows, and stationed on the heights, just above the entrance to any of the ravines, would render it impossible for any number of troops, however great, to approach ten yards within the landing places. A stone of moderate size, which may be easily displaced, set off from the top of one of the ridges, before it reaches the bottom of the hill collects such myriads in its train, that if a whole battalion of

Thus terminated the political life of Napoleon, the first, and probably the last, Emperor of the French. His character, though bearing little resemblance to the character of the generality of mankind, exhibited one feature in common with his species—it combined a mixture of good and of evil : adding another splendid confirmation to the truth, that as there is no man so good as to be destitute of all vice, so there is none so bad as to be destitute of all virtue. The revolution, of which he was the child and the champion, had, like the character, of the man, a mixture of good and evil—to that revolution, with all its horrors, France owes a system of government, theoretically, if not practically, free ; and to Napoleon, with all his errors, she owes her present admirable civil and criminal code.

The fall, like the rise, of Napoleon baffled all speculation. It is an observation rendered quaint by repetition, that had he been less ambitious he might have preserved his throne ; but had his ambition not been inordinate he never would have had a throne to preserve. The same spirit that elevated him to the imperial purple sunk him to the rank of the Emperor of Elba, and at his next fall shut him up in the island of St. Helena. Such, then, is the fate of this extraordinary man. Perhaps we live too near the times of which we write, to be able exactly to draw the character of Napoleon. Posterity must decide between his panegyrists and his accusers ; both have, without doubt, erred. Yet widely as men may differ in forming a judgment upon some parts of his character, upon others all must agree. That he possessed extraordinary powers for government will hardly be denied ; Europe generally, and France in particular, bear ample testimony to the fact. In the field and in the cabinet he long shone without an equal : his measures were for the most part as well planned as the execution of them was successfully directed. The schemes of coalitions were frustrated by him, and for this purpose he frequently employed stratagem, and frequently force : what he could not gain by negotiation he acquired by conquest. Many times did the potentates of the continent league among themselves and with England to subvert his power, and, till vanquished by the storms of heaven, as often did he repel their attacks. What might have been his situation at this moment, had the expedition against Russia never been undertaken, is a point of mere speculation—certain, however, it is,

troops were drawn up in the ravine, not a single man could escape alive.
—*Major-general Beaton's Tracts, and Brook's History of the Island of St. Helena.*

that his ill-judged attempt, particularly at such a season, upon that country, was the primary cause of his fall. There his brave and veteran warriors perished ; and though indeed, notwithstanding this reverse, his resources were great, and he was enabled to bring into the field, the very next year, nearly half a million of men,—yet still they were raw and inexperienced men—they had never been the comrades of his youth, never, ere now, his companions in arms. Before the year 1812, he had nearly succeeded in impressing upon Europe the belief—a belief which he himself probably entertained—that he was invincible : nor can we wonder at such a conviction being general. His wonderful successes at Marengo, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Friedland, at Wagram, were indeed calculated to astonish and overawe the world.

With military talents so great as those which he undoubtedly possessed, there was however joined one fault not a little reprehensible : this was his unconquerable obstinacy. It was but seldom that he failed to take the most effectual measures for securing his ends, but if he had by chance erred, it was impossible to make him acknowledge his mistake. A character more decisive never perhaps belonged to any man ; but Napoleon sometimes appeared to consider decision and obstinacy as the same thing.

His *talents* as a legislator have been uniformly acknowledged, and the fault of his laws, where they are despotic and tyrannical, must be imputed to his *disposition*. Tyrant he certainly was, as the restraints imposed upon the French press, upon free discussion, and upon personal liberty, abundantly prove. No considerations of duty or principle were ever suffered to interfere with the interests of his power. He could break his word, solemnly pledged—he could violate his treaties without shame or remorse—and play the hypocrite with admirable skill.

As a man, his character was much less exceptionable than as a prince. In his personal habits he was temperate, active, and indefatigable. In the domestic circle he had the art of riveting the affections of his family and his household to his person ; and to the princes of his own line he displayed a partiality that frequently involved him in errors, and that in part contributed to his fall.

No man perhaps was ever a greater favourite with the army—and with whatever coldness the rest of his subjects might look upon his rule, he always found in his soldiers an immutable affection. When he returned from Elba—what French soldier hesitated to assume the tri-coloured cockade, or to shout “*Vive l'Empereur!*” Even after his final defeat at

Waterloo, he was still a favourite, as many a well authenticated anecdote (some of them recorded in this work) will testify. Whatever Napoleon might be to his other subjects, to his army, at least, he was always an indulgent and liberal master—the spoils of conquered realms glittered in their tents, and around their homes. Highly disciplined and numerous as the imperial armies constantly were, still they would have been comparatively nothing, without that fervid enthusiasm with which their leader uniformly contrived to inspire their minds.

Few men have done more mischief in the world than Napoleon—and not many men have done more good. Whether, in the production of this good to mankind, Bonaparte was actuated by motives of disinterested virtue, or by motives of an opposite kind, matters little with regard to the simple effect. In giving liberty of conscience to professors of all religions, in finally destroying every vestige of the feudal system, in overturning the detestable power of the inquisition, and lastly, in the promulgation of his edict for the abolition of the slave trade, whatever construction we may attach to the motives, we cannot but sincerely approve the deeds.

Napoleon's ruling passion was ambition; and whenever this appeared, it was sure to make every other consideration give way. This passion it was which raised him to his dangerous eminence, and this which precipitated him from it. Ambition, joined with great talents, it has been said, constitutes a great man; and, taking this definition of greatness as just, there never existed a greater man than the late Ruler of France. But the passion which burned within the breast of Napoleon, was not of that chastened and refined nature, which acts only for the general welfare, with comparatively little regard to the individual—No! his was a selfish, a gloomy, and a ruthless passion, whose flame served only to light to the object it was destined to destroy. Had this man, instead of pursuing the unsubstantial phantom of a conqueror's glory, given his hopes and exertions to the advancement of the real prosperity of his country, or the true welfare of his species, he might have lived honoured and revered, and have gone down to posterity as a pattern for the imitation of princes, and a name glorious and beloved among men.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Assembling of Parliament—Addresses carried in both Houses—Supplies voted—Adjournment—Parliament re-assembles—Property Tax Act repealed—Estimated Expenses of Peace Establishment—Bill for regulating the Importation Price of Corn—Riots—Corn Bill passed into a Law—Derangement of the Ministers' Measures of Finance by the Return of Napoleon from Elba—War Taxes revived—Marriage of the Duke of Cumberland—Vote of Thanks to the Duke of York as Captain-general and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army—Death of Mr. Whitbread—His Public Character—Conclusion of the Session of Parliament—Consequence of the War, and the Influence of Peace upon the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Affairs of the Country—Exposition of the Public Income and Expenditure during the War—Amount of the National Debt—Summary View of the Population, Property, and Annual Resources of the British Empire—Holy League—Establishment of Peace Societies in Europe and America—Situation of the Royal Family—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales to Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg.*

THE proceedings of the British parliament in the session of 1815, so far as they regard the resolution taken once more to enter the lists against the French Emperor, have been anticipated,* and as the other topics brought under discussion during this anxious session were principally of a subordinate nature, they will demand only a cursory review. But if the parliamentary transactions of the year may be compressed within a narrow compass, the retrospect of the effects of the war, and of the consequences of the return of peace, upon the trade, the agriculture, the finances, and the general condition of the inhabitants of this country, afford an ample scope for historical statement, and present indeed a much wider field of inquiry than the circumscribed limits of the remaining portion of this history will allow.

On the 8th of November, 1814, parliament assembled for the despatch of business. The topics embraced in the speech of the prince regent were, the continuance of the war with America—the opening of the congress at Vienna—and the state of the public revenue and commerce of Great Britain on the return of peace with the continent. On the first of these points his royal highness affirmed, that the war with the United States had originated in the most unprovoked aggression on the part of that government, and that its tendency was to promote the designs of the common enemy of Europe. It was, however, his sincere desire to bring the contest to a conclusion upon just and honourable terms, and he was at the

* See Vol. IV. Book V. Page 236.

present moment engaged in negotiations for that purpose. The meeting of the congress at Vienna was next referred to; and although some delay had arisen from unavoidable causes, parliament was assured, that the endeavours of his royal highness would be used to consolidate the peace to which he had been a party, by a just equilibrium among the powers of Europe. The state of the public revenue and commerce of this country were represented in the speech as in the most flourishing condition, but the large expenditure, and the accumulated arrears, would demand in the course of the present year a considerable provision. It was in conclusion observed, that the peculiar character of the late war, as well as the extraordinary length of its duration, must have materially affected the situation of the countries engaged in it, as well as the commercial relations which formerly existed between them. Under these circumstances it became expedient to proceed with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be considered necessary for the purpose of extending our trade and securing our present advantages; and his royal highness expressed his determination cordially to co-operate and assist in every measure calculated to contribute to the prosperity and welfare of his majesty's dominions.

Addresses formed on the speech were passed in both houses of parliament without a division; and the commons voted, with as little delay as the nature of the proceedings would admit, those supplies which the exigency of the government demanded, and to afford which, the session had commenced at an earlier period than usual. In pursuance of this purpose, Sir George Warrender, one of the lords of the admiralty, moved, on the 14th of November, that seventy thousand seamen, including fifteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1815; also, that 1,615,250*l.* should be granted to his majesty for wages for the same: both which proposals were carried. On a subsequent day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that a sum not exceeding eight millions should be granted to his majesty to meet the bills drawn on the treasury for the extraordinaries of the army. This motion, which called forth some observations from Mr. Tierney, was carried, and on the 1st of December, parliament adjourned till Thursday the 9th of February, before which period it was presumed the proceedings of the congress of Vienna would terminate.

The deliberations of the congress extended to a period beyond the expectations of the British government, and on the re-assembling of parliament on the 9th of February, ministers were still unprepared to offer any explanation regarding the

political arrangements entered into at Vienna. During the parliamentary recess numerous meetings had been held in various parts of the country, and on the re-assembling of parliament, petitions from these meetings were presented to the house against the longer continuance of the property tax. The loudly-raised voice of the people fixed the wavering purpose of the chancellor of the exchequer; and on the 20th of February that right honourable gentleman introduced his plan of finance for the current year by announcing his determination to abandon the property tax. In abandoning this great measure of finance, the house, he said, would not consider itself at all precluded from resorting to it again, whenever the necessities of the country should render it expedient. This tax, in conjunction with the other war taxes, had supported the public credit, and finally enabled us to assist materially in effecting the deliverance of Europe. They had prevented a funded debt of between two and three hundred millions, and an annual charge of fourteen millions. The property tax alone had produced one hundred and fifty millions, and had saved a burthen of one hundred and eighty millions, with nine millions annually of permanent taxes. In proposing the substitution of other measures, he stated, that on the 5th of January last, the public revenue amounted to 40,962,000*l*. The principal charge upon which was the interest of the funded debt of 35,420,000*l*. The annual expense of the peace establishment for four years he estimated at from eighteen to nineteen millions. To meet this demand there were in the first place about six millions of permanent annual taxes; he should in addition propose a continuance of the war taxes on the customs and the excise, for a limited time, which would produce a further sum of six millions, and he should lay before the house a plan for new taxes to the amount of five millions, making in the whole seventeen millions. The new taxes were multifarious, but consisted principally of taxes on the windows of green-houses, and shops, and warehouses; an augmentation of 30 per cent. on the present tax on the rents of inhabited houses; 80 per cent. additional on servants, carriages and horses used for pleasure, with a still further rate of 50 per cent. on the servants, horses, and carriages of bachelors. The aggregate produce of the several sums would amount to two millions and a half. Coming next to the customs, he proposed an additional duty on tobacco and wine, and an increase upon the licenses of dealers in excisable articles. A tax of one penny upon the postage of newspapers, and a considerable advance on the stamp duties, completed the catalogue of the proposed imposts for the year. A peace es-

establishment cast on a scale of expenditure requiring nineteen millions a year for four years, was deemed enormous by the members on the opposition side of the house ; but before this question came to its ultimate decision, events had arisen that entirely deranged the proposed system of finance, and called for the revival of the property tax, and all the other war taxes.

The question of the corn laws, which had already engaged the attention of parliament in two successive sessions, was again brought forward in the house of commons on the 17th of February. During the last session an act was passed for permitting the *exportation* of all kinds of grain duty free ;* and the object of the friends of that measure was still further to extend relief to the agricultural interest, by prohibiting the free *importation* of corn, except when the average price of wheat in this country should amount to eighty shillings per quarter or upwards, and the price of other grain in the same proportion. The resolutions on which the proposed law was intended to be grounded, were introduced by the Right Hon. Frederick Robinson, vice-president of the board of trade, who, on behalf of the land-owners of the country, disclaimed any idea of making exorbitant profits to the detriment of the community. His own feeling was to do good to all parties ; and in his opinion, the way to make corn ultimately cheap, as well as to guard against the evil of being dependent upon foreigners for a supply of this, the first necessary of life, was to extend legislative encouragement to its production at home. In conformity with the recommendation of the committee which sat the last session, he proposed that every species of grain, corn, meal, and flour, should be allowed to be landed and warehoused duty free (except with regard to flour in Ireland, which was at present prohibited by law) and should be as freely exported at all times. His next proposal was, that when the average price of wheat, for the six weeks immediately preceding the 15th of February, the 15th of May, the 15th of August, and the 15th of November, should have reached eighty shillings, importation should be entirely free, and pay no duty whatever. And finally, that with respect to corn imported from our North American colonies, the principle hitherto acted upon should be adhered to, and that the importation from thence should be free after the price of wheat was sixty-seven shillings per quarter, being the same increase on the present standard of fifty-three shillings, which eighty was upon sixty-three shillings, the existing *maximum* against the admission of foreign grain to the British market. In conclu-

* See Vol. IV. Book IV. Page 65.

sion, Mr. Robinson begged to submit his resolutions, amounting to nine in number, to the consideration of the house.*

During the progress of the corn bill, which passed through its different stages with unusual celerity, the public mind, particularly in the metropolis, became extremely agitated. Several of the houses of the members favourable to this measure were attacked with great violence, and the residence of Mr. Robinson, the mover of the regulations, suffered extremely by the ebullitions of popular fury. When the first attack was made, no material resistance was offered to the rioters, but on Tuesday, the 7th of March, when a repetition of the excesses of the preceding day was attempted, several shots were fired from Mr. Robinson's parlour-window, by which two persons, a lieutenant in the navy, of the name of Edward Vize, and a female, of the name of Jane Watson, neither of them actively engaged in the outrage, were both mortally wounded, and died soon afterwards. At this period the corn bill had passed a second time in the house of commons; and on the 6th of March, at the moment when the house was engaged in an animated debate on that clause of the bill by which the *maximum* price for regulating the importation was to be fixed, Mr. Lambton rose, and announced that a military force surrounded the several avenues to the house, and that the members were exposed the danger of being overawed by the

* SUBSTANCE OF THE RESOLUTIONS REGARDING THE IMPORTATION OF CORN.

Resolved, That all sorts of corn, meal, and flour, not already prohibited, may be brought into the united kingdom and warehoused duty free; that such corn, &c. may be taken out of the warehouses and again exported without the payment of any duty; that whenever foreign corn is admissible into the united kingdom for home consumption, such corn, &c. may be taken out of the warehouses and entered for home consumption without payment of any duty; that such foreign corn, &c. shall be permitted to be imported for home consumption without the payment of any duty whatever, when the average in this country is at or above the prices hereafter specified, namely,

Wheat 80s.—*Rye, Pease, and Beans*, 53s.—*Barley, Beer, or Bigg*, 40s.
—*Oats*, 26s. per quarter;

but whenever the average prices of British corn shall respectively be below the prices above stated, no foreign corn, &c. shall be imported, or taken out of the warehouses for home consumption. That such corn, &c. being the produce of any British colony or possession in North America, may be imported into the united kingdom for home consumption, whenever the average price of British corn shall be at or above the following prices,

Wheat 67s.—*Rye, Pease, and Beans*, 44s.—*Barley, Beer, or Bigg*, 33s.
—*Oats*, 22s. per quarter;

but when the prices of British corn respectively shall be below these sums, the importations from the colonies shall no longer be allowed for home consumption.

presence of the soldiery. Such a proceeding he pronounced to be extremely unconstitutional, and moved an immediate adjournment. Lord Castlereagh said, the military force complained of by the honourable gentleman, had been called in to aid the civil power, to protect the members, and to prevent the house itself from being interrupted and overawed in its deliberations by a mob. On the motion of Mr. Whitbread the house was resumed, and the speaker stated from the chair, that before he came down to attend his parliamentary duty this day, having reason to apprehend the possibility of some disturbance, he had sent to the police magistrates, and to the high bailiff of Westminster, ordering them to have the several constables at their posts. Having done this, he thought he had made an adequate provision; but he was surprised to learn, that a noble lord (Castlereagh) had been attacked, and that he had escaped with some difficulty from a tumultuous mob, which obstructed the usual avenues, using insolent and threatening language. In consequence of this information, he (the speaker) sent for one of the civil magistrates, and directed him, if he found his force insufficient for the performance of his duty, to call in further aid; enjoining him at all events to keep the avenues clear, and to provide for the protection of the members. In pursuance of this direction, for which he held himself responsible, a military force had been called in. The attorney-general, and several other members, then stated, that at their entrance into the avenues they had been stopped by the mob, and interrogated as to the vote they intended to give on the corn bill. Sir Robert Heron complained that he had been bandied about like a shuttlecock between two battledores; and Sir Frederick Flood declared, that he had been carried above a hundred yards on the shoulders of the mob, like mackarel from Billingsgate market, and that he thought they meant to quarter him. The police magistrates in attendance, on being ordered to appear at the bar, informed the house, that having found the civil power insufficient for the protection of the members, a troop of life-guards were called in to act under the direction of the civil authorities. The presence of the guards served effectually to repress the riotous proceeding of the mob in the vicinity of Westminster-Hall, and the discussion on the corn question was again resumed, when the importation price was finally settled at eighty shillings per quarter. In the upper house of parliament, the corn bill, which was grounded upon the resolutions introduced into the house of commons on the 17th of February, and embraced all the material points in those resolutions, passed through its respective stages without being exposed to any very formidable

opposition, and soon after received the royal assent. The effect of the corn law upon the country neither realized the sanguine expectations of the agriculturists, nor the gloomy foreboding of the manufacturing and labouring classes. Both the friends and the adversaries of this act entertained the expectation, that its natural and almost immediate consequence would be to advance the price of wheat to four pounds per quarter; and this assuredly would have been the case, had the demand exceeded the supply of British corn; but two years of plenty had given to the consumer the control over the market, and had, for the present at least, rendered a measure of so much imaginary importance a mere dead letter.

The return of Bonaparte from Elba served to derange all the measures of finance proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and called for an entire revision of the ways and means already submitted to the consideration of parliament. Only a few months had elapsed since the house of commons was engaged in discussing the provisions that were deemed necessary for a peace establishment; but scarcely had the ratification of the peace with America arrived, when an event that was felt as an electric shock throughout Europe, and again roused the world to arms, imposed upon parliament the necessity of providing for a war establishment upon a scale of unparalleled extent. With a large arrear of former expenditure, combined with the necessity the country was placed under of providing the means to carry on a new war, the sum which the exigencies of the state required for the present year greatly exceeded all former periods. The chancellor of the exchequer, in submitting his statements to the house, on the 14th of June, interspersed them with a number of observations on the public spirit and resources of the country; and from an enumeration of the items it appeared, that the aggregate sum of supplies required for the united kingdom amounted to 89,728,926*l.* The deduction for the Irish proportion of the joint charge was 9,572,814*l.*; and for the civil list and consolidated fund 188,000*l.* leaving a total for Great Britain of 79,968,112*l.* to be obtained from the following ways and means:—

Annual Duties,	- - - -	3,000,000
Surplus of Consolidated Fund,	-	3,000,000
War Taxes,	- - - -	22,000,000
Lottery,	- - - -	250,000
Naval Stores,	- - - -	508 500
Vote of Credit,	- - - -	6,000,000
Exchequer Bills funded, and Loan	} 18,135,000	
in 5 per cents,		
Loan,	- - - -	27,000,000
		<hr/> 79,839,500

The chancellor of the exchequer had no hesitation in saying, that if it was at all probable that an equal expenditure would be incurred in future years, he should consider it proper to make an appeal to the public spirit and magnanimity of the people; but as the extraordinary expenses of the present year were not at all likely to continue, he had deemed it more wise to resort to a loan, as had been the case on former occasions; and he trusted, notwithstanding the largeness of the demand, that we should have no reason to regret the exertions we were making. The loan, which had been contracted for that day for the service of the present year, amounted to twenty-seven millions for England, and nine millions for Ireland, making a total of thirty-six millions, and the terms, he had no hesitation in declaring, would be found satisfactory both to the contractors and to the public.

Mr. Tierney thought the present one of the most alarming budgets ever laid before parliament. The total amount of the supplies required for the year (independent of the interest on the national debt) was 89,728,000*l.*—a sum calculated to stagger even the most sanguine. It was useful to mark the progress of the expenditure, till it had at length arisen to its present portentous amount. In 1808 the war expenditure amounted to forty-five millions; in 1809, to fifty millions; in 1810, to forty-six millions; in 1811, to fifty-two millions; in 1812, to fifty-five millions; in 1813, to fifty-seven millions; in 1814, to sixty-three millions; and in 1815, to seventy-two millions!!

These facts were not disputed; but it was held that the expenditure of the present year, though enormous, was rendered indispensable by the situation of this country and of Europe, and the resolutions of the chancellor of the exchequer were agreed to without opposition.

A message from the prince regent was presented to parliament on the 27th of June, announcing that his royal brother, Prince Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, had, with the consent of his royal highness, contracted an alliance in marriage with the Princess of Salm, and recommending that a suitable provision should be made by parliament in order to enable their royal highnesses to support the rank and dignity becoming their station. Lord Castlereagh, in moving that the message should be taken into consideration, stated, that the junior branches of the royal family had each an allowance of eighteen thousand a year, and moved that an addition of six thousand should be made to the Duke of Cumberland, the same to be settled on the duchess during her life. The motion for the proposed grant was resisted on account of the present state of the coun-

try, and the many large and merited claims upon its liberality. The royal family, it was observed, had already an income from the nation amounting to a million sterling annually. The unsuitable nature of the marriage was urged as another objection to the grant. The king, it was said, would never have consented to an union that would operate to the prejudice of domestic virtue. The queen had expressed herself strongly against the alliance, and said, that the Duke of Cumberland ought not to have married a person whose marriage with the Duke of Cambridge had been broken off. It was presumed also that the princess herself must have had some fortune from her former husbands, Prince Louis of Prussia, and the Prince of Salm; but even supposing that she had no fortune, yet eighteen thousand a year on the continent would be equal to thirty thousand in this country, and with such an income, all the splendour and dignity of their rank might be maintained. The proposed addition to the duke's income, which was discussed with much animation in every stage of its progress, was finally lost in the house of commons by the majority of a single vote.

Another question, much more gratifying to the royal family in its result, and more in unison with the feelings of the nation, was brought before parliament on the 4th of July. On this occasion, Sir John Majoribanks, after disclaiming all personal views in the motion, moved "that the thanks of this house be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, captain-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces, for his continual, effectual, and unremitting attention to the duties of his office during a period of more than twenty years, during which time the army has improved in discipline and in science to an extent unknown before, and has, under providence, risen to the height of military glory." After several other members had delivered their sentiments, M. Whitbread said, he knew not how to object to the motion, without the appearance of ingratitude, after the noble tribute paid to his royal highness by the Duke of Wellington on his late memorable triumph. Under such circumstances, he could not withhold his sanction from the present vote.

This vote terminated the parliamentary life of one of the most able and upright men that ever held a seat in the British senate. In two days afterwards, Mr. Whitbread, the incorruptible friend of his country and of his species, breathed his last—but not according to the common ordination of our nature. The loss of such a man, under any circumstances, would have inflicted a deep wound on the feelings of his country; but his premature death, by his own hands, put the na-

tional fortitude to a trial of singular severity. For several months past a morbid melancholy and lethargic stupor were observed to be fast stealing over the once powerful mind of Mr. Whitbread. His talents for public business became impaired ; his conversation, at intervals, was incoherent, and imbecile ; and to aggravate his malady, he was himself fully sensible of the rapid decay of his mental energies. Frequently he was heard to complain that his public life was extinct—that he was derided—in short, that he had become “an out-cast of society.” These feelings were succeeded by decided symptoms of mental alienation, and in the morning of the 6th of July he was found in his room, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and that tongue for ever mute from which listening senates had so frequently drawn instruction and delight. Men of all parties bore testimony to the public and private worth of this distinguished statesman. “Accustomed to defend his opinions with earnestness and warmth, the energies of his admirable and comprehensive mind would never permit the least appearance of tameness or indifference ; but no particle of animosity ever found a place in his breast, and, to use his own words on another melancholy occasion—‘he never carried his political animosity beyond the threshold of the house of commons.’ His eloquent appeals in favour of the unfortunate—appeals exhibiting the frankness and the honesty of the true English character, will adorn the pages of the historian ; although at the present moment they afford a subject of melancholy retrospect to those who have formerly dwelt with delight, on the benevolence of a heart which always beat, and on the vigour of an intellect which was always employed, for the benefit of his fellow creatures.”* “Well had the character of Mr. Whitbread been termed ‘a true English character.’ Even his defects, trifling as they were, and what man is altogether without them ? were those which belong to the English character. Never had there existed a more complete Englishman. All who knew him must recollect the indefatigable earnestness and perseverance with which, during the course of his life, he directed his talents and the whole of his time to the public interest. When he conceived that his duty to the public required such a sacrifice, he had shown that he was capable of controlling the strongest feelings of personal attachment. Even those who differed from him on many political questions, nevertheless considered him one of those public treasures, the loss of which all parties would deplore. The important assistance which his zeal and ability had afford-

* The Marquis of Tavistock.

ed in promoting the abolition of the Slave Trade could never be forgotten. On every occasion, indeed, in which the condition of human beings was concerned, (and the lower their state the stronger their recommendation to his favour) no man was more anxious to apply his great powers to increase the happiness of mankind."* "To the friends of the deceased senator it must afford consolation, to know that those who differed most from him in politics did justice to his manly character, honoured the virtues of his heart, and never, for a moment doubted, that in all he did he was actuated solely by a love of his country."† His private life, however amiable, was merged in the superior importance of his public character. He died in the 57th year of his age, leaving Lady Elizabeth, his wife, (sister of Earl Grey) with two sons and two daughters, to lament a loss great to society, and to them irreparable.

The melancholy death of the illustrious commoner, the friend of peace, the advocate of reform, and the zealous and consistent supporter of religious freedom, cast a gloom over the close of the session of parliament, which even the splendid conquest of our arms could not wholly dispel. On the 12th parliament, was prorogued; and the prince regent, in his speech from the throne, congratulated the members on the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained at Waterloo, by Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, and Prince Blücher—a victory which had exalted the military reputation of the country beyond all former example, had delivered from invasion the dominions of the King of the Netherlands, and in the short space of fifteen days placed the city of Paris and a large part of the kingdom of France in the military occupation of the allied armies. The brilliant and rapid successes of the Austrian arms at the opening of the campaign had led to the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to its ancient sovereign, and to the deliverance of that portion of Italy from foreign influence and dominion. His christian majesty had been again restored to his capital. The restoration of peace with America had been followed with a negotiation for a commercial treaty, which he had every reason to hope would be terminated upon conditions calculated to cement the good understanding subsisting between the two countries, and equally beneficial to the interests of both. His royal highness had great pleasure in acquainting his parliament, that the labours of the congress at Vienna had been brought to an end by the signature of a treaty, which would be laid before them at their next meeting. He could not release them from their attend-

* Mr. Wilberforce.

† The Chancellor of the Exchequer.

ance, without assuring them, that it was in a great degree to the support they had afforded him, that the success of his earnest endeavours for the public welfare was to be ascribed ; and in the further prosecution of such measures as might be necessary to bring the great contest in which we were engaged to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion, he relied with confidence upon the experience, zeal, and steady loyalty, of all classes of his majesty's subjects.

The restoration of the Bourbons referred to in the speech from the throne, led almost immediately to a state of peace with France. The allied armies, indeed, were not withdrawn, but hostilities ceased. The war had been of short duration ; and while it continued, it could scarcely be said to have disturbed or impeded in England the operation of the effects of the peace which was concluded in the summer of the former year. The era of peace may therefore be dated from the 30th of May, 1814, and its influence upon the agriculture, the trade, and the finances of Great Britain, traced up to that time. In all wars, the real and actual effects which they are calculated to produce cannot possibly be known, or even accurately conjectured, till they are brought to a close ; but this remark, though of general application, has peculiar force and propriety as bearing upon the revolutionary wars, from which Great Britain had just extricated herself. The nature and object, as well as the duration, of these wars, were so different to any that had ever before been waged ; their scale was so extensive, and the means employed so extraordinary, that the country was disabled from anticipating in their progress in what state she would be left at their termination. It was known indeed that depression, lassitude, and weakness, in the body politic as well as in the natural body, bear an exact proportion to the stimulus by which both have been raised to exertion ; that while that stimulus lasts no fatigue is felt ; that we seem to be endued with supernatural vigour and strength, and to be unconscious of our approaching weakness ; but no sooner is the stimulus withdrawn than more than usual weakness falls upon us. So it is with nations ; the evil is not in peace but in war. The cause of debility in a man accustomed to indulge in the use of ardent spirits, is not sobriety but intoxication. The lassitude is, to be sure, felt when he is sober, but it is contracted by intemperance. If, therefore, our agriculture, trade, and finances, now feel an unusual degree of depression, the evil is not to be imputed to the country having too soon returned to a state of peace, but to the necessity, no matter how created, under which she was placed, of so long continuing the war.

At the commencement of the revolutionary wars, and until France had over-run part of the continent, British agriculture was affected only by these as by former wars. But just about the time when the victories of France had enabled her to close some of the most productive ports of the continent against us, this country was visited by a scanty harvest. The natural and necessary consequences followed ; the price of all kinds of grain rose suddenly and enormously ; the profits of the farmer rose nearly in the same proportion ; the demand for farms became urgent ; rents were advanced excessively ; and the price of corn, which had been increased by accidental circumstances, was thus sustained by a certain and regular cause. The success of the French still continued, and the efforts of Napoleon being directed uniformly to our exclusion from the continent, it followed, that though our harvests produced an average crop, yet, from the causes just stated, operating with the increased capital of the farmer, the waste of war, and the facilities created by an extensive issue of paper money, as well provincial as national, the price of corn still continued high ; the competition for farms rather increased than diminished, and in a few years the rents of land were doubled. As a collateral consequence of this state of things, the wages of the labouring classes were advanced ; the farmer could no longer be contented with that mode of living which his forefathers had pursued, his profits, he conceived, justified him in aspiring to a more elevated sphere, and rents, profits, and labour, all conspired to elevate and sustain the price of agricultural produce. This state of things continued, with few interruptions, till the power of Napoleon began to decline. The ports of the continent then in succession resumed their intercourse with Great Britain, foreign grain was poured into the home market, and the British farmer, under the pressure of heavy rents, increased taxes, and high wages, was under-sold in his own market. To avert the ruin with which agriculture was threatened, particularly in Ireland, where the operation of this revulsion was first felt, the prospectus of a corn bill, for allowing the free exportation and increasing the importation price of corn, was submitted to the British parliament. The progress of this measure, or rather this series of measures, has been already detailed, and it has been seen that, as a measure of relief, no immediate benefit flowed from it to that class of society which it was intended to assist. A much more effectual and permanent remedy is to be found in the reduction of rents and taxes ; as to the former, it is due to the land-owners to say, that a considerable reduction has already taken place in almost every district in the kingdom ; and of

the latter, that the final repeal of the property tax will afford a considerable portion of relief to every branch of the agricultural interest.

When the first French revolutionary war commenced, Great Britain, having thoroughly recovered from the effects of the American war, had sprung rapidly forward in the career of improvement in all those branches of industry which constitute the strength, and contribute to the wealth, of a nation. It was soon ascertained, that the new contest in which she was engaged, as it differed from all preceding wars in its origin, would also differ from them in its effects on our manufactures and commerce. Preceding wars had for the most part been purely belligerent, in the usual acceptation of that term ; they were directed solely to the destruction or curtailment of the naval and military power of the adverse nations, the commerce of which suffered indeed, but only incidentally, and in a comparatively trifling degree. But in the wars of the French revolution the case was widely different : it was soon perceived by the French government, that Great Britain was the soul of the alliances formed against them ; and they were equally convinced that the strength of Britain lay in her manufactures and her commerce. All the varying governments of France, therefore, republican, consular, and imperial, each in succession, and each with more vigour than that by which it was preceded, directed their utmost efforts against British commerce. For some years, while France was at war with the nations of the continent, she could not of course extend her edicts beyond her own shores ; but as soon as she had over-run the greater part of Europe, she compelled the subjected sovereigns and states to co-operate in her measures of hostility, and to close their ports against the commerce of Great Britain.

All the efforts of the French government could not prevent the introduction of British merchandise on the continent ; but it certainly was not introduced with so much regularity or in such quantities as before the war ; and although the total exclusion of the manufactures and the produce of England and her colonies could not be effected to the extent of Napoleon's wishes, yet the efforts of France were successful to a considerable degree in exciting the people of the continent to manufacture for themselves, and in infusing into them a jealousy of British superiority in trade. Notwithstanding all that this country had done and suffered to rescue continental Europe from the tyranny of France ; notwithstanding that those very burthens which enhanced the price of her merchandise, were brought upon her by a determined perseverance in the common struggle ; yet her manufactures, even now that peace had

returned, were viewed with jealousy, and peace, instead of opening to her wider and better markets for her goods, has in fact sealed many of the ports of her friends and allies against her more firmly than they were closed by the Berlin and Milan decrees. When peace returned, the continent indeed was in a state very unpropitious to the introduction of British manufactures. The people had either changed their habits, or they had been impoverished, or they had accustomed themselves to their own manufactures. The sovereigns of Europe, even those who were most indebted to this country, and had drawn from it such enormous loans and subsidies, were naturally solicitous to cherish and support the infant manufactures of their own countries; and to this end they adopted those measures which had been so efficacious in rearing and protecting the manufactures of Great Britain—they either totally prohibited the introduction of our manufactures, or imposed upon them duties that amounted almost to a prohibition.

That nation is undoubtedly not only the most powerful, but also the most virtuous and happy, in which the individuals of which it is composed do not exhibit the extremes of enormous wealth and abject poverty. It is also equally true with respect to commerce, as with respect to manufactures, that that wealth which results from patient and unwearied industry, is not only favourable to the morals and happiness of the individual, but it is also indicative of the real strength of the nation. But the wars from which we are happily at length emancipated, had a strong tendency to alter the wholesome character of British commerce, and the honourable character of the British merchant, by introducing into their commercial transactions a spirit of adventure bordering closely upon the spirit of gambling. Commerce became a game of hazard; the stake was generally deep; if the enterprise succeeded, the profits were large; but if it failed, embarrassment, and too often bankruptcy, was the consequence. Scarcely had the return of peace opened the continent of Europe, before it was glutted with British merchandise. The merchant did not consider that he was sending his goods to nations impoverished by a long war; and on that account unable to purchase to any great extent, even if the disposition had existed. But the wants and desires of the inhabitants had undergone a change, and they had learned to supply themselves with many of those articles which they formerly had received from us. The price too operated greatly to our disadvantage; in the progress of the war, owing to the causes already averted to, the articles we had to offer to our former connections actually cost the British merchant nearly double the amount formerly paid by his fo-

reign correspondents for similar articles. From these combined causes the demand became so much diminished, that the buyer had the complete control of the market, and the seller was obliged to accept of almost any price that was offered to him. This glut of British merchandise was not merely confined to the continent of Europe, but extended in an equal degree to America ; and in the early part of the year 1816, the manufactures of England were actually selling in the commercial cities of the United States at a lower price than the same articles would have obtained in the home markets.

While great complaints were heard from all quarters of the stagnation of trade, it appears, from the official returns laid before parliament, that the value of our exports in 1815 exceeded those of any former year in the annals of British commerce ! This fact however, only shows how futile it is to rely upon the amount of exports as a criterion of the prosperous state of the trade of the country. A peace is concluded with nations that have been long at war with us ; our merchants immediately use all their capital and credit in purchasing goods to send to foreign markets ; the official return of exports thus presents a greatly increased value ; but mark the result : the goods arrive in such abundance that the markets become overstocked, and most of those who thus embarked their capital, or bought upon their credit, either suffer themselves or inflict sufferings on others.

It is not easy to point out the method by which the commerce of this country may regain its honourable character and wholesome and nourishing qualities ; nor to foresee into what state it will settle should peace continue for several years. With regard to this latter topic, some conjecture may however be formed from a survey of the advantages we still possess, and the disadvantages under which our commerce labours as compared with other nations. With regard to our advantages, we possess a capital far exceeding any which foreign nations can hope to acquire for a great number of years ; and this capital, if we keep at peace, must accumulate at a much more rapid rate than it has hitherto done. Our next advantage may be stated to be our coal mines, so beneficial, and indeed indispensable, to the prosperity of manufactures, where machinery is extensively introduced, and where that most potent and valuable of all machines—the steam engine, is in continual operation. A third advantage consists in the peculiar excellency of our workmen, uniting in themselves qualities which are not found combined in any other workmen in the world. In other countries the workmen may be more active, but their activity soon dies away ; whereas a British operative

manufacturer or mechanic goes on steadily and unweariedly. Other workmen may possess greater quickness of intellect, but none with so much perseverance unite so much command of thought, and produce so many advantageous practical results.

The disadvantages under which the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain labour, are found, first, in an immense taxation. The price which her manufacturers obtain for their articles in foreign markets must not only replace what has been paid for the raw material, and what has been consumed during the process of the manufacture, as well as the profit of the manufacturer, but it must also pay a certain sum to the national creditor, at the same time that it contributes to the current expenses of the state. Another disadvantage opposed to our capital and skill, may arise from the higher rate of labour in this country, and from the master-manufacturer requiring larger profits, as occupying a higher rank in society here than upon the continent. This disadvantage may however be considered dubious, because it is not fair to compare the wages of a workman in this country with the wages of a workman abroad; the proper comparison is between the price paid in Great Britain and other countries for the same quantity of work. For it is evident, that a workman here, being more persevering and expert, and especially with the assistance of machinery, will produce more work in the same time, and is in reality deserving of much higher wages. With respect to the greater profits expected by the master-manufacturer, it may be remarked, that greater profits may arise either from a larger per centage on the same capital, or the same per centage on a larger capital; and it is undoubted, that in this country the per centage of profit upon the capital is smaller than on the continent, the larger profits arising from the greater capital employed, and the rapid improvements made in every branch of our manufacture.

A short exposition of the financial situation of the country at the close of the revolutionary wars, will follow with propriety the cursory review just taken of our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce. The observations on these topics have been drawn principally from a publication amply stored with materials for history, and which may be consulted with advantage by the politician and the man of business.* The expenses of all descriptions, incurred during the wars of the French revolution, far exceed those incurred during any former wars. The hostile operations, both as regards Great

* New Annual Register.

Britain herself and the powers she subsidized, were on a much larger scale; the value of money had greatly depreciated; and the duration and inveteracy of the contest called forth exertions, and demanded sacrifices, unexampled perhaps in the annals of the world. A war of such a nature, comprising gigantic naval and military operations,* and employing at one and the same time more than a million of warriors,† of various descriptions, could not be conducted without an expense greatly exceeding any national expenditure ever recorded in history; especially when it is considered that Great Britain was the general pay-master of Europe,‡ and that she was in

* For the principal part of the war there were in commission, refitting, and in ordinary, 261 ships of the line, 36 ships of 50 guns each, 264 frigates, 177 sloops, 14 bombs, 172 brigs, 46 cutters, and 64 schooners, navigated and fought by 147,000 seamen, and 32,000 marines.

† MEN IN ARMS IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1812.
(Collected from Official Returns.)

LAND FORCES:—		British army,	-	-	301,000
		Local Militia in Great Britain,	-	-	196,446
		Volunteers in Great Britain,	-	-	88,000
		Militia and Yeomen in Ireland,	-	-	80,000
		Militia and Fencibles in the Colonies,	-	-	25,000
		Foreign corps in the British service,	-	-	30,741
					<hr/> 721,187
SEA FORCES:—		British Navy,	-	-	147,252
		Marines,	-	-	32,668
					<hr/> 179,920
EAST INDIA COM- PANY'S SERVICE }		British Forces in India,	-	-	20,000
		Native Army,	-	-	140,000
		Marines,	-	-	913
					<hr/> 160,913
		Total men in arms,	-	-	<hr/> 1,062,020

The year 1812 may be considered as a fair standard whereby to judge of the national force in the latter years of the war.

‡ THE LOANS and SUBSIDIES granted by Great Britain to the powers of Europe during the wars of the French revolution, amount to sixty-eight millions sterling, in the following proportions:—

			<i>Total.</i>
To PRUSSIA—	Subsidies in 1794, 670,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1807, 180,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1813-14-15 and 16, 6,303,996,		17,153,996
AUSTRIA—	Loans in 1795, 4,600,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1797, 1,620,000;	6,220,000 <i>l.</i> ; \$	10,887,473
	Subsidies in 1809, 1814-15 and 16, 4,667,473 <i>l.</i>		
PORTUGAL—	Grants in 1797 and 1801, 800,000 <i>l.</i> ; Loan in 1809, 600,000; \$ Grants in 1810, 980,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1811- 12 and 13, 6,000,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1814-15 and 16, 3,600,000 <i>l.</i>		11,980,000
SPAIN—	In drafts, cash, arms, and stores, from 1809 to 1816,		5,724,079

§ No provision has been made by the emperor for the payment of either the principal or interest on these loans, which, like the Portuguese loan, must fall upon the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain.

no instance assisted by other countries, not even when her armies were fighting the battles of her allies on their own soil.

Rapid as was the advance of the national burthens, still they were found incapable of keeping pace with the public expenditure; and although the sum annually collected from the people, in the latter years of the war, amounted to from seventy to eighty millions sterling; yet the national funded debt up to the 1st of February, 1816, had accumulated to the tremendous magnitude of eleven hundred and twelve millions, of which sum however three hundred and twenty millions had been redeemed, principally by the powerful operation of the sinking fund.

Long before the national debt had attained one-tenth part of its present magnitude, it was confidently predicted by some of the first political writers of the age, that it had nearly approached its utmost limits, and that if ever it should amount to one hundred millions, a national bankruptcy must be the inevitable consequence. At that period the latent means of the country had not been brought into public view; parliament had not fathomed and measured the wealth of the people; their power and resources had not disclosed themselves, nor could it have been believed that they were so ample, or capable of such an extension. Indeed many of the sources of wealth which have since opened upon us were then unknown. The population of the British empire, which at that period perhaps, taking into the account all her dependencies, did not exceed twenty millions, has since swelled to sixty millions of souls, and the property of the nation, public and private, has undergone a proportionate augmentation.* †

Contrasting the period when the present sovereign of these realms ascended the throne, with the power and resources of the country, even at the conclusion of one of the most expensive and exhausting contests the world ever witnessed, it must be admitted that the most sanguine imagination could not have anticipated such an accession of territory, population, and power. In every region of the world, in Europe, Asia,

SWEDEN—Grants in 1808, 1809, 1812, and 1813, 2,706,736 <i>l.</i> ; in 1814-15 and 16, 2,857,865	5,564,601
SICILY—Subsidies in 1808, 300,000 <i>l.</i> and 400,000 <i>l.</i> annually from 1809 to 1813, 2,000,000 <i>l.</i> ; in 1814 and 15, 916,666.	3,216,666
RUSSIA—Subsidies in 1812, 286,237 <i>l.</i> ; in 1813, 1,666,666 <i>l.</i> ; in 1814-15 and 16, 7,555,828 <i>l.</i>	9,508,721
FRENCH EMIGRANTS, and other foreigners, from 1794 to 1814,	3,956,013
MINOR POWERS OF EUROPE, during the war, about,	10,000,000

* † For the notes to these references, see pages 384—5.

* SYNOPSIS,

Showing the Annual Increase of the British Revenue and Expenditure, and the Amount of the Public Loans, from the Year 1790 to the beginning of the Year 1816.

REVENUE.				EXPENDITURE.				LOANS.	
Year.	Paid into Ex.	Navy.	Army.	Ordnance.	Miscellaneous.*	Total.	Year.		
1790	£15,986,068	£2,483,636	£1,609,574	£455,872	£1,136,351	£15,912,597	1790		
1791	16,631,000	4,008,405	2,062,548	594,678	9,303,547	15,969,178	1791		
1792	13,882,435	1,985,482	1,819,460	422,001	10,729,914	14,956,857	1792		
1793	17,674,395	3,971,915	3,993,715	783,776	8,908,050	17,657,456	1793		
1794	17,440,809	5,525,331	6,641,060	1,345,008	6,716,720	20,228,119	1794		£4,500,000
1795	17,374,890	6,315,523	11,610,008	2,321,010	8,560,724	28,807,265	1795		12,907,452
1796	18,243,876	11,883,693	14,911,899	1,954,665	16,169,386	44,919,643	1796		19,490,646
1797	18,668,925	13,033,673	15,488,083	1,643,056	12,500,000	42,664,812	1797		31,726,796
1798	20,518,780	13,449,388	12,852,814	1,303,580	14,874,761	42,480,543	1798		39,112,842
1799	23,607,945	13,642,000	11,840,000	1,500,000	15,658,000	42,640,000	1799		17,000,000
1800	29,604,008	13,619,079	11,941,767	1,695,956	15,665,015	42,921,817	1800		18,500,000
1801	28,085,829	15,857,037	12,117,039	1,639,055	15,967,971	45,581,102	1801		20,500,000
1802	28,221,183	13,833,573	11,211,795	1,952,274	20,892,123	47,889,765	1802		28,000,000
1803	38,401,738	10,211,378	11,786,619	1,125,921	24,656,506	47,780,424	1803		25,000,000
1804	49,335,978	12,350,606	19,152,739	3,737,091	17,717,087	52,957,523	1804		14,000,000
1805	49,652,471	15,035,630	18,616,898	4,456,994	23,641,484	61,751,006	1805		14,500,000
1806	53,698,124	14,466,998	17,019,728	4,732,286	37,580,597	73,799,609	1806		22,500,000
1807	58,902,291	16,084,027	15,111,490	4,511,064	37,072,137	72,778,718	1807		20,000,000
1808	61,524,113	16,775,761	15,388,550	4,190,748	39,315,582	75,670,641	1808		12,200,000
1809	63,042,746	17,467,892	17,201,061	5,108,900	42,202,659	81,980,512	1809		10,500,000
1810	66,029,349	19,236,036	18,463,094	4,374,184	42,903,934	84,977,248	1810		14,600,000
1811	64,427,371	20,058,412	18,535,299	4,652,331	47,302,109	90,548,151	1811		12,000,000
1812	63,327,432	19,540,678	23,869,359	4,557,509	47,940,113	95,907,659	1812		16,981,300
1813	66,444,108	20,500,339	30,302,890	4,252,409	45,469,468	100,525,106	1813		26,789,625
1814	70,926,216	21,996,624	29,469,520	3,404,527	64,002,142	118,872,813	1814		35,050,574
1815	75,324,084	21,961,566	33,795,556	4,480,729	66,252,095	126,489,946	1815		36,078,048
1816	79,948,670	16,373,870	23,172,136	2,963,891	60,298,397	102,808,294	1816		39,421,956

Period of Peace.

Period of War.

Peace. Period of War.

* Including the Interest on the National Debt, the sum paid to the Sinking Fund, Subsidies, Loans to Ireland, and the Civil List.

[The Finance Accounts are made up to the 5th of January in each Year.]

* Including the Interest on the National Debt, the sum paid to the Sinking Fund, Subsidies, Loans to Ireland, and the Civil List.

[The Finance Accounts are made up to the 5th of January in each Year.]

Africa, and America, the colonial dependencies of Great Britain have increased beyond all former example; and it may now be averred that the sun in his course never sets upon the flag of Great Britain. In the progress of the war, all the colonial territories of her enemies in the eastern and the western hemisphere, fell in succession under the power of her arms, and the once numerous and powerful navies of the belligerent

† NATIONAL DEBT.

	<i>Principal.</i>	<i>Ann. Int.</i>
Debt at the commencement of the wars of the French revolution in 1793, - -	l. 233,733,609	l. 8,176,336
Increase during the first war, - -	327,469,665	12,252,152
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	561,203,274	20,428,488
Increase during the peace of 1802-3, -	40,207,806	307,478
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Debt at the commencement of the war in 1803,	601,411,080	20,735,966
Increase to the 1st of February, 1815, -	511,006,352	21,413,884
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total funded debt February 1st, 1816,	l. 1,112,417,432	l. 42,149,850
Deduct—Redeemed, and standing in the name of the commissioners, for the reduction of the debt, - - -	l. 40,392,540	
Debt transferred to the commissioners for life annuities, -	3,097,551	
Cancelled by redemption of land tax, -	25,155,056	
Cancelled, and the funds thereof charged with new loans, as per Acts 53 and 54 Geo. III. Cap. 59.	251,738,858	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	l. 320,384,005	

Debt unredeemed, and due to the public creditor, February 1st, 1816,

l. 792,033,427

The unredeemed debt stands thus :—in the 3 per cents. l. 591,913,204
4 per cents. 74,077,744
5 per cents. 126,042,479

Which being all rendered into 5 per cents. reduces the funded national debt of Great Britain to 540,452,596*l.* in actual money sterling; of which sum about eighteen millions only are owing to foreigners residing abroad (as appears from the claims of exemption made under the property tax) and the remainder to British subjects residing in this country.

On the 5th of January, 1816, the unfunded debt of Great Britain, as stated in the finance accounts, amounted to 48,725,357; and at the same period, the public debt of Ireland, rendered into sterling money amounted to 45,000,000*l.* which sums, added to the funded debt of Great Britain, constitutes an aggregate of 634,177,953*l.* the amount of the national debt in sterling money; exclusive of the Imperial and Portuguese loans, amounting together to about six millions.

The total annual charge for interest, management, &c. of the funded national debt of Great Britain, as stated in the finance report, February 1st, 1816, amounts to 42,149,850*l.* of which 12,798,225 is payable to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

states of Europe, were either annihilated or rendered inactive. At no period of the world was the dominion of the seas so entirely British as during the latter years of the wars of the French revolution; and such had been the efficiency of our naval power, that on the return of peace Great Britain was enabled to make a voluntary surrender to France, Holland, and Denmark, of no less than fourteen colonies.*

But ample as the national resources have hitherto proved themselves, there is a point beyond which it would be ruinous to draw upon them, and to that point we have probably attained. Statesmen of all parties seem to agree, that taxation, at least, has attained its utmost limit. Under such circumstances, the government is imperiously called upon to use the most rigid economy in every branch of the public expenditure; to reduce the peace establishment as low as the relative situation of this country with the other states of Europe, will admit; and to abolish every office of emolument in the state which is not either an office of efficient duty, or that has not been conferred as a reward for public service.

* SUMMARY VIEW OF THE POPULATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,

At the conclusion of the Wars of the French Revolution in 1815.

Population of England, exclusive of the army and navy,	Europeans.	Free persons of colour.	Negro labourers.	Total number of souls.
of Wales,	9,538,827			
of Scotland,	611,788			
of Ireland,	1,805,688			
	4,500,000	-	-	16,456,303
British subjects in the different dependencies in Europe,	180,300			180,300
In the British possessions in North America,	486,146			486,146
In the British West India colonies,	64,994	33,081	634,096	732,171
In the British settlements in Africa,	20,678	108,299		128,977
In her colonies and dependencies in Asia,	61,059	1,807,496	140,450	2,009,005
East India Company's territorial possession,	25,246	40,033,162		40,058,408
British navy, army, and foreign corps in the British service,	671,241			671,241
Total amount of the population of the British empire,	17,965,967	41,982,038	774,546	60,722,551†

† COLQUHOUN on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire.

The great art of government is to secure the happiness of the governed; and the first duty of a legislator is, to supply the efficient, that is, the industrious, part of the population with the means of comfortable support. To preserve the labouring classes from falling into the rank of paupers, and the manufacturers and smaller tradesmen from descending to the situation of labourers. If these classes be upheld, all the higher orders will stand erect. They are the pedestal upon which the column of society rests, and when they sink in great numbers, the whole edifice is endangered.* No change so important as that which has just taken place—a change from a state of war to a state of peace, can arise, without its influence being felt in

* ESTIMATE OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROPERTY
IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Value of landed, and other property, public and private, in Great Britain and Ireland,	- - -	£2,736,640,000
in 9 dependencies in Europe,	- - -	22,161,330
in 7 settlements in North America,	- - -	46,575,360
in 14 colonies in the West Indies,	- - -	100,014,864
in 4 settlements in Africa,	- - -	4,770,500
in 5 settlements and colonies in Asia,	- - -	38,721,090
39		2,948,883,144
Estimated value of the property, public and private, in the dominions under the control and management of the East India Company,	- - - - -	1,072,427,751
Total estimated value of the property of the British Em- pire,	- - - - -	£4,021,310,895†

ESTIMATE OF THE ANNUAL INCOME ARISING IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

From Agriculture,	- - - - -	£216,817,624
Manufactures.		
Cotton goods,	- - - - -	123,000,000
Woollens,	- - - - -	18,000,000
Leather,	- - - - -	12,000,000
Linens,	- - - - -	10,000,000
Hardware, &c.	- - - - -	6,000,000
Other articles,	- - - - -	45,230,000
From mines and minerals,	- - - - -	9,000,000
Inland trade,	- - - - -	31,500,000
Foreign commerce and shipping,	- - - - -	46,373,748
Coasting trade,	- - - - -	2,000,000
Fisheries, (exclusive of colonial)	- - - - -	2,100,000
Banks,	- - - - -	3,500,000
Foreign income,	- - - - -	5,000,000
		213,703,748

Making an aggregate annual income of £430,521,372†

† COLQUHOUN on the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire.

every part of the empire. For years we have commanded the commerce of the world; now all other nations are at liberty to meet us in the foreign markets. Hitherto large armies were to be clothed that are now disbanded, and obliged to content themselves with more scanty apparel, less frequently renewed. The cessation of war has not only deprived a large body of officers and men engaged in belligerent pursuits of their accustomed employment, but it has sunk into penury many of those who have for years been supported by their labour in fabricating and finishing the various articles required both for the sea and land service. All these have suddenly become idle, or now divide that employment, which was before scarcely sufficient, with the labours in agriculture and the manufactories. This revulsion, however, must be imputed, not to the natural, but to the artificial, state of society—not to peace, but to war. Peace indeed is the immediate cause of the evil; but war, which diverted the nation from the wholesome state of prosperity in which it was found in the year 1793, and has burthened us with an enormous debt, and an oppressive taxation, is solely to blame for that share of public distress which does at present exist, and for all those miseries that may continue to prevail till the country shall again revert back to a period of settled peace and prosperity. Had it been the good fortune of Great Britain not to have mixed herself with the revolutionary wars, her prosperity would at the present moment have attained to an elevation unknown among the nations of Europe, and many of those difficulties with which she has at present to struggle, would have had no existence. But it is in vain to reason on the past except for the government of our future conduct; it is with that view that statesmen should examine the subject now under consideration; and if they come to the enquiry with unbiassed minds, they will, no doubt, arrive at the conclusion, that war is one of the greatest of national evils, and that nothing short of a case of absolute necessity should at any time cause a commercial nation to unfurl the standard of hostility. Such is the line of conduct recommended by sound policy; but if we carry our views still higher, if we act under the influence of the principles of the christian religion, which imperial and sovereign princes have at length laid down as the standard of their conduct, and the cement of their alliances,* governors will be cautious how they bring

* CONVENTION, USUALLY CALLED THE HOLY LEAGUE,
BETWEEN THE EMPERORS OF RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA,
AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity, their Majesties have agreed to the following articles:—

upon their countries the guilt of blood, and the people in future times will guard against being made the instruments of hostile factions. An examination of the public expenditure of Great Britain from 1790 to 1816, as exhibited at page 384, of the present volume, will show that the expenses of the war, to this country alone, have amounted to 1,153,014,311*l.*;* but to calculate the loss of human life sustained by all the states engaged in this contest, is impossible. Hecatombs of victims, high as Olympus, have been offered to the furies of war during the last five and twenty years, and in estimating the aggregate amount of human sacrifices within that period, at a sum equal

ARTICLE I.—Conformably to the words of the holy scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and, considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions, and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace and justice.

ART II.—In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments, or between their subjects, shall be, that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying, by unalterable good will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same christian nation; the three allied princes, looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, thus confessing that the christian nation, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality, no other sovereign than him, to whom alone power really belongs, because in him alone are found all the treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom; that is to say, God, our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

ART III.—All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that those truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this holy alliance.

Done at Paris, on the 26th of Sept. 1815.

(Signed)

ALEXANDER.

FRANCIS.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

[This treaty is signed, not, as is usual, by the respective ministers, but by the sovereigns themselves, with their own signatures.]

* The average annual expenditure of Great Britain from 1794 to 1816, amounts to 66,854,329*l.*—from 1790 to 1794, to 16,723,272*l.*

Constituting an annual excess of 50,131,057*l.* which, multiplied by twenty-three, the number of years, produces an aggregate increased expenditure within that period of 1,153,014,311*l.*

to the whole male adult population of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, no exaggeration is perhaps committed. If this be a fact, and the assertion will, we apprehend, scarcely be disputed, it must be admitted that the appeal to the sword is the last appeal that should be made by nations. Whether offensive wars, as they are styled, are in any case justifiable, is a question that may fairly admit of dispute ; but it is clear that war is utterly irreconcilable with the principles professed by christian communities, except when every effort has been exerted in vain to obtain a redress of the wrongs of which the aggrieved party complains. Wrongs indeed are seldom redressed by war, unless revenge be redress, and multiplied injury satisfaction ; and in general that success is the most truly glorious and satisfactory, which is peaceably obtained.*

* One of the most remarkable consequences of the late wars is the establishment of various societies in Europe and America for the abolition of this scourge of nations, and for the diffusion of a general spirit of peace. The first society formed for this purpose was instituted on the 28th of December, 1815, in the state of Massachusetts, in North America, under the auspices of several of the leading men of that state ; and the object of the Massachusetts society, as defined by its members, is to promote the cause of peace, by exhibiting with clearness and distinctness the pacific nature of the christian dispensation, and by turning the attention of the community to the nature, spirit, causes, and effects, of war. It is hoped, by the concurrence of the friends of peace in all nations, and by the gradual illumination of the christian world, a pacific spirit may be communicated to governments, and that in this way the occasions of war, and the belief of its necessity, will be constantly diminished, till it shall be regarded by all christians with the same horror with which they now look back on the exploded and barbarous customs of former ages. To this end it is proposed to encourage the formation of peace societies both in America and in foreign countries, by the dispersion of tracts, by correspondence, and by other suitable means. Various facts and considerations have conspired to excite a hope, that a change may be effected in public sentiment, and a more happy state of society introduced : Governors, in the holy league, above referred to, have solemnly declared their unalterable determination to adopt for the only rule of their conduct, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, the precepts of the christian religion—the precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace. And while monarchs have erected so exalted a standard for the regulation of their conduct, it is known that a great majority of the people in every civilized country, when free from the delusions of party passions and prejudices, have such an aversion to public hostility that they would rejoice if any plan could be devised which would secure their rights, and absolve them from the burthens and sufferings of war. “A late treaty of peace,”† says the Massachusetts society, “has suggested the practicability of such a plan, and given an admirable lesson on the subject. From this treaty, it seems, that when two governments are inclined to peace, they can make some

† The treaty of Ghent between Great Britain and America, see Vol. IV. Book V. p. 183.

The power, strength, and resources of this country, as developed in the foregoing pages, if wisely administered, may yet conduct the nation to a state of prosperity. Time will no doubt be required to overcome the difficulties under which we labour, but time and prudence are alone necessary to effect that purpose. Of military and naval glory, Great Britain has laid in a stock on which she may draw for ages without exhausting the fund. She may afford to cultivate the arts of peace; to engage freely in the pursuits of a peaceful industry; and, availing herself of the security of her insular situation, and her renown in arms, view, with a dignified composure, the agitations of surrounding nations, while she herself engages in no contest but the contests of commerce, conciliation, and benevolence.

In summing up the events of the long and arduous struggle in which the nation has been engaged, the peculiar circumstances and situation of the royal family call for some observations. The venerable sovereign of these realms, whose affections have so long engaged the sympathies of the nation, has survived the contest, but his mental alienation has not permitted him to participate in the exultation which the splendid achievements of his arms have so universally called forth.

The reign of his son, if that epithet may be applied to an authority exercised in the name of another, has been irradiated with wreaths of imperishable renown. No sovereign, ancient or modern, can perhaps display within so short a period, such a series of splendid actions as Britain has achieved during the exercise of the royal functions by the prince regent. When the reigns of government were committed to his hands, the affairs of Europe presented a prospect calculated to dismay the stoutest heart, and the situation of his own country was

friendly power the umpire, and last resort, for settling points of difference; and this ray of pacific light, will, it is hoped, shine more and more to the perfect day. If questions about territory—questions which as frequently, and as justly, generate wars as any other, may be honourably settled by an impartial umpire,” “where,” it is inquired, “is the impracticability of constituting, by general consent, a grand tribunal of empires—a high court of equity, to pass sentence in all matters of dispute between particular governments?”

An institution similar in its objects to the peace societies on the opposite shores of the Atlantic, was instituted in London, on the 14th of June, 1816, at the head of which stands the name of Thomas Clarkson, the zealous and successful promoter of the abolition of the African Slave Trade. This society, and its auxiliaries, like the peace societies of America, address themselves to no particular religious or political community, but wish to embrace those of every denomination, in the attainment of an object not limited by local attachments, nor circumscribed by geographical boundaries, but extending to the whole human race.

by no means cheering. The power of Napoleon seemed so firmly rooted in the affections of the French nation, and so strongly consolidated by the subjugation of the continent, as to bid defiance to every attempt to shake its stability. But scarcely was unrestricted authority given to the prince, when our victories in Spain burst forth upon an astonished world, and laid the foundation of the overthrow of Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbon line. And yet, with all this military glory beaming upon his throne, no British prince had perhaps ever less hold upon the affections of the people. Several causes conspire to produce this want of popularity: the political vacillation of the prince—his personal habits—his attachment to foreign manners—and above all, his separation from, and the judicial proceedings against his royal consort, have all contributed to alienate the affections of the people.

The Princess Charlotte, his daughter, the only offspring of that unhappy marriage, has, since the departure of her mother from England, had a large share of popular favour transferred to her royal person. The high spirit of this illustrious female, as evinced in her unshaken attachment to the cause of her mother, and in her determination to exercise her right of freedom of choice in the most interesting and important of all human contracts, called forth the approbation of her country, and was hailed as a happy omen by the people over whom she was destined to reign. In the month of May, 1814, Prince Leopold, of Saxe Cobourg, after having sustained a distinguished part in the campaigns of that and the preceding year, accompanied the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia to England, and remained in this country about a month after the departure of the royal visitors. It was during this period that he had first the happiness to attract the particular attention of the royal family, and absence did not obliterate the favourable impression he had made on the heart of the princess. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, Prince Leopold, who was at that time at the court of the house of Austria, hastened from Vienna to join the allied armies on the Rhine, and soon afterwards marched to Paris. The affairs of his family detained him for some time in the French capital, after which he proceeded by way of Cobourg to Berlin, and here it was that the invitation of the Prince Regent of England intimated to him the high destiny to which he was called. In the month of February, 1816, he returned to this country in the avowed character of the intended husband of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Two months served to complete the arrangements for the royal nuptials, and on Thursday, “the 2d of May, at

nine o'clock in the morning, the solemnity of the marriage of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales, Regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with his Serene Highness Leopold George Frederick, Duke of Saxe, Margrave of Meissen, Langrave of Thuringuen, Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld, was performed in the great Crimson Room at Carlton-House, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Augusta Sophia, Elizabeth, and Mary, her Royal Highness the Duchess of York, her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia of Gloucester, their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Mademoiselle D'Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the great officers of state, and the ambassadors and, ministers of foreign states assisting at the ceremony."* Previously to the marriage a parliamentary grant of 60,000*l.* per annum was settled upon the royal pair, of which sum 10,000*l.* a year was to form the privy purse of her royal highness. In the event of the demise of the princess, it was stipulated in the treaty of marriage, that 50,000*l.* a year should be continued to the prince; and to prevent those embarrassments to which the royal family had been so often subject, 50,000*l.* was voted by parliament as an outfit.

His Serene Highness Prince Leopold is the third son of the late Duke Francis Frederick Anthony, Field-marshal of the Roman Empire, and commander-in-chief of the allied armies in the Netherlands at the breaking out of the wars of the French revolution. Before the treaty of congress, signed at Vienna in 1815, the possessions of the house of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld comprised seventeen and a half German square miles, with a population of 57,266 souls; and in 1806, on the succession of Ernest Anthony Charles Lewis, the reigning duke, his revenue amounted to about 425,413 florins, or nearly 50,000*l.* sterling,† but by the treaty of Vienna, about twenty thousand inhabitants, with a proportionate increase of revenue, were added to his resources. The reigning family of Saxe Cobourg are members of the Lutheran church, and their subjects, who are for the most part of the same religious persuasion, are chiefly employed in trade and manufacture.

Prince Leopold, who at the period of his marriage was in the 26th year of his age, was born on the 16th of December, 1790; and the character of this prince, in which the English

* London Gazette.
VOL. IV.

† Storch's Staats und Adress Handbuch.
3 D

nation feels so lively an interest, is thus drawn by an historian of the house of Saxony.* “ In his early youth, he manifested an excellent understanding, and a tender and a benevolent heart. As he advanced in years he displayed a strong attachment to literary and scientific pursuits, and even at that time, all his actions were marked with dignified gravity and unusual moderation. His propensity to study was seconded by the efforts of an excellent instructor, and as he remained a stranger to all those dissipations with which persons of his age and rank are commonly indulged, his attainments, so early as his fifteenth year, were very extensive. His extraordinary capacity particularly unfolded itself in the study of the languages, history, mathematics, botany, music, and drawing, in which last he has made a proficiency that would be creditable to a professor. The vicissitudes to which his house was exposed from French hostility, seem only to have contributed to preserve the purity of his morals ; and they have certainly had a most powerful influence in the developement of that rare moderation, that ardent love of justice, and that manly firmness, which are the predominant traits in the character of this prince. Necessitated at so early an age to attend to a variety of diplomatic business, he acquired, partly in this school, and partly in his extensive travels, a thorough knowledge of men in all their relations ; and though his experience has not always been of the most agreeable kind, still it has not been able to warp the kindness and benevolence of his nature. In his campaigns, and in the field of battle, where all false greatness disappears, Leopold has given the most undeniable proofs, that courage, and a profound sense of religion and liberty, are innate in his soul ; and that clear intelligence and unshaken fortitude are his securest possessions. With such qualities of the head and heart, with a character and principles that so completely harmonize with the feelings, the notions, nay even the prejudices, of the British nation, this illustrious prince authorises us to anticipate, from his union with the heiress to the throne, results equally conducive to the welfare of the people at large, and to the happiness of that distinguished family of which he is become a member.”

* Shoberl.

CHAPTER X.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Policy of the Court of Naples—Murat espouses the Cause of Napoleon—attacks the Troops of Austria—is conquered and dethroned—retires to the South of France—makes a hostile Descent in Calabria—is taken, tried, and executed—Louis XVIII dissolves the Chambers—Character of the new Deputies—Proscription Lists—Total Extinction of the Freedom of the Periodical Press in France—Ordinance for disbanding the old, and organizing a new Army in France—Trial and Execution of Colonel Labedoyere—Fate of Marshal Brune—The Louvre dismantled—Triumph of the Ultra-Royalist Party in the French Cabinet—Change of Ministry—Meeting of the Chambers—Persecution of the Protestants in the South of France—Trial and Execution of Marshal Ney—Trial and Conviction of General Count Lavalette—His escape—Negociations between France and the Allied Powers—General Treaty of Peace with France—Treaty of Alliance and Friendship entered into by the Allied Powers.*

THE affairs of Europe were now fast tending towards the system of political restoration. Napoleon, the founder of the new dynasties, had fallen, and none of the thrones erected by that extraordinary character, the throne of Sweden alone excepted, had survived his fall. In Holland, Spain, and Germany, the Napoleon race had in succession disappeared from the list of sovereign princes; and in Italy, the sceptre of Joachim Murat was, within the period of the second reign of his imperial relative, wrested from his grasp. During the exile of Napoleon in the isle of Elba, an active correspondence had been carried on between Porto Ferrajo and the court of Naples. At this time two contending parties existed in that court—the French and the Neapolitans. The attachments of the king were manifestly to the former, and on the return of Napoleon to the French capital, little difficulty was found by this party in fixing their sovereign in alliance with the prince to whom he owed his crown, and to whose friendship alone he began to suspect that he must be indebted for its preservation.* The policy of Murat was to preserve his kingdom; and the same motives which induced him to join the allies in 1814, now led him to espouse the cause of the French Emperor. No sooner had the intelligence of the triumphal entry of Bonaparte into Lyons arrived at Naples, than Joachim quitted his

* The fact had been suffered to transpire, that during the negotiations at Vienna, Talleyrand had addressed a note to Lord Castlereagh, urging England to declare in favour of the legitimate sovereign of Naples, Ferdinand IV. and much sophistry was used by the same statesman to prove, that although Austria had, by an existing treaty, guaranteed the kingdom of Naples to her present sovereign, yet that the emperor might, without any breach of faith, become a party to this political intrigue.

capital to place himself at the head of his army. On the 19th of March he arrived at Ancona, and forcing a passage through the dominions of the pope, proceeded from the Marches to the Legations, where, on the 30th of the same month, he commenced hostilities by attacking the Austrian army posted at Cesena. The immediate consequence of this act of hostility was a declaration of war issued by the Emperor of Austria against the King of Naples, and it cannot be doubted that the emperor and his allies seized with satisfaction so favourable an opportunity for dethroning a sovereign, whose crown, conquered from its hereditary possessor, made a breach in the system of restoration. The grand object of Murat was to unite Lombardy, and the other states of Italy, against the house of Austria, and one of his first acts, on the breaking out of the war, was to issue a proclamation, dated from Rimini, on the 31st of March, invoking the Italians to repair to his standard, and to drive from among them all foreign power. "One cry," says this proclamation, "echoes from the Alps to the straits of Scylla—'The independence of Italy.' What right have strangers to rob you of independence, the first right and blessing of all people. Is it in vain that nature has given you the Alps for a bulwark, and the invincible discrepancy of your character, as a barrier still more insurmountable? No! no! let every foreign domination disappear from the soil of Italy. Formerly masters of the world, you have expiated that fatal glory by a servitude of twenty centuries. Let it now be your glory to have masters no longer. Eighty thousand Italians at Naples hasten to you under the command of the king; they swear never to rest till Italy be free; and they have proved more than once that they know how to keep their oaths. Arise, Italians, and march in the closest union; and at the same time that your courage shall assert your internal independence, let a government of your choice, a truly national representation, a constitution worthy of you and of the age, guarantee your internal liberty, and protect your property. I invite all brave men to come and combat with me; I invite all enlightened men, who have reflected on the wants of their country, to prepare, in the silence of the passions, the constitution and laws which must in future govern happy and independent Italy."

At first, Murat seemed rapidly advancing to the completion of his object. The imperial General Bianchi retired before the Neapolitan army, the Grand Duke of Tuscany quitted his capital, and on the 6th of April the enemy entered Florence, which was evacuated by the Austrian General Nugent. But notwithstanding this success, the Italians did not repair to the

standard of independence in any considerable numbers, or display any material portion of that zeal which was altogether indispensable in order to resist with success the imperial armies. In the mean time the Austrian forces were collected under Marshal Bellegarde, who, in a proclamation, dated the 5th of April, reminded the people of Italy, that Murat, the denouncer of foreign influence, was himself a foreigner ! No sooner had the main body of the Austrian armies come in contact with the Neapolitan troops, than the latter fell back to Ancona, pursued by the Austrian Generals Bianchi and Frimont. Murat, perceiving the magnitude of his danger, determined to sue for an armistice, alleging, that he had not advanced for the purpose of aggression or conquest, but in order to render the treaty existing between Austria and Naples respected. His overtures, however, were rejected ; and finding himself in danger of being cut off from the Roman and Neapolitan states, he abandoned Ancona, and marched in the direction of Macerata to Tolentino. At this place a series of bloody engagements were fought between the armies under Murat and General Bianchi, on the 2d and 3d of May ; and for some time victory seemed to hover between the contending armies ; but at length she fixed her standard on the side of the imperialists, and the disorderly retreat of the panic-struck Neapolitans, rendered it sufficiently evident that the star of Murat's glory had for ever set.

In consequence of arrangements made between Lord Burghersh, the English minister at Florence, and Captain Campbell of the *Tremendous* man of war, the latter, accompanied by a frigate and a sloop of war, sailed at the beginning of May to the Bay of Naples. On his arrival, Captain Campbell demanded the surrender of the Neapolitan navy, with an intimation, that if his demand was not immediately complied with, he should proceed without delay to bombard the city. Intimidated by the threatened danger, Madame Murat, to whose hands the administration of the government was committed in the absence of the king, sent Prince Cariati to negotiate for the surrender of the fleet, which was ultimately placed at the joint disposal of the English government and of Ferdinand IV. of Sicily. The war in Italy was now drawing rapidly to a close : the party of King Ferdinand began to shew themselves in great strength in the capital ; the army under Murat, after sustaining several defeats, was reduced to about sixteen thousand men ; and Lord Exmouth, better known as Sir Edward Pellew, had, on the 18th of May, stationed his squadron before that city. Under this complication of adverse circumstances, all hopes of saving his kingdom vanished, and on the

20th of May a military convention was concluded between General Niepperg, on the part of Austria; General Coletta, on that of Naples, and Lord Burghersh, on the part of Great Britain; by which it was stipulated, that Murat should abdicate his throne, and that the kingdom of Naples, its fortresses and arsenals, with all its military forces, and other resources, should be surrendered to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Great Britain, to be returned to the lawful sovereign of the country, Ferdinand IV.

After an absence of nine years, the King of the two Sicilies made his public entry into Naples on the 17th of June, and was greeted with a degree of popular enthusiasm which apparently was not the mere temporary homage paid to existing power. How far the restoration of the Bourbon line in Naples may be favourable to the tranquillity of the government and the happiness of the people, it is impossible accurately to predict; but it is known that the Neapolitans, in losing a soldier of fortune, as remarkable for his courage in the field as for his indecision in the cabinet,* have obtained a prince without talents, destitute of personal dignity, and, “without exception, the worst educated sovereign in Europe.”†

Brief as is generally the interval between the deposition and the death of a sovereign, the fate of Murat succeeded his fall with more than usual celerity. Having effected his escape from Italy, he retired to Provence, in the south of France, and for some time took up his residence at Toulon, while Madame Murat and her family found an asylum in the Austrian states. The events attendant upon the battle of Waterloo obliged Murat to quit France, and in the month of September he appeared in the island of Corsica, where he assembled a number of partisans, and in imitation of the great and successful enterprise which had taken place in France in the early part of the same year, determined to invade the kingdom of Naples for the purpose of re-ascending the throne from which he had been so recently expelled. Although the Neapolitan coast was guarded by a line of armed vessels, Marshal Murat, with two small vessels, sailed direct for Calabria Ulterior, and at mid-day on the 8th of October disembarked on the coast of Pizzo, with a suite of thirty persons, among whom were General Franceschette and Marshal Natali. From the coast the invaders marched without interruption to the first village, where Murat, hoping to excite a rising of the people in his favour, exclaimed—“I am Joachim, your king; it is your duty to

* Lord William Bentick.

† Sir William Hamilton.

acknowledge me.”* These words served to rouse the people to arms—not to aid, but to crush, a desperate enterprise, which threatened to involve their country in the horrors of a civil war. Murat and his suite, perceiving, when it was too late, that popular feeling in this part of Italy was against them, sought refuge in the mountains, whence they attempted to open themselves a way to the coast, for the purpose of re-embarking; but, overcome by the numbers of their pursuers, they were made prisoners, and conducted, in spite of the most gallant resistance, to the fort of Pizzo. Immediately after his capture, Murat was brought to trial before a military commission, by whom he was condemned to be shot, in company with his followers; and at three o’clock in the afternoon of the 13th of October, the apprehensions of the reigning family were extinguished in the blood of their rival.

As a soldier, Murat might rank, for bravery and enterprise, among the first military characters of the age; and as a prince, his endeavours were assiduously directed to correct the vices, and to ameliorate the condition, of his subjects; but as a statesman, he was weak and irresolute—“brave in the field, but more cowardly than a woman or a monk when not in the presence of the enemy;”† and though the desertion of the cause of the allies cost him his crown and his life, his treachery to Napoleon, to whom he was indebted for every thing, will be esteemed by an impartial posterity as the vital error of a career short, splendid, and fatal.

In France, where, as well as in Italy, the cause of legitimacy had again triumphed, the king published an ordinance on the 13th of July, announcing the dissolution of the chamber of deputies, and convoking a new assembly, to meet on the 14th of August. In order that the people should enjoy a more numerous representation than at that time existed, the number of members was increased by this edict from 262 to 395; but the mode of election was exposed to great objections. During the whole period of Napoleon’s imperial sway, no vacancies whatever had been supplied in the electoral colleges, and from death and other causes, the numbers on the second restoration of the Bourbons were reduced to nearly one half their original amount. Instead of referring to the primary electors to supply these vacancies, the king, by an ordinance, dated the 20th of July, judged it proper to direct, that the prefects of the departments, all of them newly appointed men, of high royalist principles, should make up the

* Official Journal of the Two Sicilies, dated October, 13, 1815.

† Letter from Bonaparte to the Queen of Naples, dated Feb. 17, 1814.

compliment, by nominating, of their own authority, twenty members for each college. As might have been expected, these supplementary members, with very few exceptions, proved to be of the same character as the prefects, and the deputies chosen under such auspices, instead of being the representatives of the commons of the land, became the devoted servants of the court—or rather of that ultra-royalist party, whose views of the omnipotence of the royal prerogatives far exceeded those of either the king or his ministry.

The edict for dissolving the chamber of deputies was followed by two other ordinances, both of them dated the 24th of July, by the former of which a number of peers, who had accepted seats in the *soi-disant* chamber of peers, named and established by Napoleon, since the 20th of March, were declared to have acted in a manner incompatible with their dignity, and to have forfeited their right to the peerage of France. By the first article of the second ordinance, it was directed that a number of general and other officers, who had betrayed the king before the 23d of March, or who had attacked France and the government with arms in their hands, and those who by violence had obtained possession of power, should be arrested, and carried before the competent councils of war, in their respective divisions. And by the second article, in the same edict, it was ordered that a number of other individuals should quit the city of Paris in three days, and should retire into the interior of France, to places pointed out by the minister of police, where they should remain under his superintendence, until the chambers should decide upon such as should be sent out of the country, or delivered over for trial to the tribunals.*

* PROSCRIPTION LISTS.

PEERS EXPELLED. Counts—Clement de Ris, Colchen, Cornudet, d'Aboville. Marshal Lefebvre, Duke of Dantzic. Counts—De Croix, Dedeley d'Agier, Dejean, Fabre de l'Aude, Gassendi, Lacepede, Latour Maubourg. Dukes of Prasline, Plaisance, Le Brun. Marshals—Duke of Elchingen, (Ney); Albufera, (Suchet); Corneigliano, (Moncey); Treviso, (Mortier). Counts—De Barral, Archbishop of Tours; Boissy d'Anglas. Duke de Cadore, (Champagny). Counts—De Canclaux, Cassabianca, De Montesquiou, Pontecoulant, Rampon, Segur, Valence, and Belliard.

PROSCRIBED OFFICERS AND PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.—*To be arrested and brought to trial.*—Ney, Labedoyere, the two Lallemands, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnouettes, Ameilh, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debelle, Bertrand, Drouet, Cambronne, Lavalette, and Rovigo.

PROSCRIBED OFFICERS AND PUBLIC FUNCTIONARIES.—*To quit Paris, and await the decision of the Chambers*—Soult, Alix, Excelmans, Bassano, Marbot, Felix Lepelletier, Boulay de la Meurthe, Mehee,

The policy of these measures of rigour was strongly questioned by one portion of the king's ministers, and their natural influence tended still further to increase the disunion of that heterogeneous body. The Duke of Otranto in particular, by whom, as minister of police, the latter of these ordinances was countersigned, so much disapproved of this proceeding, as to declare, that if he could have effaced several of the names inscribed in the proscription lists by placing there his own, he should not have hesitated. But all minds, says this minister, had been occupied with the fatal mistake, that the throne had been subverted by the result of a vast conspiracy, and that a great mass of individuals were comprised in the plot which had re-seated Napoleon on the throne. The idea of a conspiracy, he adds, had been propagated by those who wished for proscription, and in consenting to sign the ordinance of the 24th of July, and to remain in administration under such circumstances, his only wish was to impose silence on revenge, to suffer the passions gradually to become calm, and to enable justice to resume her course.

The freedom of the press, from which a royal ordinance had, soon after the return of the king from Ghent, removed all restrictions, was soon deemed too potent an instrument in the hands of the disaffected; and on the 8th of August, a second ordinance, signed by the king, and countersigned by the Duke of Otranto, was issued, revoking all the licenses given to public journals of every kind, and suspending their further appearance till fresh authority was received by each of them from the minister-general of police. And that not a vestige of freedom might continue to be enjoyed by any branch of the periodical press, it was further directed, that all periodical writings should be submitted to the examination of a commission of censorship, whose members should be appointed by the king, on the presentation of the minister of general police. So gross an infraction of the provisions of the constitutional charter rendered nugatory a representative form of government, for where the people cannot, through the medium of the press, be brought acquainted with the conduct of their representatives in the senate, the national voice, expressed in such assemblies, is divested of one of its most important attributes. How is the public to know the truth when

Fressinet, Thibaudeau, Carnot, Vandamme, Lamarque, Lobau, Harel, Pere, Barrere, Arnault, Pommereuil, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Arrighi, (Padua;) Dejean, (the son;) Garnau, Real, Bouvier, Dumoultard, Merlin de Douay, Durbach, Dirat, Defermont, Bory St. Vincent, Felix Desportes, Garnier de Saintes, Mellinet, Hulin, Cluys, Courtin, Forbin Janson, (the eldest son,) and Lorgne Dideville.

the journals are under the restraint of the ministers? or how shall the ministers and the chambers ascertain the public opinions, if the press, the tongue of the people, be not free? When the press is unrestrained, foreign powers have no right to complain of the government on account of any article which may appear in the public papers; but if the ministers have the guidance and control of the press, they render themselves responsible to other states for all its abuse.*

A higher tribute to the salutary influence of the press is scarcely to be found on record than that presented by one of the ministers of Louis XVIII. at the very moment when fresh shackles were forging by the French government for that organ of public illumination. In a correspondence between Lord Castlereagh, the British minister for foreign relations, and Prince Talleyrand, which took place in the months of August and September, regarding the possible revival of the African slave trade, which Napoleon had abolished, the French minister informs his lordship, that it was with regret, that last year, the king, his master, had stipulated for the continuance of this traffic for a few years. This he had done because there existed in France prejudices which it was desirable to sooth; but since that time these prejudices had been attacked, (through the medium of the press) and with such effect, as to enable the king, without delay, to follow the dictates of his own inclinations, and to do an act agreeable to the government and people of Great Britain, by issuing directions, on the part of France, that the traffic in slaves should cease, from the present time, every where, and for ever.

Nothing was of more importance to the security of the French government, than the proper organization of the army, and one of the first acts of the king, after his return to Paris, was to promulgate a decree, dated the 23d of March, for disbanding the army, which had been seduced by the chiefs, and had passed under the temporary command of Napoleon. The publication of this ordinance was accompanied by a decree, dated the 16th of July, directing that a new army should be organized without delay. The great mass of this force was to consist of eighty legions of infantry, each legion to contain 1,687 men, including 103 officers; to this force were to be added twelve regiments of artillery, and forty-seven regiments of horse; constituting an aggregate military force of about two hundred thousand regular troops. In order to place this military force on a principle which should constitute a truly national army, and to put it henceforth in harmony

* Chateaubriandt.

with the liberal dispositions of the constitutional charter, it was directed, that one legion should be raised in every department of France, to bear the name of that department, and that each disbanded soldier should be allowed to enter, after examination, into the legion of the department to which he belonged. Marshal Macdonald had at this time been appointed to the command of the army of the Loire, in the place of Marshal Davoust, and the measure of disbanding the old, and organizing the new levies, encountered no material difficulty.

In the mean time it was determined to bring to justice, with suitable promptitude, those individuals whom the proscription lists had denounced as traitors; and the first officer brought before the tribunals was Colonel Labedoyere, on a charge of treason, rebellion, and the seduction of his troops from their allegiance. On Monday, the 12th of August, Labedoyere was arraigned before a military tribunal, held at Paris, in which M. Bertier de Sauvigny held the office of president. Before the prisoner was introduced, the judge-advocate read over the order for bringing him to trial, and the minutes of his examination before the minister of police were also read. In this latter document, he protested that he had held no intercourse whatever with the Isle of Elba; that he had never been present at any meeting in which the recall of Napoleon had been agitated; and that in ranging himself and his troops under the imperial standard, he had been influenced solely by a regard to the interests of his country. On his introduction to the court he returned the following answers to the interrogatories of the president:—

“I am called Charles Angelique François Huchot de Labedoyere; I am 29 years of age, a general officer, and a native of Paris. On the 1st of March, 1815, I was a lieutenant-colonel of the 7th regiment of the line. I received my commission from the king. The regiment received the white flag at Chamberry. I suppose an oath was taken, but I was not there. I was an officer of the legion of honour, and a knight of the iron crown. I never received the cross of St. Louis. When I heard of Bonaparte’s landing I was at Chamberry, where I received from Major-general Devilliers orders to proceed with my regiment to Grenoble. It bivouacked on the ramparts of Grenoble. It quitted its post, by my orders, to proceed to Gap, and I gave the word *Vive l’Empereur!* On leaving the suburbs of Grenoble, I presented to it the eagle, which had been preserved in a box as a *curiosity*, because it had been honourably distinguished in the Spanish war. General Devilliers spoke to me of the ties which I was breaking, and the probable consequences of my proceeding; but I answered, that the interest of my country prevailed over all other considerations.”

The facts admitted by the accused were proved by General Devilliers and other officers; and the judge-advocate, in recapitulating the evidence, contended that the defection of La-

bedoyere had given the first signal of revolt, and had paved the way to the general defection of the army.

The colonel, in his defence, which appeared to be written in haste, and without method, declared that he had no intention to deny facts public and notorious. His only anxiety was to defend his honour. He who had led brave men to death knew how to die. He might have been deceived—misled by illusions, by recollections, by false ideas of honour; his country might have spoken a chimerical language to his heart, but he was no conspirator. He hoped his death would make reparation to his country for his errors; that his memory would not be held in horror; and that his wife and infant son would not be reproached with his name. He had misunderstood the intentions of the king, in whom all promises were fulfilled, all guarantees consecrated, and the constitution rendered perfect. After a long deliberation of the council, the president, with visible expression of grief, pronounced the prisoner guilty of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death and degradation of military rank.

When his family learned that the council of revision had confirmed the sentence passed upon Colonel Labedoyere by judges, his wife, clad in mourning, appeared before the king as he was entering his carriage, and falling at his feet, exclaimed—"Pardon! Pardon, Sire!" "Madame," said Louis, "I know your sentiments, and those of your family, and never was it more painful to me to pronounce a refusal. If M. Labedoyere had only offended against me, his pardon should have been granted; but all France demands the punishment of a man, who has brought upon her all the scourges of war. I promise my protection to you and your child." The mother of the unfortunate officer now pressed for admission, but was prevented from seeing the king by those who surrounded him.

Execution followed soon after the sentence of the court, and Colonel Labedoyere displayed, in his last moments, the most heroic fortitude. His appeal to the court of reversion was heard on the morning of Saturday, the 19th of August. At half past one o'clock his judgment was confirmed, and at half past six, on the same day, he was led to the plain of Grenelle. After receiving on his knees the benediction of the confessor, he stood erect, and without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, laid open his breast to his military executioners, saying—"Surtout ne me manquez pas," (above all do not miss me.) The veterans levelled, and in an instant he was no more.

The day after the execution of Labedoyere, Marshal Ney, who had been apprehended in the department of Lot, and

brought to Paris, underwent his first examination at the Conciergerie, but the final proceedings in the Marshal's case did not take place till towards the close of the year. In the same month another of the French marshals, and one of the generals of Napoleon, Marshal Brune, finding himself exposed to the indignation of a royalist mob at Avignon, took refuge in a tavern in that city, and at the moment when he conceived that the door of his asylum was about to be forced, terminated his life with a pistol. This act of desperation was not sufficient to rescue him from the fury of his persecutors; after placing his body on an hurdle, they promenaded it ignominiously through the streets, and concluded the savage procession by casting the remains of their victim into the Rhone.

The pride of the French nation had been greatly humbled by the second conquest of that country; but the humiliation was not so complete as to permit the inhabitants of the metropolis to submit to the degradation that awaited them, without the most bitter complaints against the injustice and rapacity of their conquerors. Soon after the allied armies entered Paris, Prince Blucher visited that vast depository of the arts, called the Louvre, and insisted upon sending back to his country all the pictures and other works of art which had been seized by the French, not only in Prussia Proper, but all those also which had been taken from Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, cities on the left bank of the Rhine. This example was some time after followed by the other states of Europe; the Emperor Francis, on behalf of Florence, Modena, Milan, Parma, Verona, and Venice, claimed for those cities every painting of value, of which they had been deprived. The Duke of Wellington, in support of the rights of the King of the Netherlands, demanded the pictures stripped from the catholic churches in the Belgic provinces; while the Spaniards, claiming their share in the general distribution, seized on an exhibition made up of the subjects of the Spanish school. The seizure of the valuable products of art and of literature, which had been carried away from Rome, and which had made part of the price of the treaty of Tolentino, consummated this system of restitution, by which the galleries of the Louvre were dismantled of nine-tenths of their treasures.*

* The following were among the number of the works of art reclaimed by the allies:—by Prussia, an exquisite bronze statue, known by the name of the Ganymede of Sans Souci; two pictures by Corregio, and the pictures of St. Cloud, which had been taken from the apartments of the Queen of Prussia. The picture of St. Jerome by Corregio; the Titians from Venice, and the Greek *chefs-d'œuvre*, were claimed by the Italian States; while the four Corinthian horses, once destined to be

On the subject of the reclamations made by the Duke of Wellington, on behalf of the Sovereign of the Netherlands, his grace addressed a long letter to Lord Castlereagh, justifying the conduct of the allied powers, and shewing, that in divesting the museum of Paris of its exotic plumes, they had performed not only an act of favour towards their own subjects, but had, by this act of justice, given to the French nation a great moral lesson. In this letter, the duke very successfully rebuts the charge brought against him, of having violated the 11th article of the convention of Paris, which provides for the inviolability of public property. That article, the duke maintained, had no reference whatever to the gallery of paintings, to secure which, an article was introduced into the original *projet* of the convention by the French commissioners, but that article was rejected. This refusal, it appears, did not arise so much from any decision taken with respect to the museum by the Duke of Wellington, who, having no instructions on the subject, declined to prejudge the question, but because Prince Blücher, supported by the public opinion of his country, insisted upon a restoration of that property, which Louis XVIII. had previously promised to restore. On these grounds this affair was left for the decision of the sovereigns when they should arrive in Paris. Upon that decision he had acted; nor had France any just cause of complaint; she had desired to retain the works of art wrested from other countries, because they had been acquired by conquest; but now, when she was no longer the conqueror, it became proper that she should surrender the trophies of conquest into the hands of their original possessors.

In the midst of the irritation produced in Paris by the dismantling of the Louvre, the conflicts of parties raged with considerable violence. In the cabinet the contest lay principally between the friends and the enemies of proscription, between those who recommended measures of conciliation, and those who preferred the influence of rigorous retribution. The former wished to cast a veil of clemency and oblivion over the past, and to retain whatever was valuable in the institutions of the country, although of a date subsequent to the

harnessed to the chariot of the sun, were made to descend from their gilded car, at the entrance to the palace of the Thuilleries, in order to proceed on their travel towards St. Mark's church, at Venice, whence they had been removed. Those inimitable pieces of statuary, the Venus de Medicis and the Belvidere Apollo, were at the same time, both removed from their pedestals, to be transferred to their original station; and with the invaluable picture of the Transfiguration, and the Madonna della Seggio, were destined once more to enrich the classical regions of Italy.

period of the revolution ; while the younger branches of the royal family, ranging themselves at the head of the latter party, called for justice upon the heads of the regicides, and wished to bring back France to the ancient *regime*. The princes and their party—more loyal than the king, laboured incessantly to effect the removal of the existing administration ; and the influence of these ultra-royalists at length prevailed over the advice of the Duke of Wellington and other ministers of the allied sovereigns. A total change in the ministry was the consequence and the evidence of this triumph, and on the 25th of September, the following list of the new cabinet was published through the medium of the French official gazette :—

The Duke of Richelieu—for Foreign Affairs.

The Duke of Feltre—for War.

Viscount Doubouchage—for Marine and Colonies.

Count de Vaublanc—for the Interior.

The Sieur de Cazes—for General Police.

Count Barbe de Marbois—Keeper of the Seals.

Count Corvetto—for the Finances.

Before this change was announced, the Duke of Otranto, perceiving the growing influence of the party to whom he was opposed, after two applications for that purpose, obtained permission from the king to resign his office ; and Prince Talleyrand, finding that another administration would be more agreeable to the princes, “whom it was necessary to gratify,” gave in his resignation. Immediately on the appointment of the new ministry, the Duke of Otranto was sent to Dresden, in the capacity of ambassador from the French court ; but this was only a prelude to a decree of exile soon after issued against all those who, three and twenty years before, had voted for the death of Louis XVI. Prince Talleyrand was treated in a manner less rigorous and absurd ; a trifling office was assigned to him near the person of the king, and his name was announced among the members of his majesty’s privy council. The members of the new cabinet disappointed the hopes of the party to whom they were indebted for their elevation, by pursuing a line of conduct resembling, in its prominent features, the policy marked out for the government of the state by their immediate predecessors.

During the conflicts of contending parties the crown was gradually establishing its authority, and obtaining that ascendancy which hereditary monarchy can scarcely fail to acquire if administered with prudence and moderation. The completion of the ministerial arrangements was succeeded by the meeting of the legislative body, which, after repeated delays, assembled at length on the 7th of October. After deploring

the suffering brought upon his people by a criminal enterprise, seconded by the most inconceivable defection, the king, in his opening speech, proceeded to say, "In order to put a period to a state of things, more burthensome than even war itself, I have concluded with the powers, which, after having destroyed the usurper, still occupy a great part of our territory, a convention which regulates our present and future relations with them." The sacrifices which France was compelled to make had filled his heart with profound grief, but the safety of the kingdom demanded them, and himself and his family had determined to share the privations which imperious circumstances had imposed upon his people. A considerable portion of the revenue of the civil list he had ordered to be paid into the public treasury, and in every department of the government the strictest economy should be preserved. In the creation of new peers, and the enlargement of the number of deputies for the departments, he had sought to give more weight to the deliberations of the chambers, and he felt the sweetest satisfaction in the full confidence, that they would never lose sight of the fundamental bases of the happiness of the state, by a frank and loyal union with the king, and respect for that constitutional charter, which he had weighed with care before he gave it, and to which reflection attached him more and more closely. "Many other objects of importance," said the king in conclusion, "require our labours: to make religion flourish, purify morals, found liberty upon respect for the laws, render them more analogous to these general views, give stability to credit, recompose the army, heal the wounds that have but too deeply torn the bosom of our country; and, in fine, make France respected abroad by insuring tranquillity at home."

At the conclusion of the speech, the Duc d'Angouleme, the Duc de Berri, and the Duc d'Orleans, swore "fidelity to the king, and obedience to the constitutional charter and the laws of the kingdom." The names of the peers and deputies being then called over, each of them took the same oath as the royal dukes, adding, "and to conduct myself in every thing that appertains to my situation as a good and loyal peer [or deputy] of France."

The character of the chambers presented a strange anomaly in politics. The chamber of deputies, instead of manifesting a bias towards the democratical side of the constitution, and maintaining a vigilant jealousy against royal encroachments on popular rights, sought on all constitutional questions to enlarge the prerogatives of the crown; and the great difficulty on the part of the court was to restrain their zeal, and keep

them within the limits of moderation. The chamber of peers, nominated as they were by the king alone, as the bulwark and aristocratical fence of the monarchy, were much less subservient than the deputies. In the upper house, just and enlightened views of the situation of the country, and the duties of the government, were frequently elicited ; but among the deputies, the prevailing fear was directed against popular encroachment, and the prevailing wish to restore the government of France to the standard and principles of 1788. Under these circumstances, one session was sufficient to prove that the spirit and temper of the representative body were incompatible with the existence of that charter which they had sworn to maintain, and before the meeting of the second session, the king very patriotically presented the electoral colleges with an opportunity of making a more discreet choice by dissolving that assembly.

One of the principal benefits of the French revolution was the demolition of religious intolerance, and one of the first acts of the revolutionary government, was the admission of the professors of the protestant faith to a participation in the religious privileges, and the political rights, of their catholic countrymen. The distinguished merit of redressing many of the grievances under which the protestants had laboured before the accession of Louis XVI. to the throne, belonged to that monarch ; the republican government advanced still further in the work of amelioration ; and Napoleon, by the provisions of the *concordat*, placed their religion on precisely the same footing as the catholic faith, in point both of establishment and privilege. The protestants, with feelings natural to men, could not but applaud and admire measures by which they were raised, from being outcasts of society, and from a state of degradation and infamy, to that of citizens, with equal rights and privileges ; but that they were revolutionists and Bonapartists in any peculiar degree, seems to be altogether a misrepresentation. In common with their fellow subjects, they felt the weight of taxation with which France became burthened under the rule of Napoleon ; and the incessant demands of the conscription had, long before the restoration, alienated their minds from the emperor, and induced them, when Louis XVIII. ascended the throne of France, to rejoice in the auspicious prospects which they then conceived were opening upon their country. Unfortunately, however, during the succeeding ten months a considerable change of opinion took place ; the royal charter declared the catholic religion to be the established religion of France, and the protestants again became only the tolerated sect ; persons who

had long been absent returned, with all their old prejudices ; the distinction of catholic and protestant was revived in a hostile sense ; and evident indications were exhibited of a wish to return to the ancient regime. During this period, the protestants in the south of France, were insulted by the populace on the ground of their religion, and songs and exclamations, menacing them with the revival of the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, became familiar to their ears.*

It has been urged against the protestants, that, during the second reign of Bonaparte, acts of the greatest violence were committed by them in the department of the Gard,* and that when Nismes again became a royal town on the 15th of July, the atrocities which ensued were merely a re-action retaliative of these excesses.† But we look in vain for the confirmation of this assertion ; on the contrary, no acts of violence were committed during this interval—no persons were insulted—nor were any houses attacked, in the town of Nismes, at least, although, from some subsequent convictions which took place at Montpellier, it appeared that some stragglers of the Duke of Angouleme's army were murdered, in the adjoining department. The first acts of outrage committed in Nismes were perpetrated by a body of peasants, who, in supposed obedience to the king's orders, had assembled as volunteers, under the command of one Beaucaire, at the invitation of commissioners invested with powers from the Duke of Angouleme. On the 17th, two days after the white flag was suspended, these royal volunteers, as they were called, rushed into the city, and summoned the garrison, which occupied the place in the name of Napoleon, to surrender. The troops, consisting of about two hundred men, consented to lay down their arms, and to surrender up their artillery ; but instead of allowing them to depart unmolested, the volunteers fell upon the unarmed soldiers with the fury of demons, and the whole garrison, with the exception of a few who contrived to make their escape unperceived, were massacred as they left the barracks.‡ The greater part of the urban guard of Nismes, who had hitherto preserved tranquillity, was now disarmed ; strangers paraded the city ; and the houses of the principal inhabitants of the protestant persuasion were attacked and plundered. The more opulent citizens were driven from

* Speech of Sir Samuel Romilly, in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

† Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

‡ Petition to Louis XVIII. from the principal protestant inhabitants of Nismes, dated July 30th, 1815.

their dwellings ; arrests and proscriptions, directed, not against the oppressors, but against the oppressed, immediately followed, and the only ground of these merciless persecutions was religious opinions.* For several months the protestant population of Nismes was exposed to outrages of every kind. The cry of Down with the Hugonists ! *Vive la St. Barthelemi !* resounded through the streets ;† their houses were plundered or pulled down ; the rich were laid under ruinous contributions ; the looms of the poor manufacturers were destroyed ; and women were stripped and scourged in the streets. No fewer than thirty females were subjected to these atrocities, eight of whom died, either under the hands of their persecutors, or in consequence of their stripes. Two hundred and forty persons were murdered in cold blood, of whom one hundred and fifty were in Nismes, and ninety in other parts of the Gard ; and upwards of two thousand other persons became the subjects of this persecution, either in their persons or in their property.‡ A wretch, of the name of Trestaillon, was the chief leader in the atrocities at Nismes ; but this man, though twice taken into custody, was never brought to his trial by the French government. At this place indeed the murderers were exonerated from the punishment of the most numerous of their crimes by an official order, directing, that no examination should be made into the disorders at Nismes previous to the 1st of September.§ Besides Trestaillon there was another notorious murderer, of the name of Graffan, alias Quatre Taillon, the scene of whose bloody exploits was at Uzes, sixteen miles from Nismes ; and although this wretch is said to have killed fourteen persons with his own hands, he, like Trestaillon, entirely escaped punishment.

The rage of bigotry at length rose to an height calculated to excite the indignation of the surrounding states, and obliged the French government to interfere with a strong hand. The Duke of Angouleme, who had repeatedly visited Nismes during the murders, and whose devoted attachment to the catholic religion had rendered him suspected of conniving at the persecution of the protestants, issued an order for the re-opening of the protestant places of worship, which, ever since the month of July, they had been obliged to keep closed. On

* Petition to Louis XVIII. from the principal protestant inhabitants of Nismes, dated July 30th, 1815.

† Helen Maria Williams, " on the late Persecution of the Protestants in the South of France."

‡ Speeches of Sir Samuel Romilly in the House of Commons, February 28th, and May 23d, 1816.

§ Decree of the Court of Cassation.

quitting the place, orders were left by the duke with General La Garde, himself a member of the reformed church, to afford protection to the persons and property of the protestants, and to guard their temples against outrage. Under this guarantee, public worship was resumed ; but on Sunday, the 12th of November, at the moment when the general was performing the duty confided to him, a furious mob assembled to resist the opening of the protestant churches, and a villain of the name of Boisset, levelled a pistol at the general, and shot him through the breast. The wound was severe, but not mortal, and the assassin was seized by the military, but he was afterwards suffered to effect his escape. The king, on receiving intelligence of this atrocity, issued an ordinance, which, after recognizing the liberty of worship granted by the royal constitutional charter to dissentients from the established church, directed that proceedings should be instituted against the authors of the assassination ; and that troops should be sent to Nismes, there to remain, at the expense of the inhabitants, till the criminal and his accomplices should be brought to justice ; and that all such of the inhabitants as were not intitled to form a part of the national guard, should be disarmed. These proceedings, which, however, never received their consummation in the punishment of the delinquents, served to check the reign of persecution, and on the 25th of December, the protestant churches were re-opened for the performance of public worship ; but there is too much reason to fear, that a spirit of animosity and violence has been engendered in the south of France by these outrageous proceedings, which the present generation may not see wholly extinguished.

The enslaved state of the French press prevented the voice of the persecuted protestants from being heard in their own country. The police would not suffer a single document, nor even a paragraph, to appear in any of the public papers respecting their sufferings, while the conductors of those shackled mediums of public information were permitted, and even solicited, to publish sentiments calculated to gloss over the enormities of their oppressors, and to swell the tide of popular fury, which had set in so strongly against them. Even in the chamber of deputies, where, of all other places, the voice of the sufferers ought to have been heard ; on one of the representatives of the people, M. d'Argenson, stating, that persecutions existed in the south of France, a great part of the assembly arose in a tumultuous manner, and, in the coarsest terms, insisted that he should be silenced by being called to order. The president, yielding to this clamour, enforced the cry of order, and obliged the speaker to desist from entering

into the details. Of this disgraceful scene, Sir Samuel Romilly was a spectator, and it is on the authority of that enlightened senator and philanthropist that the above fact is introduced into this history.

In England, however, where the liberty of the press, like the air we breathe, is essential to our existence, the situation of the French protestants, as depicted in the public papers, excited a lively interest, especially among the protestant dissenters. Public meetings were held in London and other parts of the country, the interference of the British government in favour of the sufferers was implored, and subscriptions to a considerable amount were raised for the purpose of ameliorating the situation of men persecuted to death by their fellow-subjects, and feebly protected by the government of their own country. There were not, however, wanting, at this time, persons in high military and diplomatic situations, who maintained that the French "government had done all in their power to put an end to the disturbances which had prevailed in the south of France, and to protect the king's subjects, in conformity with the royal charter, whatever might be their religious persuasion."* It was further contended by Lord Castlereagh, that the miseries of the protestants were only the result of a local feud, such as was often to be seen in Ireland; and that it would be impolitic for the government of Great Britain to interfere with the internal affairs of another country, more especially with respect to religious opinions. It was on the same authority held, that the protestants having acquired an extent of power, and that from Bonaparte, they felt interested in the continuance of his power; that their conduct had evinced this feeling, and that it was to this cause the disturbances now complained of were to be attributed. This was not, Lord Castlereagh said, a gratuitous persecution of that sect. The protestants were mixed up with Bonaparte, and imputed to the catholics jealousies and political dislikes, while the catholics, who adhered to the Bourbons, were afraid of the designs of the protestants." The disturbances at Nismes were, it was admitted, carried to a perilous extent, but those who committed them were of the lowest class of the catholics; the richer protestants suffered in their property and their houses. The crimes, however, were greatly exaggerated, and many of the accounts were entirely forged. "The number of lives lost in the department of the Gard, were under a thousand!† and at Nismes, under two hundred."

* Letter from the Duke of Wellington to the Secretaries of the Protestant Society, dated Paris, November 28th, 1815.

† Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, May 23d, 1816.

Whatever difference of opinion might exist, as to the causes of these excesses, and as to the conduct of the government under which they were so long suffered to prevail, it was agreed on all hands that great violence had been committed, and that many lives had been sacrificed, and much property plundered and destroyed.* It was further proved, that in whatever cause these outrages originated, the protestants alone had been their victims ; that no other but protestant places of worship were attacked, and that their religious services were alone molested. That the proclamation of the king to the inhabitants of the Gard, charged the offenders with violating that article of the constitution which promised protection to dissentients from the established church—and, lastly, that a number of French families, after this persecution had raged for some months, and in order, no doubt, to escape from its horrors, had abjured their religion, and “ returned into the bosom of the romish church.”†

These circumstances, which were too notorious to be denied, gave to the sanguinary atrocities in the Gard, to which department they were principally confined, the character of a religious persecution ; it is, however, more than probable that the protestant inhabitants of the south were less favourable towards the second restoration of the Bourbons than the catholics, and the impartial judgment of history will pronounce the persecution of which they so justly complained, to have had for its actuating causes a compound of religious bigotry and political animosity, to which motives may be added, the thirst

* The Rev. Clement Perrot, a clergyman of unimpeachable veracity, who, at the invitation of the committee of the Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations in London, repaired in the early part of the year 1816 to the south of France, for the purpose of examining on the spot, and in the French capital, the real situation of the protestants, states, in his report made on the subject of his mission, that “ the number of protestants pretty accurately ascertained to have been killed in the department of the Gard, is 450, and about the same number have been missed for several months, and are supposed to have been murdered in the vineyards, and on the roads, when they fled ” p. p. 21. “ Hundreds,” it is added, “ have redeemed their lives at the expense of all they possessed, and have been thus reduced to extreme want. Hardly one protestant but has suffered, either in his person, property, family, or business, from this mode of vexation, throughout the department of the Gard. The number of fugitives, when stated at 10,000, as applied to the reformed inhabitants of the department in general, is, perhaps, below the truth.” p. p. 29 and 30. In Nismes, about 250 houses have been pillaged, and many of them demolished. “ The largest manufactories are shut up ; the proprietors have fled ; and the silk trade, so prosperous in that city under the late government, is entirely ruined. It is difficult to calculate the loss of property, but,” says Mr. Perrot, “ I have heard it estimated at 5,000,000 francs.”

† See the *Journal du Gard*, published at Nismes, December 28, 1815.

for plunder, the free indulgence of which served to excite and to gratify the cupidity of the mob. That a government, whose authority, at the moment when these persecutions prevailed, was supported by the presence of nearly two hundred thousand foreign troops, should not have had the power instantly to coerce the offenders into subjection, is a political enigma that can only find its solution in the fact, that of all the persons concerned in these numerous atrocities, though many of them were well known, not a single individual engaged in their perpetration was brought to punishment,* nor does it appear that any atonement whatever was made, either to the sufferers or to the violated laws of their country.

The first indication of that system of vigour so loudly demanded by the ultra-royalists of France, and so confidently anticipated from the new ministry, was displayed in the trial and execution of Marshal Ney, the Duke of Elchingen. The crime with which the marshal stood charged was high treason, and the tribunal before which he was arraigned in the first instance, was a court-martial, consisting of four French marshals,† and four other general officers. Against a court so constituted the marshal protested, alleging that, as a Peer of France, he had a right to be tried by his peers; and after two days deliberation, the validity of the objections was admitted by the court. Chagrined at this decision, the Duke of Richelieu, addressing himself to the chamber of peers, in the name of France and of Europe, conjured them to judge the accused marshal. On the 4th of December, the peers, having erected themselves into a criminal tribunal, Marshal Ney was impeached at their bar. It appeared from the evidence, verbal and documentary, that, till the 7th of March, the prisoner was ignorant of the landing of Napoleon in the south of France; and that on the 9th he received instructions from the minister of Louis XVIII. to repair to the head of his government, at Besançon, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the invader. Before his departure from the capital, he obtained an audience of the king at the Thuilleries, and during the conference with which he was honoured, he observed, "that, should Bonaparte be taken, he would deserve to be conducted to Paris in an iron cage;" and on taking leave, kissed the king's hand. For some days he remained faithful to the royal cause; but his subsequent conduct proved that he soon began to drink into the general spirit of disaffection which pervaded the great mass of the army. On his

* Sir Samuel Romilly's Speech in the House of Commons, May 23, 1816.

† Marshals Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, and Mortier.

arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, four days after his audience with his sovereign, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, beginning with these words—"The cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost;" and soon afterwards himself and his whole corps joined the invading army.* To palliate an act of treachery, too notorious to be denied, and too flagitious to admit of any justification, the marshal stated in his defence, that the proclamation bearing his name, was transmitted to him by Marshal Bertrand, in the night between the 13th and 14th of March; that it was written, not by himself, but by Bonaparte; and that it had appeared in Switzerland before he himself had seen it. He further urged, that it was the conduct of his troops that hurried him on to defection; and that he deserted the royal cause merely to prevent his country from suffering the horrors of a civil war—and finally, that Napoleon had transmitted to him the strongest assurances that Austria was his ally, and that England favoured his designs. Whatever truth there might be in these assertions, and however reluctant the marshal might feel to betray his duty to his king, it was proved, that no sooner was his decision taken, than he manifested the most ardent zeal in favour of the emperor, and even carressed, with a kind of frantic joy, the humblest individuals in his army, the moment they had given unequivocal proofs of their determination to range themselves once more under the imperial standard.

Finding it impossible to resist the proof of Marshal Ney's treasonable disaffection, his counsel rested his defence chiefly on the impunity granted to the marshal, as a resident in Paris, by the twelfth article of the capitulation of that city, which provided—that no person in the capital should be disturbed or called to account for their political conduct;† and subsequently, that should any doubt arise as to the interpretation of any article of the capitulation, the interpretation should be made in favour of the besieged. Instead of fairly meeting this objection, which was indeed unanswerable, the attorney-general interrupted the counsel, and required that the advocates of the accused should be formally interdicted by the court from availing themselves of the convention of the 3d of July, on the ground, that this military convention was the work of foreigners, and was neither signed nor ratified by the king. Marshal Ney, incapable of brooking an injustice which he conceived indicative of a determination to sacrifice him, declared that he would rather not be defended at all than have

* See Vol. IV. Book V. p. 231.

† See the 12th Article of the Capitulation of Paris Vol. IV. Book V. p. 343.

only the shadow of a defence. "I am accused," exclaimed he, "contrary to the faith of treaties, and they will not suffer me to justify myself. I will act like Moreau—I will appeal to Europe and to posterity. I forbid my counsel from uttering another word." A profound silence now reigned in the chamber for some time, which was at length broken by the attorney-general expressing his determination to waive the right of reply, since the marshal had declined all further defence.

The trial, which had been continued by adjournment for three successive days, terminated in an unanimous award of guilty; and of the one hundred and sixty peers who voted, one hundred and thirty-nine doomed the culprit to death, while seventeen voted for banishment, and four declined to give any vote on the sentence. The fortitude and equanimity of Marshal Ney never forsook him in any stage of the proceedings; and when the secretary, reporter of the chamber of peers, repaired to his apartments, to announce to him his sentence, the marshal begged that he would, without apology or circumlocution, proceed directly to the fact. When, in reading the fatal sentence, his titles were detailed, he said—"What good can this do now—Michel Ney, then, a heap of dust—that is all." The day of execution immediately followed that of conviction, and at four o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the marechale, his wife, with his four children, and Madame Gamon, her sister, took their last farewell. At first, the marshal had declined the aid of a confessor, observing, that he did not require a priest to teach him how to die; but after the interview with his family, which seemed to soften and subdue him, he requested that the rector of St. Sulpice might be sent for.

At nine o'clock precisely, the marshal, attended by his confessor, stepped into the carriage prepared for their reception, which drove across the garden on the Luxembourg, to the grand alley leading to the observatory, the place appointed for his execution. A picket of veterans, sixty strong, awaited his arrival. The marshal, having descended from the carriage, faced his executioners, and after taking off his hat with his left hand, and placing his right hand on his breast, he exclaimed with a loud, and unfaltering voice—"Comrades, straight at the heart—fire." The officer gave the signal at the same moment with his sword, and he fell dead without a struggle. Twelve balls had taken effect; three of them in the head. There were but few persons present, for the populace, believing that the execution would take place on the plain of Grenelle, where Labedoyere was shot, had repaired thither.

The execution of Marshal Ney deeply affected the public

feelings, but no tumult on the part of the populace, nor any insubordinate disposition among the military, manifested itself on the occasion. When the trial was pending, the marshal had written a letter to the Duke of Wellington, claiming the indemnity stipulated for by the convention of Paris. The duke, in his answer, replied, that the convention of the 3d of July was clearly and expressly a military convention, and that it could not, and did not, promise pardon for political offences on the part of the French government. But it may be observed, that by whatever name this document was designated, there was in it an article which said, as plainly as words could express it, that no person should be punished for political opinions or conduct. The attorney-general, feeling the force of this argument, enlarged the ground of the objection, and insisted, that the convention was merely obligatory on the allies, but left the king, who was no party to its engagements, at liberty to punish offences against his person or his government. The usages of nations however form a sufficient reply to this distinction: foreign powers have no right to punish the inhabitants of a conquered state for political opinions or conduct, and the convention either bound Louis, on whose behalf the allied armies took possession of Paris, or its twelfth article was nugatory. Further, it was in virtue of this treaty that the king entered Paris, and having reaped its benefits, he ought to have considered himself bound by its obligations. This was, at least, a case calculated to give rise to one of those differences of interpretation, all of which were, according to the convention, to be made in favour of the army and the inhabitants of Paris. That a traitor, who had betrayed his sovereign, under the guise of devoted loyalty, should have been suffered to escape his merited punishment, under the guarantee of a sweeping article, might have been a subject of just regret; but it is much more to be regretted, that the allied powers, and the French monarch, who had exclaimed so loudly against Bonaparte for his infraction of treaties, should have exposed themselves to the same imputation.*

* The intelligence of the fate of Marshal Ney, was first communicated to Bonaparte at St. Helena by Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland, on which occasion the following conversation, illustrative of this passage of history, took place:—On being informed, says Mr. Warden, that the French news, just received through the medium of the English journals, related principally to the trial and execution of Marshal Ney—"Napoleon advanced a step nearer to me, and, without the least change of countenance, said, 'What—Marshal Ney has been sentenced to be shot.' I replied, it was even so: he addressed the ministers of the allied sovereigns, but in vain: he urged in his defence, the twelfth article of the convention: he pleaded on his trial that he was deceived by you: that the proclamation of which he was accused, and

General Count Lavalette, a relative by marriage of the family of Bonaparte, was the next person of consequence put upon his trial by the French court. Having held the office of director of the posts under the former government, Lavalette took forcible possession of the post-office of Paris in March, when Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, on his way from Elba, and thus, by suppressing the king's proclamation, and circulating the intelligence of the invader's progress, contributed essentially to the re-establishment of his government. Of this crime he was clearly convicted, and sentenced to death as a traitor. The generous interference of Marshal Marmont procured for Madame Lavalette an opportunity of imploring in person the royal clemency, but her petition could not be complied with, and her husband was ordered for execution on Thursday, the 21st of December. What the prayers of Madame Lavalette, poured into the royal ear, could not effect, her skill and courage accomplished; and her husband was indebted for his life to the same stratagem which, in 1621, had rescued Grotius from perpetual imprisonment in the fortress of Louvestein, and in 1716, snatched Lord Nithisdale from the fate that awaited him in the Tower of London. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the day preceding Lavalette's intended execution, his wife, accompanied by her daughter and her governess, repaired to the Conciergerie, in a sedan-chair, for the purpose of dining with her husband. The countess, who had recently been confined, and was still in a bad state of health, came to the prison wrapped up in an ample mantle, and the sedan-chair was permitted to be brought into the room adjoining her husband's apartment. About seven o'clock she prepared to depart, but while the gaoler was despatched on some errand in an adjoining room, she threw her dress in a moment over her husband, and receiving his cloak in exchange, sunk back into his chair, while Lavalette, arrayed in his disguise, quitted the prison, and supported by his daughter and one of the turnkeys, descended to the sedan. No sooner had the chair reached the quay, beyond the gates of the prison,

made a part of the charges against him, was written by Major-general Bertrand; and that he was deceived by your report of Austria and England."—Count Bertrand, who was in the room, quietly observed, that Marshal Ney had a right to save himself if he could; and if fabricated stories would answer his purpose, he could not be blamed for employing them. But he added, "respecting the proclamation, it was an assertion equally false and ridiculous: Marshal Ney could write himself, and wanted not my assistance."—Napoleon made no comments on the account which had been given him.—One solitary expression, indeed, broke from him, and that was—"Marshal Ney was a brave man."—*Letters from St. Helena, by William Warden, p. 119—120.*

than Lavalette stepped into a cabriolet, prepared for the purpose, and after driving about Paris for two hours to prevent all traces by the police, took refuge in the house of one of his friends. In the mean time Madame Lavalette personated her husband, and, with a book before her face, appeared absorbed in meditation. After the lapse of nearly an hour the gaoler spoke to his captive, but receiving no answer, he advanced nearer to the chair, when the lady with a smile, succeeded by strong convulsions, exclaimed—*Il est parti*—He is gone. The alarm was instantly given, but no traces of the fugitive could be discovered. The keeper of the Conciergerie and the turnkey were immediately ordered into custody by the police; and Madame Lavalette was for some time detained in prison, in the same chamber which her husband had occupied, exulting, no doubt, in the success of her enterprise, but still agitated with apprehension regarding its final result. For several days the search after Lavalette was continued with the most unremitting assiduity, but without success; and the enraged ministers, conceiving that he had completely escaped, directed that the criminal should be executed in effigy! Twelve days had now elapsed, and M. Lavalette was in reality still in Paris. To effect his escape from the French territory became an affair of the most extreme difficulty. His friends, placing their hope and confidence in a young Englishman, whose noble mind, and chivalrous character, presented him to them as alone capable of completing that design which Madame Lavalette had so auspiciously begun, addressed a letter on the 2d of January, 1816, to Mr. Crawford Bruce, confiding to him the secret that M. Lavalette was still in Paris, and imploring his friendship and assistance. Moved solely by the commiseration which the fate of the unfortunate man excited, after some deliberation he embarked in the enterprise. The adventure of Lavalette's escape from prison appeared to the glowing mind of Mr. Bruce to have in it something romantic, and even miraculous, which forcibly struck his imagination, and excited in him an interest for the person of the captive. To effect his escape without assistance was impossible; Mr. Bruce, therefore, pressed into this hazardous service Captain Hutchinson, a young officer in the guards, and Sir Robert Wilson, an officer well known in Europe, not only for his military, but also for his literary services, against Bonaparte. Through the agency of these three Englishmen, aided by another military gentleman, of the name of Ellister, Lavalette, disguised in a British uniform, and accompanied by Sir Robert Wilson, left Paris in an open carriage at half-past seven o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 8th of January;

and taking the route of Compeigne, Cambray, and Valenciennes, passed the French frontier at Mons in the forenoon of the following day.

After receiving the assurance of eternal gratitude from Lavalette, Sir Robert Wilson returned to Paris in the evening of the 10th of January. The vigilance of the police, though incapable of preventing the escape of Lavalette, succeeded in discovering his benefactors. These generous men, with a disinterested self-devotion that vulgar minds cannot appreciate, had purchased the plaudits of the present generation, and the admiration of posterity, by a violation of the laws of France: they had consummated the heroic enterprise of Madame Lavalette, and saved the life of her husband, at the price of their own liberty. On the 13th of January, Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Captain Hutchinson, were all arrested, and committed to the Abbaye; and after remaining in that prison till the 22d of April, they were put upon their trial. The accused parties, with a generous emulation worthy of their character, seemed principally anxious to rescue each other from the vengeance of the law, by taking the offence upon themselves. Mr. Bruce said, it was at his instance that Sir Robert Wilson joined in the efforts in favour of Lavalette, and that if there was any person culpable in this business, he was the culpable party. Captain Hutchinson said, he had lent his co-operation for the same object, and both of them avowed that they had not the slightest intention to conspire against the French government. Sir Robert Wilson, like Mr. Bruce and Captain Hutchinson, declared himself wholly unconnected with Lavalette in family or in friendship. Captain Hutchinson, he said, had acted solely under his influence, and Mr. Bruce, in speaking to him of Lavalette, had addressed himself to his heart. No Frenchman was engaged in the affair. Lavalette's case was not, in his opinion, foreign to an Englishman. There existed a convention—the convention of Paris, signed by an English general, and ratified by the English government; and the trial of Lavalette he held to be a manifest violation of the twelfth article of that convention. The political opinions of Lavalette had not at all operated on his mind; his only object had been to save an unhappy man, who had addressed him as the arbiter of his life or death. After a trial continued for two days, the three Englishmen were pronounced guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment—the most lenient punishment allowed by the French laws.*

* When the circumstance of Lavalette's escape came to the knowledge of Napoleon, in his exile, and when he was told how much the fortunate post-master-general was indebted to Sir Robert Wilson for his

No sooner had Louis XVIII. re-ascended the throne of France, than the negotiation of a general treaty of peace with the allied powers began to occupy the attention of his ministry. The treaty of 1814 was simple in its principle, and easy of arrangement in its details ; but the negotiations which now took place involved points of considerable intricacy, and the allied sovereigns declared, that nothing short of a just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future, would satisfy their expectations. For this purpose, bases, much less indulgent than those of the former year, were prescribed by the conquerors. The boundaries of France, as they stood in 1790, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, formed the fundamental principles of the territorial arrangements, and on this point it was determined that the boundaries of former Belgium, of Germany, and of Savoy, which, by the treaty of Paris of 1814, were annexed to France, should now be separated from that kingdom. It was further determined, that France should pay to the allied powers, by way of pecuniary indemnity for the expenses of the last armaments, the sum of seven hundred millions of francs ; and that a line, consisting of seventeen fortresses on the eastern side of the kingdom, should be occupied by one hundred and fifty thousand foreign troops. This army, the primary object of which was the suppression of any revolutionary commotion, was to be placed under the command of a general chosen by the allied sovereigns, and to be wholly maintained at the expense of France. Five years was the time mentioned as the longest duration of this military occupation, with a reservation, that at the end of three years that term might be shortened by the consent of the allied sovereigns, acting in concert with the King of France.

After various declarations and conferences, treaties grounded on these bases were concluded at Paris, on the 20th of November, at which time it was announced to the French minister by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, England, Russia, and Prussia, that the chief command of the troops appointed to remain in France was confided by their sovereigns to Field-

life and liberty, the ex-emperor proposed the following very natural inquiry to Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland :—" Pray can you tell me from what motive this officer has acted in the escape of Lavalette, the decided and avowed friend of the man he has so wantonly calumniated ?"† " Doubtless from honourable motives ; and probably from an adventurous and romantic spirit ;" was the substance of the reply. " I believe every word you have said," cried Napoleon, " but I desire you also to give your particular attention to my opinion, which is a decided one—That this act of Sir Robert Wilson, is the commencement of his recantation of what he has written against me."

† See Vol. I. Book II. p. 546. (*Note.*)

marshal the Duke of Wellington, and that the troops under his command had directions to support the king with their arms against all revolutionary convulsions, tending to overturn by force the state of things actually established.

For the purpose of guaranteeing the tranquillity of the countries bordering on France, it was determined by a military convention, entered into for that purpose, that a proportion of the total sum of seven millions of francs should be appropriated to the erection of fortifications on the frontiers of these states, and that the principal part of the remaining sum should be divided between Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia.*

A treaty of alliance and friendship between the sovereigns of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, concluded and consummated the diplomatic proceedings at Paris, on the 20th of November. The objects of this treaty were to guarantee Europe against the dangers to which she might be exposed from the claims of the fallen dynasty of France—against the prevalence of the revolutionary principles which had so long convulsed that country—and against any attack which might be made on the allied troops appointed to hold military occupation of the French line of fortresses. For the attainment of these objects, the engagements already existing between the allied sovereigns were renewed; and it was determined to consolidate the connection which already existed between them, by re-assembling, at a fixed period, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of these periods should be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

The tone and spirit of these treaties sufficiently indicated the view entertained by the powers of Europe of the unsettled state of France, and the prevailing anxiety felt in the courts of the allied monarchs to secure the authority of legitimate sove-

* Apportionment of the seven hundred millions of francs to be paid by France to the allies :—

For the erection of fortifications on points most exposed to aggression,	- - -	137,500,000 francs
Quota to Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland,	- - -	12,500,000
To Great Britain and Prussia, one hundred and twenty-five millions each,	- - -	250,000,000
To Austria and Russia, one hundred millions each,	- - -	200,000,000
To the Minor states of Germany,	- - -	100,000,000
		<hr/>
		700,000,000

To be discharged day by day, in equal proportions, in the space of five years.

reigns against the influence of popular infraction. But while precautions were adopted to guard the government of France against revolutionary commotions, which might endanger the stability of the throne, and put to hazard the safety of other states, it was intimated to Louis XVIII. by his allies, that he ought to forget the past, in the contemplation of the future, and to secure himself on the throne of his ancestors by the moderation of his conduct, and the justice and equity of his rule.

GENERAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

The allied powers having, by their exertions, and the triumph of their arms, preserved France and Europe from the convulsions with which they were threatened by the late enterprise of Napoleon Bonaparte, and by the revolutionary system introduced into France for its support; as they now participate with his most Christian Majesty in the wish, by the inviolable maintenance of royal dignity, and by restoring the validity of the constitutional charter, to confirm the order happily re-established in France, and to bring back between France and its neighbours those relations, founded upon reciprocal confidence and good will, which the mournful consequences of the revolution and system of conquest had so long interrupted; and as they are convinced that their last object cannot be attained, except by an arrangement calculated to give them just indemnity for the past, and solid security for the future—they have therefore, in common with his Majesty the King of France, deliberated on the means of bringing about such an arrangement; and as they have convinced themselves that the indemnities due to the powers cannot consist wholly either in cessions of territory or in pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France in one way or the other, and that it is better so to unite them as to avoid both disadvantages. Their imperial and royal majesties have therefore taken this as the basis of the present negotiations, and have also agreed upon it as a basis, that it is necessary, during a certain time, to keep the frontier provinces of France occupied by a certain number of the allied troops; and have agreed to unite in a definitive treaty the several dispositions founded upon these bases. In this view, and to this end, his Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, for himself and his allies, on one side, and his Majesty the King of France and Navarre, on the other side, have appointed for their plenipotentiaries to discuss, agree on, and sign the definitive treaty;—(Here are the names and designations of the ministers) their full powers having been exchanged and found in due order, have signed the following articles:—

Art. I.—The frontiers of France remain as they were in 1790, with the exception of the reciprocal modifications in this article.

1. In the North the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris, till opposite Quevorain, thence it goes along the ancient frontiers of the Belgic provinces, of the former bishopric of Liege, and of the duchy of Bouillon, as they were in 1790, so that the territories of Marienburgh and Phillippeville, with the fortresses of the same name, and the whole duchy of Bouillon, remain without the French frontiers. From Villars, by Orval, on the frontiers of the department of the Ardennes, and the duchy of Luxemburg, as far as Perle, on the road leading from Thionville to Treves, the frontier line remains as it was fixed in the treaty of Paris. From Perle it goes over Launsdorf, Wallnich, Schardorf, Nuderweiling, Pelleweller, which places, with their banlieus, all remain to France; to Honore and along the old frontiers of the district of Saarbruck, so that Saarlouis, and the course of the Saar, with the places on the right of the above mentioned line, with their banlieus, will come without the French frontiers. From the frontiers of the district of Saarbruck the frontier line shall be the same which now separates the departments of the Lower Rhine from Germany, as far as to the boundary, to its junction with the Rhine, the whole of the territory lying on the left bank of the Lanta, including the fortresses of Laudan, shall belong to Germany. The town of Weissemberg, however, which is intersected by this river, remains wholly to France, with a rayon on the left bank; this rayon must not exceed 1,000 toises, and will be more particularly determined by the commissioners who will hereafter be appointed to regulate the frontiers.

2. From the mouth of the Lanter along the departments of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, the Doubs, and the Jura, as far as the canton of Vaud, the frontiers remain as they are fixed in the treaty of Paris. The Thalweg of the Rhine shall be the line of separation between France and the German states, but the property of the island, as it will be determined in consequence of a new examination of the course of that river, shall remain unchanged, whatever alterations the course of the river may in process of time undergo. Commissioners shall be appointed within three months by the high contracting powers, on both sides, in order to make the said examination. The half of the bridge between Strasburg and Kehl shall belong to France, and the other half to the grand duchy of Baden.

3. To restore a direct communication between the canton of Geneva and Switzerland, that part of the territory of Gex which is bounded on the east by the Lake of Geneva, on the south by the territory of the canton of Geneva, on the north by the canton of Vaud, and on the west by the course of the Versoix, and a line which comprehends the communes of Collex, Bosoy, and Megreis, but leaves the commune of Ferney to France, is ceded to the Swiss Confederation, and united with the canton of Geneva.

4. From the frontier of the canton of Geneva to the Mediterranean, the frontier line is the same as that which, in 1798, separated France from Savoy and the county of Nice. The relations which the treaty of 1814 had re-established between France and the principality of Monaco, shall for ever cease, and the same relations take place between that principality and the kingdom of Sardinia.

5. All territories and districts included within the frontier of France, as fixed by the present article, remain united to France.

6. The contracting powers shall appoint, within three months after the signature of the present treaty, commissioners to regulate every thing respecting the fixing of the frontiers on both sides, and as soon as

those commissioners have finished their labours, maps shall be made, and frontier posts set up, to make the respective boundaries.

Art. II.—The fortresses and territories which, by the preceding article, are no longer to belong to the French territory, will be given up to the allied powers, in the period specified in the military convention, annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty; and his Majesty the King of France renounces for ever, for himself, his heirs, and successors, the rights of sovereignty and property which he hitherto exercised over the said fortresses and territories.

Art. III.—As the fortifications of Huningen have always been a ground of uneasiness to the city of Basle, the high contracting powers, to give to Switzerland a fresh proof of their care and good will, have agreed, among themselves, to have the fortifications of Huningen razed, and the French government engages, for the same reasons, never to repair them, and not to erect any other fortifications within three leagues of the city of Balse.

The neutrality of Switzerland shall be extended to that piece of territory which lies north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, that place included, on the south of the Lake of Annecy, over Faverge, (in the Bremen Gazette, *la Verve*,) to Lecheroine, and from thence to the Lake of Bourget and the Rhone, in the same manner as is fixed by the twenty-second article of the final act of the congress of Vienna, in respect to the province of Chablais and Fancigny.

The troops, therefore, which the King of Sardinia may have in these provinces, whenever the powers adjacent to Switzerland are in a state of open hostility, or are on the eve of such a state, shall retire, and may for that purpose take, in case of need, the way over the Vallois; but no armed troops of any other power can pass through, or be stationed in, the above provinces, except such as Switzerland thinks fit to send thither; but this state of things must not hinder the administration of these countries, as the civil officers of the King of Sardinia may employ the municipal guard for the maintenance of good order.

Art. IV.—That part of the indemnity to be given by France to the allied powers, which consists in money, is fixed to the sum of seven hundred millions of francs. The manner, the periods, and the securities, of the payment of this sum, shall be regulated by a separate convention, which shall be equally valid and binding as if they were inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V.—As the state of confusion and fermentation which France necessarily feels after so many violent convulsions, and particularly after the late catastrophe, notwithstanding the paternal intentions of the king, and the advantages which all classes of the subjects necessarily derive from the constitutional charter, makes some measures of precaution and temporary guarantee necessary, for the security of the neighbouring states, it has been considered as absolutely requisite to occupy, for a fixed time, positions along the frontiers of France,

by a corps of allied troops, under the express reservation that this occupation shall not infringe on the sovereignty of his most Christian Majesty, nor on the state of possession, as fixed by this treaty; the number of troops shall not exceed 150,000: the commander-in-chief is named by the allied powers. This army will occupy Conde, Valenciennes, Bouchain, Cambray, Quesnoy, Maubeuge, Landrecies, Avesnes, Rocroy, Givet, with Charlemont, Mezieres, Montmedy, Thionville, Longwy, Bitsch, and the tete de pont of Fort Louis. As France is to provide for the maintenance of this army, every thing relative to this object shall be regulated in a separate convention. In this convention, which shall be as valid as if inserted word for word in this treaty, the relations shall be fixed between the occupying army, and the civil and military authorities of the country. This military occupation cannot last above five years, and may end before that period, if the allied sovereigns, after an expiration of three years, and after they have first, in agreement with the King of France, maturely weighed the situation and mutual interest, as well as the progress which the re-establishment of order and peace may have made in France, shall recognize in common that the motives which induced this measure no longer exist.—But, whatever may be the result of this deliverance, all the places and positions occupied by the allied troops will, at the expiration of five years, be evacuated without further delay, and given up to his most Christian Majesty, or his heirs and successors.

Art. VI.—All the other foreign troops, not belonging to the army of occupation, shall quit the French territory in the periods fixed in the military convention annexed to the ninth article of the present treaty.

Art. VII.—In all countries which shall change sovereigns, as well in virtue of the present treaty as of the arrangements which are to be made in consequence thereof, a period of six years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications shall be allowed to the inhabitants, natives or foreigners, of whatever condition and nation they may be, to dispose of their property, if they should think fit so to do, and to retire to whatever country they may choose.

Art. VIII.—All the dispositions of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, relative to the countries ceded by that treaty, shall equally apply to the several territories and districts ceded by the present treaty.

Art. IX.—The high contracting parties having caused representation to be made of the different claims arising out of the non-execution of the nineteenth and following articles of the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, as well as of the addi-

tional articles of that treaty signed between Great Britain and France, desiring to render more efficacious the stipulations made thereby, and having determined by two separate conventions, the line to be pursued on each side for that purpose, the said two conventions, as annexed to the present treaty, shall, in order to secure complete execution of the above-mentioned articles, have the same force and effect as if the same were inserted word for word herein.

Art. X.—All prisoners taken during the hostilities, as well as all hostages which may have been carried off or given, shall be restored in the shortest time possible. The same shall be the case with respect to the prisoners taken previously to the treaty of the 30th of May, 1814, and who shall not already have been restored.

Art. XI.—The treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the final act of the congress of Vienna of the 9th of June, 1815, are confirmed, and shall be maintained in all such of their enactments which shall not have been modified by the articles of the present treaty.

Art. XII.—The present treaty, with the conventions annexed thereto, shall be ratified in one act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L. S.) WELLINGTON.

(L. S.) RICHELIEU.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

The high contracting powers, sincerely desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and having, each in their respective dominions, prohibited without restriction their colonies and subjects from taking any part whatever in this traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the declaration of the 4th of February, 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their ministers at the courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature. The present additional article shall have the same force and effect as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty signed this day. It shall be in-

cluded in the ratification of the said treaty. In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.*

Done at Paris this 20th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1815.

(Signed)

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.

(L. S.) WELLINGTON.

(L. S.) RICHELIEU.

* DECLARATION

Of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Sovereigns, regarding the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The plenipotentiaries of the powers who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, met in conference, having taken into consideration that the commerce, known by the name of the African Slave Trade, has been viewed by just and enlightened men in all ages, as repugnant to principles of humanity and universal morality; that the particular circumstances to which that commerce owed its birth, and the difficulty of suddenly interrupting its course, served to cover to a certain extent the odiousness of its continuance; but that the public voice has at length been raised in every civilized country, demanding that it should be suppressed as soon as possible; that since the character and the details of this commerce have been better known, and the evils of every kind which accompany it completely unveiled, several European governments have adopted the resolution of putting a stop to it; and that successively all the powers possessing colonies in the different parts of the world, have recognized, either by legislative acts, or by treaties and other formal engagements, the obligation and the necessity of abolishing it; that by a separate article of the last treaty of Paris, Great Britain and France engaged to join their efforts at the congress of Vienna, to cause to be pronounced by all the powers of Christendom, the universal and definitive abolition of the Slave Trade; that the plenipotentiaries assembled in the congress could not more honour their mission, fulfil their duty, and manifest the principles which guide their august sovereigns, than in labouring to realize that engagement, and in proclaiming, in the name of their sovereigns, the desire of putting a termination to a scourge which has so long afflicted Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity: the said plenipotentiaries have agreed to open their deliberations as to the means of accomplishing this grand and useful object, by a solemn declaration of the principles which have directed them in that undertaking. In consequence, and duly authorised by this act of unanimous adhesion of their respective courts to the principle announced in the said separate article of the treaty of Paris, they declare in the face of Europe, that, regarding the universal abolition of the Trade in Negroes as a measure particularly worthy of their attention, conformably to the spirit of the age, and the generous principles of their august sovereigns, they are animated with the sincere desire of concurring in the most prompt and efficacious execution of this measure by all the means in their power, and to act in the employment of these means with all the zeal and all the perseverance which they owe to so great and so good a cause.

Too well acquainted, however, with the sentiments of their respective sovereigns, not to foresee, that however honourable their object, they will not pursue it without a just regard for the interests, the habits, and even the prejudices of their subjects; the said plenipotentiaries recog-

SEPERATE ARTICLE SIGNED WITH RUSSIA ALONE.

In execution of the additional article of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty engages to send, without delay, to Warsaw, one or more commissioners, to concur in his name, according to the terms of the said article, in the examination and liquidation of the reciprocal claims of France and the late duchy of Warsaw, and in all the arrangements relative to them. His most Christian Majesty recognizes, in respect to the Emperor of Russia, in his quality of King of Poland, the nullity of the convention of Bayonne, well understood that this disposition cannot receive any application but conformably to the principles established in the conventions mentioned in the ninth article of the treaty of this day. The present separate article has the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of this day. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at the same time. In testimony whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed it, and affixed to it the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, year of grace, 1815.

[The Signatures.]

TREATY OF ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA,

Signed at Paris, the 20th of November, 1815.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The purpose of the alliance concluded at Vienna, the 25th day of March, 1815, having been happily attained by the re-establishment in France of the order of things which the last criminal attempt of Napoleon Bonaparte had momentarily subverted; their Majesties, the King of the United Kingdom of Great

nizing, at the same time, that this general declaration shall not prejudice the term which each particular power may view as the most agreeable for the definitive abolition of the Negro Trade. Consequently, the determination of the epoch when this commerce is to cease universally, shall be an object of negociation between the powers; understanding always, that no proper means shall be neglected of assuring and accelerating its march, and that the reciprocal engagement contracted by the present declaration between the sovereigns who are parties to it, shall not be considered as fulfilled till the moment when complete success shall have crowned their united efforts. In publishing this declaration to all Europe, and all the civilized nations of the earth, the said plenipotentiaries flatter themselves that they will induce all other governments, and especially those who, in abolishing the Negro Slave Trade, manifested the same sentiments, to support them with their suffrage, in a cause of which the final triumph will be one of the fairest monuments of the age which shall have embraced it, and brought it to a glorious termination.

Vienna, February 4, 1815.

Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the King of Prussia, considering that the repose of Europe is essentially interwoven with the confirmation of the order of things founded on the maintenance of the royal authority, and of the constitutional charter, and wishing to employ all their means to prevent the general tranquillity (the object of the wishes of mankind, and the constant end of their efforts) from being again disturbed; desirous moreover to draw closer the ties which unite them for the common interests of their people; have resolved to give to the principles solemnly laid down in the treaties of Chaumont of the 1st of March, 1814, and of Vienna, of the 25th of March, 1815, the application the most analagous to the present state of affairs, and to fix beforehand, by a solemn treaty, the principles which they propose to follow, in order to guarantee Europe from the dangers by which she may still be menaced; for which purpose the high contracting parties have named to discuss, settle, and sign the conditions of this treaty, namely,—[Here follow the names and titles of the plenipotentiaries, viz. Lord Castlereagh, Duke of Wellington, Prince of Metternich, and Baron of Wessenberg]—who, after having exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

Art. I.—The high contracting parties reciprocally promise to maintain, in its force and vigour, the treaty signed this day with his most Christian Majesty, and to see that the stipulations of the said treaty, as well as those of the particular conventions which have reference thereto, shall be strictly and faithfully executed in their fullest extent.

Art. II.—The high contracting parties, having engaged in the war which is just terminated, for the purpose of maintaining inviolable the arrangements settled at Paris last year, for the safety and interest of Europe, have judged it advisable to renew the said engagements by the present act, and to confirm them as mutually obligatory, subject to the modifications contained in the treaty signed this day with the plenipotentiaries of his most Christian Majesty, and particularly those by which Napoleon Bonaparte and his family, in pursuance of the treaty of the 11th of April, 1814, have been for ever excluded from supreme power in France, which exclusion the contracting powers bind themselves, by the present act, to maintain in full vigour, and should it be necessary, with the whole of their forces. And as the same revolutionary principles which upheld the last criminal usurpation, might again, under other forms, convulse France, and thereby endanger the repose of other states; under these circumstances, the high contracting parties, solemnly admitting it to be their duty to redouble their watchfulness for the tranquillity and interests of their people, engage, in case so unfortunate an event should again occur, to concert among themselves, and with his most Christian Majesty, the measures which they may judge necessary to be pursued for the safety of their respective states, and for the general tranquillity of Europe.

Art. III.—The high contracting parties, in agreeing with his most Christian Majesty that a line of military position in France should

be occupied by a corps of the allied troops during a certain number of years, had in view to secure, as far as lay in their power, the effect of the stipulations contained in articles one and two of the present treaty, and uniformly disposed to adopt every salutary measure calculated to secure the tranquillity of Europe, by maintaining the order of things re-established in France, they engage, that in case the said body of troops should be attacked, or menaced with an attack, on the part of France, that the said powers should be again obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that power, in order to maintain either of the said stipulations, or to secure and support the great interest to which they relate, each of the high contracting parties shall furnish, without delay, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Chaumont, and especially in pursuance of the seventh and eighth articles of this treaty, its full contingent of sixty thousand men, in addition to the forces left in France, or such part of the said contingent as the exigency of the case may require should be put in motion.

Art. IV.—If, unfortunately, the forces stipulated in the preceding article should be found insufficient, the high contracting parties will concert together, without loss of time, as to the additional number of troops to be furnished by each for the support of the common cause; and they engage to employ, in case of need, the whole of their forces, in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, reserving to themselves the right to prescribe, by common consent, such conditions of peace as shall hold out to Europe a sufficient guarantee against the recurrence of a similar calamity.

Art. V.—The high contracting parties having agreed to the dispositions laid down in the preceding articles, for the purpose of securing the effect of their engagements during the period of the temporary occupation, declare, moreover, that even after the expiration of this measure, the said engagements shall still remain in full force and vigour, for the purpose of carrying into effect such measures as may be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the stipulations contained in the articles one and two of the present act.

Art. VI.—To facilitate and to secure the execution of the present treaty, and to consolidate the connections which at the present moment so closely unite the four sovereigns for the happiness of the world, the high contracting parties have agreed to renew their meeting at fixed periods, either under the immediate auspices of the sovereigns themselves, or by their respective ministers, for the purpose of consulting upon their common interests, and for the consideration of the measures which at each of those periods shall be considered the most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.

Art. VII.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged within two months, or sooner, if possible.—In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it, and fixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at Paris, the 20th of November, A. D. 1815.

(Signed)

(L. S.) CASTLEREAGH.
(L. S.) WELLINGTON.
(L. S.) METTERNICH.
(L. S.) WESSENBURG.

NOTE.—Similar treaties were signed on the same day by the plenipotentiaries of his Majesty, with those of the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, respectively.

Europe
According to the
GENERAL TREATY OF VIENNA
1815



British Statute Miles

Meridian of Greenwich

CHAPTER XI.

Retrospect of the Epochs of the Wars of the French Revolution from the Rupture of the Treaty of Amiens to the Conclusion of a General Peace—Remarks on the General Treaty of Vienna—Copy of that Treaty.

DURING the eventful interval between the breaking out of that tremendous convulsion, the French revolution, in 1789, and the final adjustment of the affairs of Europe, at the congress of Vienna, in 1815, a generation of men, and more than a race of sovereigns, have passed away. The first grand division of this important portion of history is formed by the peace of Amiens, and the epochs of the war up to that period have already passed in rapid review.*

The interval of peace was of short duration. Mutual confidence, the main ingredient in all compacts between nations, was wanting; and little more than twelve months passed over between the ratification of the treaty of Amiens and the new war by which it was succeeded. For upwards of two years the contest was carried on between France and Great Britain single-handed; and within that period, the consular government in France, which had been erected upon the ruins of the republic, gave place to the imperial dignity, and Napoleon, under favour of public suffrage, became Emperor of France, to which was soon after added the title of King of Italy.

Awakened to a sense of the magnitude of the danger with which French aggrandizement menaced surrounding states, the imperial courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna became parties to a league with England, the avowed object of which was the establishment of an order of things in Europe which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations. This coalition, sharing the fate of those by which it was preceded in the revolutionary wars, was dissolved on the field of Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg once more prostrated continental Europe at the feet of the conqueror. In the same year, British prowess annihilated the naval power of France and Spain in the ever memorable battle of Trafalgar, where Nelson fell in the arms of victory, leaving to his beloved country, as his last legacy, the uncontrolled dominion of the seas. The following year numbered with the dead two of the most distinguished statesmen that ever figured in British history, and left the political arena open to the contentions of

* See Vol. II. Book II. p. 186.

those who, during the life of the great leaders, had been satisfied to move in their respective trains.

Prussia, with the hopes of retrieving the fallen fortunes of the house of Brandenburg, at the expense of neighbouring states, accepted Hanover from France, and consented to close her ports against Great Britain. But an union dictated by fear, and cemented by cupidity, necessarily proved of short duration, and the discovery that France had offered to the King of England, as the price of peace, the complete restoration of his electoral dominions, induced Frederick William once more to take up arms against his powerful, but treacherous ally. The field of Jena, where the last stake of Prussia was thrown for, witnessed the complete prostration of that kingdom; and the battles of Eylau and Friedland, followed by the treaty of Tilsit, produced an imperial union, formed between Napoleon and Alexander on the waters of the Niemen.

The power of the Emperor Napoleon, and the splendour of his reign, had now attained their zenith. Allied by solemn treaties to the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; possessing an extent of dominion in the heart of Europe unknown to his predecessors; and fortified in his power by a confederation of princes more numerous than were ever before engaged in the support of any throne of modern times; the power of Napoleon seemed founded upon a rock, against which the billows of adverse fortune might beat in vain. But ambition, like its kindred vice, avarice, knows no bounds; in an evil hour, the sceptre of Spain, wielded as it was by a weak and irresolute hand, attracted the notice of Napoleon, and was marked out as the destined prize for a member of his family.

Austria, whose strength had been broken by the disasters of Ulm and Austerlitz, and whose dominion and resources had been curtailed by the peace of Presburg, resolved to convert to her advantages the war in which France was engaged with the patriots of Spain, aided by the powerful co-operation of Great Britain, and by a grand effort to regain her independence and power. With this purpose she once more took the field; but Napoleon, whose strength was yet unbroken, and whose vigilance never slumbered, quitting Spain, appeared, as if by enchantment, in the capital of the Huns, and the battle of Wagram, succeeded by the peace of Vienna, closed the fourth Punic war.

The terms of this treaty, when promulgated to the world, we thought liberal in the extreme; but a subsequent event sufficiently explained the cause of the conqueror's moderation, and to the astonishment of the world, a daughter of one of

the descendants of the Cæsars soon shared with the French Emperor the splendour of this throne. Placed in a station that dazzled by its splendour, as much as it endangered by its elevation, Napoleon began to draw closer the shackles of despotism, with which his own subjects had long been manacled. And actuated by a strong antipathy against England, which had now become the most prominent feature of his policy, he endeavoured to extend his system of commercial interdiction over every state of the continent, and to deprive the great European family of the advantages and enjoyments derived from foreign intercourse. For the achievement of this insane project, he plunged into the heart of Russia, at an advanced season of the year, at the head of the finest army that the world ever beheld. Here the elements warred against the invader, and, in his own emphatic language, he ought to have died the day he entered Moscow. From that moment disaster has been his continual companion, and from the Moskwa to the Vistula, the track of his retreating army was written in characters of blood. The French army indeed perished, though its chief, by an energy almost supernatural, effected his escape from the field of horrors to the French capital.

Another campaign, accompanied by combats the most sanguinary, served to extinguish the power of France in Germany; and Holland, Italy, and Spain, in the same year, expelled the invaders, and obtained their independence. A third campaign placed the allied armies in possession of the French capital, and transferred the sceptre of Napoleon from Paris to Porto Ferrajo. On the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his fathers, the principal sovereigns of Europe, attended by their own ministers, and by plenipotentiaries from other states, assembled at Vienna, to adjust in congress the complicated affairs of Europe. While this august assembly was still sitting, and when expedients were devising for placing the Emperor of Elba in a situation less hazardous to the public tranquillity than that which he then occupied, that extraordinary personage again appeared on the stage of his former greatness, and on debarking from his vessel, with an audacity peculiarly his own, declared the congress to be dissolved! Astonishment and dismay filled all Europe; and the people of France, with a mixed feeling of surprise and returning attachment, suffered him to march at the head of the army, by which he was speedily joined, from the coast to the capital, and once more to possess himself of the throne, which Louis, under the alarm of the general defection, had judged it proper to vacate. One hundred days was the duration of the second reign of Napoleon; and on the field of Waterloo

he saw his laurels wither, after a well-fought day, before the skill and energy of the hero of the peninsula, and the *vainqueur du vainqueur de la terre*. Following in the victorious train of the allied armies, the head of the Bourbon race was once more reinstated on the throne of France, and the political life of Napoleon terminated in the island of St. Helena.

In the midst of the din of arms the congress continued its deliberations ; and on the 9th of June, some days before the decisive battle in Flanders, a general treaty was signed at Vienna. By this treaty, which embraced in one common transaction the various results of the negociations of the congress, nearly the whole of the smaller states of Europe, as well as some of the larger, were cast in a new mould. The numerous changes which the successive rulers of France had introduced into the old continental system of territorial arrangement, were abrogated, and other changes, scarcely less important, were effected, for the purpose of giving to the different states of Europe a just equilibrium, and a proper share of political power.

The hope that Poland would be erected into an independent kingdom, governed by its own laws, and ruled by a sovereign free from foreign control, expired with the promulgation of the general treaty of Vienna. The duchy of Warsaw, with a few exceptions, was, by the provisions of this treaty, irrevocably united to the Russian empire, and the Emperor Alexander assumed with his other titles that of Czar King of Poland ; but in order to soothe the wounded feelings of the Poles, a promise was held out, that the respective Polish subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, should obtain representative governments and national institutions.

The Emperor Napoleon, in the plenitude of his power, wishing to remain master of the west of Europe, exerted his utmost influence to drive back Russia, and to place her frontier not merely beyond the Vistula, but behind the Niemen. For this purpose the duchy of Warsaw was erected, and the Poles were amused with the expectation that they were destined once more to become a nation. A very different policy actuated the proceedings of the congress of Vienna ; by the accession of the duchy of Warsaw, Russia was permitted to plant herself on the borders of East Prussia, to touch the frontiers of Austria, and to establish herself in the centre of Europe. The apprehensions entertained of French ascendancy during the reign of Bonaparte, was, without doubt, well grounded, but the danger to neighbouring states from the continually increasing power of Russia, when at any future time

the sceptre of the czars may be swayed by an ambitious sovereign, though more remote, is not less substantial.

The cessions made to Prussia by Saxony, Austria, and Hanover, have swelled the dominions of Frederick William to an extent unknown in Prussian history, and the acquisitions she has now to boast, had placed Prussia in the first rank of European states. The territories ceded by Austria and Hanover were voluntary transfers, made by mutual consent, and were unattended by any difficulty, either on the part of the sovereigns or of their people; but in the duchy of Saxony the case was widely different; the king, whose paternal sway had endeared him to his subjects by all the ties of an ardent loyalty, made the surrender demanded of him with extreme reluctance, and the Saxon people passed under the Prussian yoke with a feeling towards their new sovereign amounting almost to detestation.

The annexation of the ancient united provinces of the Netherlands to the late Belgic provinces, serve to create a new kingdom in Europe, under the sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Nassau, King of the Netherlands, and will revive an union which existed in former times with reciprocal advantage.

The territories acquired by Austria from the treaty of Vienna, extend over the Tyrol and the northern part of Italy, and contribute to restore the dilapidated dominion of the head of the Germanic body to their ancient splendour and extent.

The system of policy which suggested the propriety of equalizing the dominions of the greater powers of Europe, and consolidating and uniting the smaller states, led to the determination to suffer the dominions of the ancient republic of Genoa to merge into the kingdom of Sardinia. And it was in pursuance of these arrangements that Hanover was erected into a kingdom; and that the Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neufchatel, were united to Switzerland.

In perusing the articles of this voluminous treaty, with which, like the congress of Vienna, we shall, for the present, close our historical labours, it will be observed, that a very laudable desire has existed on the part of the allied powers to extend the privileges, and secure the liberty, of the people. The guarantees respecting a representative form of government, the institution of trial by jury, and the provisions for the liberty of the press, will rank among this number; and if any cause of regret exists upon these points, it will arise from the consideration that these salutary provisions are not general, and that they do not form a distinct and prominent fea-

ture of the treaty. In one respect, however, all Europe must be inclined to applaud, not only the general principles, but also the particular provisions of the treaty of Vienna; and when perfect liberty of conscience, and a complete equality of rights, to christians of all religious denominations, are proclaimed, it is fair to infer, that sovereigns, as well as their subjects, are advancing in the knowledge and love of just and liberal sentiments on religious liberty. In all ages, and in all countries, despotism has been greatly supported by religious intolerance; but now, when the shackles of superstition and bigotry are beginning to burst under the expansion of royal intellect, political intolerance must gradually subside, and sovereigns will acknowledge, with the enlightened Fenelon, that the principal object of society is the general happiness, and that the people do not exist for a few individuals, but that rulers exist for the people.

GENERAL TREATY,

SIGNED IN CONGRESS AT VIENNA, JUNE 9TH, 1815.

In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The powers who signed the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814, having assembled at Vienna, in pursuance of the thirty-second article of that act, with the princes and states their allies, to complete the provisions of the said treaty, and to add to them the arrangements rendered necessary by the state in which Europe was left at the termination of the last war, being now desirous to embrace in one common transaction the various results of their negociations, for the purpose of confirming them by their reciprocal ratifications, have authorised their plenipotentiaries to unite in a general instrument the regulations of superior and permanent interest, and to join to that act, as integral parts of the arrangements of congress, the treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts, as cited in the present treaty. And the above-mentioned powers having appointed plenipotentiaries to the congress, that is to say—

[Here follow the names of the plenipotentiaries, in the same order as the signatures at the end.]

Such of the above plenipotentiaries as have assisted at the close of the negociations, after having produced their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed to place in the said general instrument the following articles, and to affix to them their signatures.

Art. I.—The duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the

following articles, is united to the Russian empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs, and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this state, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior improvements which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions.

The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria; and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions, regulated according to the decree of political consideration, that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them.

Art. II.—The part of the duchy of Warsaw which his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess in full sovereignty and property, for himself, his heirs, and successors, under the title of the grand duchy of Posen, shall be comprised within the following line :—

Proceeding from the frontier of Eastern Prussia to the village of Neuhoﬀ, the new limit shall follow the frontier of Western Prussia, such as it subsisted from 1772 to the peace of Tilsit, to the village of Leibitsch, which shall belong to the duchy of Warsaw ; from thence shall be drawn a line, which, leaving Kompania, Grabowice, and Szczytno to Prussia, passes the Vistula near the last-mentioned place, from the other side of the river, which falls into the Vistula opposite Szczytno, to the ancient limit of the district of the Netze, near Gross Opoczko, so that Sluzewo shall belong to the duchy, and Przyranowa, Hollander, and Maciejewo, to Prussia. From Gross Opoczko it shall pass by Chlewiska, which shall remain to Prussia, to the village of Przybyslaw, and from thence by the villages of Piaski, Chelmce, Witowiczki, Kobylinka, Woyczyn, Orchowa, to the town of Powidz. From Powidz it shall continue by the town of Slupce to the point of confluence of the rivers Wartha and Prosna. From this point it shall re-ascend the course of the river Prosna to the village of Koscielnawies, to within one league of the town of Kalisch. Then leaving to that town (on the side of the left bank of the Prosna) a semi-circular territory measured upon the distance from Koscielnawies to Kalisch, the line shall return to the course of the Prosna, and shall continue to follow it, re-ascending by the towns of Grabow, Wieruszow, Boleslawiee, so as to terminate near the village of Gola, upon the frontier of Silesia opposite Pitschin.

Art. III.—His imperial and royal apostolic majesty shall

possess, in full property and sovereignty, the salt mines of Wieliczka, and the territory thereto belonging.

Art. IV.—The way or bed of the Vistula shall separate Gallicia from the territory of the free town of Cracow. It shall serve at the same time as the frontier between Gallicia and that part of the ancient duchy of Warsaw united to the states of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, as far as the vicinity of the town of Zavichost. From Zavichost to the Bug, the dry frontier shall be determined by the line drawn in the treaty of Vienna of 1809, excepting such modifications as by common consent may be thought necessary to be introduced. The frontier from the Bug shall be re-established on this side between the two empires, such as it was before the said treaty.

Art. V.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias cedes to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty the districts which have been separated from Eastern Gallicia in consequence of the treaty of Vienna of 1809, from the circles of Złozow, Brzesan, Tarnopole, and Zalesczk; and the frontiers on this side shall be re-established such as they were before the date of the said treaty.

Art. VI.—The town of Cracow, with its territory, is declared for ever to be a free, independent, and strictly neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

Art. VII.—The territory of the free town of Cracow shall have for its frontier upon the left bank of the Vistula, a line, which, beginning at the spot near the village of Wolica, where a stream falls into the Vistula, shall ascend this stream by Clo, and Koscielniki, as far as Czulice, so that these villages may be included in the district of the free town of Cracow; from thence passing along the frontiers of these villages, the line shall continue by Dziekanovice, Garlice, Tomaszou, Karniowice, which shall also remain in the territory of Cracow, to the point where the limit begins which separates the district of Krzeszowice from that of Olkusz; from thence it shall follow this limit between the two said provinces, till it reaches the frontiers of Silesian Prussia.

Art. VIII.—His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, wishing particularly to facilitate as much as possible on his part, the commercial relations and good neighbourhood between Gallicia and the free towns of Cracow, grants for ever to the town of Podgorze the privileges of a free commercial town, such as are enjoyed by the town of Brody. This liberty of commerce shall extend to a distance of five hundred toises from the barrier of the suburbs of the town of Podgorze. In consequence of this perpetual concession, which, nevertheless,

shall not affect the rights of sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, the Austrian custom houses shall be established only in places situated beyond that limit. No military establishment shall be formed that can menace the neutrality of Cracow, or obstruct the liberty of commerce which his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty grants to the town and district of Podgorze.

Art. IX.—The courts of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, engage to respect, and to cause to be always respected, the neutrality of the free town of Cracow and its territory. No armed force shall be introduced upon any pretence whatever. On the other hand it is understood, and expressly stipulated, that no asylum shall be afforded in the free town and territory of Cracow, to fugitives, deserters, and persons under prosecution, belonging to the country of either of the high powers aforesaid; and in the event of the demand of their surrender by the competent authorities, such individuals shall be arrested and given up without delay, and conveyed, under a proper escort, to the guard appointed to receive them at the frontier.

Art. X.—The dispositions of the constitution of the free towns of Cracow, concerning the academy, the bishopric and chapter of that town, such as they are specified in the seventh, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth articles of the additional treaty relative to Cracow, which is annexed to the present general treaty, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted in this act.

Art. XI.—A full, general, and special amnesty shall be granted in favour of all individuals, of whatever rank, sex, or condition they may be.

Art. XII.—In consequence of the preceding article, no person in future shall be prosecuted or disturbed, in any manner, by reason of any participation, direct or indirect, at any time, in the political, civil, or military events in Poland. All proceedings, suits, or prosecutions, are considered as null, the sequestrations and provisional confiscations shall be taken off, and every act promulgated on this ground shall be of no effect.

Art. XIII.—From these general regulations on the subject of confiscations are excepted all those cases in which edicts or sentences, finally pronounced, have already been fully executed, and have not been annulled by subsequent events.

Art. XIV.—The principles established for the free navigation of rivers and canals, in the whole extent of ancient Poland, as well as for the trade to the ports, for the circulation of articles the growth and produce of the different Polish provinces, and for the commerce, relative to goods in transitu,

such as they are specified in the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Austria and Russia, and in the twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth articles of the treaty between Russia and Prussia, shall be invariably maintained.

Art. XV.—His Majesty the King of Saxony renounces in perpetuity, for himself, and all his descendants and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, all his right and title to the provinces, districts, and territories, or parts of territories, of the kingdom of Saxony, hereafter named ; and his Majesty the King of Prussia shall possess those countries in complete sovereignty and property, and shall unite them to his monarchy. The districts and territories thus ceded, shall be separated from the rest of the kingdom of Saxony by a line, which henceforth shall form the frontier between the Prussian and Saxon territories, so that all that is comprised in the limit formed by this line, shall be restored to his Majesty the King of Saxony ; but his majesty renounces all those districts and territories that are situated beyond that line, and which belonged to him before the war.

The line shall begin from the frontiers of Bohemia near Wiese, in the neighbourhood of Scidenberg, following the stream of the river Wittich, until its junction with the Neisse. From the Neisse it shall pass to the circle of Eigen, between Tauchritz, which shall belong to Prussia, and Bortschoff, which shall remain to Saxony ; then it shall follow the northern frontier of the circle of Eigen, to the angle between Pulsdorf and Ober-Schland ; thence it shall be continued to the limits that separate the circle of Gorlitz from that of Bautzen, in such a manner that Ober-Mettel and Neider-Schland-Olich, and Radewitz, remain in the possession of Saxony. The great post-road between Gorlitz and Bautzen shall belong to Prussia, as far as the limits of the said circles. Then the line shall follow the frontier of the circle to Dubraucke, it shall then extend upon the heights to the right of the Lobauer-Wasser, so that this rivulet, with its two banks, and the places upon them, as far as Neudorf, shall remain, with this village, to Saxony. The line shall then fall again upon the Spree, and the Schwarz-Wasser, Liska, Hermsdorf, Ketten, and Solahdorf, are assigned to Prussia. From the Schwarze-Elster, near Solchdorf, a right line shall be drawn to the frontier of the lordship of Königsbruck, near Grossgrabchen. This lordship remains to Saxony, and the line shall follow its northern boundary as far as the bailiwick of Grossenhayn, in the neighbourhood of Ortrand ; Ortrand, and the road from that place by Mersdorf, Stolzenhayn, and Grobeln, to Muhlberg, (with the villages on that road, so that no part of it remain beyond the Prussian territory) shall be under the government of Prussia. The frontier from Grobeln shall be traced to the Elbe near Fichtenberg, and then shall follow the bailiwick of Muhlberg. Fichtenberg shall be the property of Prussia. From the Elbe to the frontier of the country of Merseburg, it shall be so regulated that the bailiwicks of Torgau, Eilenburg, and Delitsch, shall pass to Prussia, while those of Oschatz, Wurzen, and Leipzig, shall remain to Saxony. The line shall follow the frontier of these bailiwicks, dividing some inclosures and demi-inclosures. The road from Muhlberg to

Eilenburg shall be wholly within the Prussian territory. From Podelwitz (belonging to the bailiwick of Leipzig, and remaining to Saxony) as far as Eytra, which also remains to her, the line shall divide the country of Meresburg in such a manner that Breitenfeld, Haenichen, Gross, and Klein-Dolzig, Mark-Ranstadt, and Knaut-Nauendorf, remain to Saxony; and Modelwitz, Skeuditz, Klein-Liebenau, Alt Ramstadt, Schkohlen, and Zietschen, pass to Prussia. From thence the line shall divide the bailiwick of Pegau, between the Floss-graben, and the Weisse-Elster; the former, from the point where it separates itself above the town of Crossen (which forms part of the bailiwick of Haynsburg) from the Weisse-Elster, to the point where it joins the Saale below the town of Merseburg, shall belong, in its whole course between those two towns, with both its banks, to the Prussian territory. From thence, where the frontier touches upon that of the country of Zeitz, the line shall follow it as far as the boundary of the country of Altenburg, near Luckau. The frontiers of the circle of Neustadt, which wholly falls under the dominion of Prussia, remain untouched. The inclosures of Voigtland, in the district of Reuss, that is to say, Gefall, Blintendorf, Sparenberg, and Blankenberg, are comprised in the share of Prussia.

Art. XVI.—The provinces and districts of the kingdom of Saxony, which are transferred to the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, shall be distinguished by the name of the duchy of Saxony, and his majesty shall add to his titles those of Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Thuringia, Margrave of the two Lusatias, and Count of Henneberg. His Majesty the King of Saxony shall continue to bear the title of Margrave of Upper Lusatia. His majesty shall also continue, with relation to, and in virtue of, his right of eventual succession to the possessions of the Ernestine branch, to bear the title of Landgrave of Thuringia, and Count of Henneberg.

Art. XVII.—Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and France, guarantee to his Majesty the King of Prussia, his descendants and successors, the possession of the countries marked out in the fifteenth article, in full property and sovereignty.

Art. XVIII.—His imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, wishing to give to the King of Prussia a fresh proof of his desire to remove every object of future discussion between their two courts, renounces for himself and his successors, his rights of sovereignty over the margraviates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, which belonged to him as King of Bohemia, as far as these rights concern the portion of these provinces placed under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by virtue of the treaty with his Majesty the King of Saxony, concluded at Vienna on the 18th of May, 1813.

As to the right of reversion of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty to the said portion of the Lusatias united to Prussia, it is transferred to the house of Brandenburg now reigning in Prussia, his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty reserving to himself and his successors the power of resuming that right, in the event of the extinction of the said reigning house. His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty renounces also, in favour of his Prussian Majesty, the districts of Bohemia

inclosed within the part of Upper Lusatia ceded by the treaty of the 18th of May, 1815, to his Prussian Majesty, which districts comprehended the places of Guntersdorf, Taubentrante, Neukretschen, Nieder-Gerlachsheim, Winkel, and Ginkel, with their territories.

Art. XIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, wishing particularly to remove every object of future contest or dispute, renounce, each on his own part, and reciprocally in favour of one another, all feudal rights or pretensions, which they might exercise or might have exercised, beyond the frontiers fixed by the present treaty.

Art. XX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia promises to direct that proper care be taken, relative to whatever may affect the property and interests of the respective subjects, upon the most liberal principles. The present article shall be observed, particularly, with regard to the concerns of those individuals who possess property both under the Prussian and Saxon governments, to the commerce of Leipsic, and to all other objects of the same nature; and, in order that the individual liberty of the inhabitants, both of the ceded and other provinces, may not be infringed, they shall be allowed to emigrate from one territory to the other, without being exempted, however, from military service, and after fulfilling the formalities required by the laws. They may also remove their property without being subject to any fine or drawback.

Art. XXI.—The communities, corporations, and religious establishments, and those for public instruction, in the provinces ceded by his Majesty the King of Saxony to Prussia, or in the provinces and districts remaining to his Saxon Majesty, shall preserve their property, whatever changes they may undergo, as well as the rents becoming due to them, according to the act of their foundation, or which they have acquired by a legal title since that period under the Prussian and Saxon governments; and neither party shall interfere in the administration and in the collection of the revenues, provided that they be conducted in a manner conformable to the laws, and that the charges be defrayed, to which all property or rents of the like nature are subjected, in the territory in which they occur.

Art. XXII.—No individual domiciliated in the provinces which are under the dominion of his Majesty the King of Saxony, any more than an individual domiciliated in those which by the present treaty pass under the dominion of the King of Prussia, shall be molested in his person, his property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind, in his rank or dignities, nor be prosecuted or called to account in any manner, for any part which he, either in a civil or military capacity,

may have taken in the events that have occurred since the commencement of the war, terminated by the peace concluded at Paris on the 30th of May, 1814. This article equally extends to those who, not being domiciliated in either part of Saxony, may possess in it landed property, rents, pensions, or revenues of any kind.

Art. XXIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, having, in consequence of the last war, re-assumed the possession of the provinces and territories which had been ceded by the peace of Tilsit, it is acknowledged and declared by the present article that his majesty, his heirs and successors, shall possess anew, as formerly, in full property and sovereignty, the following countries that is to say :—

Those of his ancient provinces of Poland specified by article two ; the city of Dantzic and its territory, as the latter was determined by the treaty of Tilsit ; the circle of Cottbus ; the Old March ; the part of the circle of Magdeburg, situated on the left bank of the Elbe, together with the circle of the Saale ; the principality of Halberstadt, with the lordships of Derenburg, and of Hassenrode ; the town and territory of Quedlinburg, (save and except the rights of her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia Albertine of Sweden, Abbess of Quedlinburg, conformably to the arrangements made in 1803 ;) the Prussian part of the county of Mansfeld ; the Prussian part of the county of Hohenstein ; the Eichsfeld ; the town of Nordhausen with its territory ; the town of Muhlhausen with its territory ; the Prussian part of the district of Treffurt with Dosla ; the town and territory of Erfurth, with the exception of Klein-Brembach and Balstedt, inclosed in the principality of Weimar, ceded to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar by the twenty-ninth article ; the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to the county of Untergleichen ; the principality of Paderborn, with the Prussian part of the bailiwicks of Schwallenberg, Oldenberg, and Stoppelberg, and the jurisdictions of Hagendorn and Odenhausen, situated in the territory of Lippe ; the county of Mark, with the part of Lippstadt belonging to it ; the county of Werden ; the county of Essen ; the part of the duchy of Cleves on the right bank of the Rhine, with the town and fortress of Wesel ; the part of the duchy, situated on the left bank, specified in article twenty-fifth ; the secularized chapter of Elten ; the principality of Munster, that is to say, the Prussian part of the former bishopric of Munster, with the exception of that part which has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in virtue of the twenty-eighth article ; the secularized provostship of Cappenburg ; the county of Tecklenberg ; the county of Lingen, with the exception of that part ceded to the kingdom of Hanover by article twenty-seventh ; the principality of Minden ; the county of Ravensberg ; the secularized chapter of Herford ; the principality of Neufchatel, with the county of Valengin, such as their frontiers are regulated by the treaty of Paris, and by the seventy-sixth article of this general treaty. The same disposition extends to the rights of sovereignty and *suzerainete* over the county of Wernigerode, to that of high protection over the county of Hohen-Limburg, and to all the other rights or pretensions whatsoever which his Prussian Majesty possessed and exercised, before the peace of Tilsit, and which he has not renounced by other treaties, acts, or conventions.

Art. XXIV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall unite to his monarchy in Germany, on this side of the Rhine, to be

possessed by him and his successors in full property and sovereignty, the following countries :—

The provinces of Saxony designated in article fifteen, with the exception of the places and territories ceded, in virtue of article twenty-nine, to his Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar ; the territories ceded to Prussia by his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, by article twenty-nine ; part of the department of Fulda, and such of the territories comprehended therein as are specified in article forty ; the town and territory of Wetslar, according to article twelve ; the grand duchy of Berg, with the lordships of Hardenberg, Brock, Styrum, Scholler, and Odenthal, formerly belonging to the said duchy under the Palatine government ; the districts of the ancient archbishopric of Cologne, lately belonging to the grand duchy of Berg ; the duchy of Westphalia, as lately possessed by his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse ; the county of Dortmund ; the principality of Corbey ; the mediatised districts specified in article forty-three. The ancient possessions of the House of Nassau-Dietz having been ceded to Prussia by his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and a part of these possessions having been exchanged for the districts belonging to their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, the King of Prussia shall possess them, in sovereignty and property, and unite them to his monarchy.

1. The principality of Siegen, with the bailiwicks of Burbach and Neunkirchen, with the exception of a part containing 12,000 inhabitants, to belong to the Duke and Prince of Nassau

2. The bailiwicks of Hohen-Solms, Greifenstein, Braunfels, Freusberg, Friedewald, Schonsten, Schonberg, Altenkirchen, Altenwied, Dierdorf, Neuerburg, Lintz, Hammerstein, with Engers and Heddesdorf ; the town and territory of Neuwied ; the parishes of Hamm, belonging to the bailiwick of Hackenberg ; the parish of Horhausen, constituting part of the bailiwick of Horsbach, and the parts of the bailiwicks of Vallendar and Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of the Rhine, designated in the convention concluded between his Majesty the King of Prussia, and their Serene Highnesses the Duke and Prince of Nassau, annexed to the present treaty.

Art. XXV.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall also possess, in full property and sovereignty, the countries on the left bank of the Rhine, included in the frontier hereinafter designated :—

This frontier shall commence on the Rhine at Bingen : it shall thence ascend the course of the Nahe to the junction of this river with the Glan, and along the Glan to the village of Medarf, below Lauterecken ; the towns of Kreutznach and Meisenheim, with their territories, to belong entirely to Prussia ; but Lauterecken and its territory to remain beyond the Prussian frontier. From the Glan the frontier shall pass by Medart, Merzweiler, Langweiler, Neideer, and Ober Fechenbach, Ellenbach, Chreunchenborn, Ausweiler, Cronweiler, Niederbrambach, Burbach, Boschweiler, Heubweiler, Hambach, and Rintzenberg, to the limits of the canton of Hermeskiel ; the above places shall be included within the Prussian frontiers, and shall, together with their territories, belong to Prussia. From Rintzenberg to the Sarre the line of demarcation shall follow the cantonal limits, so that the cantons of Hermeskiel and Conz (in which latter, however, are excepted the places on the left bank of the Sarre) shall remain wholly to Prussia, while the cantons Wadern, Merzig, and Sarrebourg, are to be beyond the Prussian frontier.

From the point where the limit of the canton of Conz, below Gomlingen, traverses the Sarre, the line shall descend the Sarre till it falls into

the Moselle, thence it shall re-ascend the Moselle to its junction with the Sarre, from the latter river to the mouth of the Our, and along the Our to the limits of the ancient department of the Ourthe. The places traversed by these rivers shall not at all be divided, but shall belong, with their territories, to the power in whose state the greater part of these places shall be situated; the rivers themselves, in so far as they form the frontier, shall belong in common to the two powers bordering on them. In the old department of the Ourthe, the five cantons of Saint-Vith, Malmady, Cronembourg, Schleiden, and Eupen, with the advanced point of the canton of Aubel, to the south of Aix la Chapelle, shall belong to Prussia, and the frontier shall follow that of these cantons, so that a line, drawn from north to south, may cut the said point of the canton of Aubel, and be prolonged as far as the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; leaving that point, the frontier shall follow the line which separates these two last departments till it reaches the river Worm, which falls into the Roer, and shall go along this river to the point where it again touches the limits of these two departments; when it shall pursue that limit to the south of Hillensberg, shall ascend from thence towards the north, and leaving Hillensberg to Prussia, and cutting the canton of Sittard in two parts, nearly equal, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, shall approach the old Dutch territory; then following the old frontier of that territory, to the point where it touched the old Austrian principality of Gueldres, on the side of Ruremonde, and directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, it shall continue to inclose this territory.

Then, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins that other part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated, without including the latter town and its district: thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated below Genep, it shall follow the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, as that all the places situated within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rheinlandische Ruthen*) of this bank, shall, with their territories, belong to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being well understood, however, in regard to the reciprocity of this principle, that no point of the bank of the Meuse shall constitute a portion of the Prussian territory, unless such point approach to within eight hundred Rhenish yards of it.

From the point where the line just described joins the old Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. It shall be examined by the commission, which shall be appointed without delay by the two governments, to proceed to the exact determination of the limits, both of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and the grand duchy of Luxembourg, designated in articles sixty-six and sixty-eight, and this commission shall regulate, with the aid of experienced persons, whatever concerns the hydrotechnical constructions, and other analogous points, in the most equitable manner, and conformably to the mutual interests of the Prussian states and of those of the other Netherlands. This same disposition extends to the regulation of the limits, in the districts of Kyfwaerd, Lobith, and all the territory to Kekerdom.

The places named Huissen, Malburg, le Lyniers, with the town of Sevenaer, and the lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs, and successors.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, in uniting to his states the provinces and districts designated in the present article, enters into all the rights and takes upon himself all the charges and engagements stipulated with respect to the countries dismembered from France, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814.

The Prussian provinces upon the two banks of the Rhine, as far as

above the town of Cologne, which shall also be comprised within this district, shall bear the name of Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine, and his majesty shall assume the title of it.

Art. XXVI.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted for his ancient title of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, that of King of Hanover, and this title having been acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, and by the princes and free towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the electorate of Brunswick Luneburg, according as their limits have been recognized and fixed for the future, by the following articles, shall henceforth form the kingdom of Hanover.

Art. XXVII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes to his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, to be possessed by his majesty and his successors, in full property and sovereignty :—

1. The principality of Hildesheim, which shall pass under the government of his majesty, with all the rights and all the charges with which the said principality was transferred to the Prussian government.

2. The town and territory of Goslar.

3. The principality of East Friesland, including the country called Harlinger-Land, under the conditions reciprocally stipulated in the thirtieth article for the navigation of the Ems, and the commerce of the port of Embden. The states of the principality shall preserve their rights and privileges.

4. The lower country of Lingen, and the part of the principality of Prussian Munster, which is situated between this country and the part of Rheina Wolbeck occupied by the Hanoverian government; but as it has been agreed that the kingdom of Hanover shall obtain by this cession an accession of territory comprising a population of 22,000 souls, and, as the lower county of Lingen, and the part of the principality of Munster here mentioned, might not come up to the condition, his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to cause the line of demarkation to be extended into the principality of Munster, as far as may be necessary to contain that population. The commission which the Prussian and Hanoverian governments shall name without delay, to proceed to the exact regulation of the limits, shall be particularly charged with the execution of this provision. His Prussian Majesty renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants and successors, the provinces and territories mentioned in the present article, as well as all the rights which have any relation to them.

Art. XXVIII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia renounces in perpetuity, for himself, his descendants and successors, all right and claim whatever, that his majesty, in his quality of Sovereign of Eichsfeld, might advance to the chapter of St. Peter, in the borough of Norton, or to its dependencies, situated in the Hanoverian territory.

Art. XXIX.—His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, cedes to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty :—

1. That part of the Duchy of Lauenburg situated upon the right bank of the Elbe, with the villages of Luneburg situated on the same bank. The part of the duchy upon the left bank remains to the kingdom of Hanover. The states of that part of the duchy which passes under the Prussian government shall preserve their rights and privileges; especially those founded upon the provincial recess of the 15th of September, 1702, and confirmed by the King of Great Britain, now reigning, under date of June 21st, 1765.

2. The bailiwick of Klotze.

3. The bailiwick of Elbingerode.

4. The villages of Rudegershagen and Ganseteich.

5. The bailiwick of Reckeberg.

His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, renounces for himself, his descendants and successors for ever, the provinces and districts specified in the present article, and all the rights which have reference to them.

Art XXX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, animated with the desire of entirely equalizing the advantages of the commerce of the Ems and of the Port of Embden, and of rendering them common to their respective subjects, have agreed on this head to what follows:—

1. The Hanoverian government engages to cause to be executed, at its expense, in the years 1815 and 1816, the works which a commission, composed partly of artists, and to be immediately appointed by Prussia and Hanover, shall deem necessary to render navigable that part of the river of Ems which extends from the Prussian frontier to its mouth, and to keep it, after the execution of such works, always in the same state in which those works shall have placed it, for the benefit of navigation.

2. The Prussian subjects shall be allowed to import and export, by the port of Embden, all kinds of provisions, productions, and goods, whether natural or artificial, and to keep in the town of Embden, warehouses, wherein to place the said goods for two years, dating from their arrival in the towns, without their being subject to any other inspection than that to which those of the Hanoverian subjects are liable.

3. The Prussian vessels, and merchants of the same nation, shall not pay for navigation, for exportation, or importation of merchandise, or for warehousing, any other tolls or duties than those charged upon the Hanoverian subjects. These tolls and duties shall be regulated by agreement between Prussia and Hanover, and no alteration shall be introduced into the tariff hereafter, but by mutual consent. The privileges and liberties just specified extend equally to those Hanoverian subjects who navigate that part of the river Ems which remains to the King of Prussia.

4. Prussian subjects shall not be compellable to employ the merchants of Embden for the trade they carry on with that port; they shall be at liberty to dispose of their commodities either to the inhabitants of the town or to foreigners, without paying any other duties than those to which the Hanoverian subjects are subjected, and which cannot be raised but by mutual consent.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, on his part, engages to grant to Hanoverian subjects the free navigation of the canal of the Stecknitz, so as not to exact from them any other duties than those which shall be paid by the inhabitants of the Duchy of Lauenburg. His Prussian Majesty engages, besides, to insure these advantages to Hanoverian sub-

jects, should he hereafter cede the Duchy of Lauenburg to another sovereign.

Art. XXXI.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, mutually agree to three military roads through their respective dominions:—

1st. One from Halberstadt, through the country of Hildesheim, to Minden.

2d. A second from the Old March, through Gihorn and Neustadt, to Minden.

3d. A third from Osnabruck, through Ippenburen and Rheina, to Bentheim.

The two first in favour of Prussia, and the third in favour of Hanover.

The two governments shall appoint, without delay, a commission to prepare, by common consent, the necessary regulations for the establishment of the said roads.

Art. XXXII.—The bailiwick of Meppen, belonging to the Duke of Aremberg, as well as the part of Rheina Wolbeck belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which at this moment are provisionally occupied by the Hanoverian government, shall be placed in such relations with the kingdom of Hanover, as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

The Prussian and Hanoverian governments having nevertheless reserved to themselves to agree hereafter, if necessary, to the fixing of another line of frontier with regard to the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren; the said governments shall charge the commission they may name for fixing the limits of the part of the county of Lingen ceded to Hanover, to deliberate thereupon, and to adjust definitively the frontiers of that part of the county belonging to the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which, as aforesaid, is to be possessed by the Hanoverian government.

The relations between the Hanoverian government and the county of Bentheim shall remain as regulated by the treaties of mortgage existing between his Britannic Majesty and the Count of Bentheim: and when the rights derived from this treaty shall have expired, the relations of the county of Bentheim towards the kingdom of Hanover shall be such as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

Art. XXXIII.—His Britannic Majesty, King of Hanover, in order to meet the wishes of his Prussian Majesty to procure a suitable arrondissement of territory for his Serene Highness the Duke of Oldenburg, promises to cede to him a district containing a population of 5,000 inhabitants.

Art. XXXIV.—His Serene Highness the Duke of Holstein-Oldenburg shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Oldenburg.

Art. XXXV.—Their Serene Highnesses the Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, shall assume the titles of Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz.

Art. XXXVI.—His Highness the Duke of Saxe Weimar shall assume the title of Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar.

Art. XXXVII.—His Majesty the King of Prussia shall cede from the mass of his states, as they have been fixed and recognized by the present treaty, to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar, districts containing a population of 50,000 inhabitants, contiguous to, or bordering upon, the principality of Weimar. His Prussian Majesty engages also to cede to his royal highness out of that part of the principality of Fulda which has been given up to him in virtue of the same stipulations, districts containing a population of 27,000 inhabitants. His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Weimar shall possess the above districts in full property and sovereignty, and shall unite them in perpetuity to his present states.

Art. XXXVIII.—The districts and territories which are to be ceded to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, in virtue of the preceding article, shall be determined by a particular convention; and his Majesty the King of Prussia engages to conclude this convention, and to cause the above districts and territories to be given up to his royal highness, within two months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty concluded at Vienna, June 1st 1815, between his Prussian Majesty and his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

Art. XXXIX.—His Majesty the King of Prussia, however, cedes immediately, and promises to give up to his royal highness, in the space of a fortnight, reckoning from the signature of the above mentioned treaty, the following districts and territories; viz:—

The lordship of Blankenhayn, with the reservation of the bailiwick of Wandersleben, belonging to Unter-Gleichen, which is not to be comprised in this cession.

The lower lordship of Kranichfeld, the commanderies of the Teutonic order Zwaetzen, Lebesten, and Liebstedt, with their demesne revenues, which, constituting a part of the bailiwick of Eckartsberga, are inclosed in the territory of Saxe-Weimar, as well as all the other territories inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the said bailiwick; the bailiwick of Tautenburg, with the exception of Droizen, Gorschen, Wethalung, Wetterscheid, and Mollschutz, which shall remain to Prussia.

The village of Remvsla, as well as the villages of Klein-Brëmbach and Berlstedt, inclosed within the principality of Weimar, and belonging to the territory of Erfurth.

The property of the villages of Bischoffsroda, and Probstcizella, inclosed within the territory of Eisenach; the sovereignty of which already belongs to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke.

The population of these different districts is understood to form part of that of 50,000 souls, secured to his Royal Highness the Grand Duke

of Saxe-Weimar, by article thirty-seventh, and shall be deducted from it.

Art. XL.—The department of Fulda, together with the territories of the neighbouring ancient Noblesse, comprised, at this moment, under the provisional administration of this department, viz : Mansbach, Buchenau, Werda, Lensfeld, excepting, however, the following bailiwicks and territories, viz : the bailiwicks of Hammelburg, with Thulba and Saleck, Bruckenau, with Motten, Saalmunster, with Urzel and Sonnerz ; also the part of the bailiwick of Biberstein, which contains the villages of Batten, Brand, Dietges, Findlos, Liebharts, Melperz, Ober-Bernharst, Saifferts, and Thaiden, as well as the domain of Holzkirchen, inclosed in the Grand Duchy of Wurzburg, is ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, and he shall be put in possession of it within three weeks from and after the 15th of June of this year.

His Prussian Majesty engages to take upon himself, in proportion to that part of the territory which he obtains by the present article, his share of the obligations which all the new possessors of the heretofore grand duchy of Frankfort will have to fulfil, and to transfer such engagements to the princes with whom his majesty may hereafter make exchanges or cessions of these districts and territories of the department of Fulda.

Art. XLI.—The domains of the principality of Fulda, and of the country of Hanau, having been sold to purchasers, who have not as yet made good all their instalments, a commission shall be named by the princes to whom the said domains are transferred, to regulate, in an uniform manner, whatever has any reference to this transaction, and to do justice to the claims of the purchasers of the said domains. This commission shall pay particular attention to the treaty concluded at Frankfort, December 2d, 1813, between the allied powers and his Royal Highness the Elector of Hesse ; and it is laid down as a principle, that in case the sale of these domains should not be considered as binding, the purchasers shall receive back the sums already discharged, and they shall not be obliged to quit before such restitution shall have had its full and entire effect.

Art. XLII.—The town and territory of Wetzlar passes, in all property and sovereignty, to his Majesty the King of Prussia.

Art. XLIII.—The following mediatised districts, viz. ; the possession which the Princes of Salm Salm, and Salm Kyrburg, the counts called the Rheinmund-Wildgrafen, and the Duke of Croy, obtained by the principal rescript of the extraordinary deputation of the empire, of the 25th of February, 1803, in the old circle of Westphalia, as well as the lordships

of Anholt and Gehmen, the possessions of the Duke of Looz-Corswaren, which are in the same situation (in so far as they are not placed under the Hanoverian government,) the county of Steinfurt, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Bentheim, the county of Recklingshausen, belonging to the Duke of Aremberg, the lordships of Rheda, Gutersloh, and Gronau, belonging to the Count of Bentheim-Tecklenberg, the county of Rittberg, belonging to the Prince of Kaunitz, the lordships of Neustadt and Gimborn, belonging to the Count of Walmoden, and the lordship of Homburg, belonging to the Princes of Saxe-Wingenstein-Berleburg, shall be placed in such relations with the Prussian monarchy as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised territories.

The possessions of the ancient and immediate nobility within the Prussian territory, and particularly the lordship of Wildenberg, in the Grand Duchy of Berg, and the barony of Schauen, in the principality of Halberstadt, shall belong to the Prussian monarchy.

Art. XLIV.—His Majesty the King of Bavaria shall possess, for himself, his heirs and successors, in full property and sovereignty, the Grand Duchy of Wurtzburg, as it was held by his Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, and the principality of Aschaffenburg, such as it constituted part of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, under the denomination of department of Aschaffenburg.

Art. XLV.—With respect to the rights and prerogatives, and the maintenance of the Prince Primate as an ancient ecclesiastical prince, it is determined;

1st. That he shall be treated in a manner analogous to the articles of the rescript, which, in 1803, regulated the situation of the secularized princes, and to the practice observed with regard to them.

2dly. He shall receive for this purpose, dating from June 1st, 1814, the sum of 100,000 florins, by payments of three months, in good specie, at the rate of 24 florins to the mark, as an annuity.

This annuity shall be paid by the sovereigns under whose governments the provinces or districts of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort pass, in proportion to the part which each of them shall possess.

3dly. The advances made by the Prince Primate, from his private purse, to the general chest of the principality of Fulda, such as they have been liquidated and proved, shall be refunded to him, his heirs, and executors.

This expenditure shall be defrayed in proportions by the sovereigns who shall possess the provinces and districts composing the principality of Fulda.

4thly. The furniture and other objects which may be proved to belong to the private property of the Prince Primate, shall be restored to him.

5thly. The officers of the Grand Duchy of Frankfort, as well civil and ecclesiastical as military and diplomatic, shall be treated conformably to the principles of the fifty-ninth article of the protocol of the empire, dated the 25th of February, 1803, and from the 1st of June the pensions shall be proportionably paid by the sovereigns who enter on the posses-

sion of the states which formed the said grand duchy since the 1st of June, 1814.

6thly. A commission shall be established without delay, composed of members appointed by the said sovereigns, to regulate whatever relates to the execution of the dispositions comprised in this article.

7thly. It is understood, that in virtue of this arrangement, any claim that might be advanced against the Prince Primate, in his character of Grand Duke of Frankfort, shall be annulled, and that he shall not be molested on account of any reclamation of this nature.

Art. XLVI.—The city of Frankfort, with its territory, such as it was in 1803, is declared free, and shall constitute a part of the Germanic League. Its institutions shall be founded upon the principle of a perfect equality of rights for the different sects of the Christian religion. This equality of rights shall extend to all civil and political rights, and shall be observed in all matters of government and administration. The disputes which may arise, whether in regard to the establishment of the constitution, or in regard to its maintenance, shall be referred to the Germanic diet, and can only be decided by the same.

Art. XLVII.—His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, in exchange for the duchy of Westphalia, ceded to his Majesty the King of Prussia, obtains a territory on the left bank of the Rhine, in the ancient department of Mont Tonnere, comprising a population of 140,000 inhabitants. His royal highness shall possess this territory in full sovereignty and property. He shall likewise obtain the property of that part of the salt mines of Kreuznach which is situated on the left bank of the Nahe, but the sovereignty of them shall remain to Prussia.

Art. XLVIII.—The Landgrave of Homburg is re-instated in his possessions, revenues, rights, and political relations, of which he was deprived in consequence of the confederation of the Rhine.

Art. XLIX.—In the ci-devant department of the Saare, on the frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Prussia, there is reserved a district, containing a population of 69,000 souls, to be disposed of in the following manner: the Duke of Saxe Cobourg, and the Duke of Oldenburg, shall obtain each a territory, comprising 20,000 inhabitants; the Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, each a territory comprising 10,000 inhabitants; and the Count of Peppenheim a territory comprising 9,000 inhabitants. The territory of the Count of Peppenheim shall be under the sovereignty of his Prussian Majesty.

Art. L.—The acquisitions assigned by the preceding article to the Dukes of Saxe Cobourg, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, not being con-

tiguous to their respective states, their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of all the Russias, and the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia, promise to employ their good offices, at the close of the present war, or as soon as circumstances shall permit, in order to procure for the said princes, either by exchanges or any other arrangements, the advantages that they are disposed to insure to them; and that the administration of the said districts may be rendered less complicated, it is agreed that they shall be provisionally under the Prussian administration for the benefit of the new proprietors.

Art. LI.—All the territories and possessions, as well on the left bank of the Rhine, in the old departments of the Sarre and Mont Tonnerre, as in the former departments of Fulda and Frankfort, or inclosed in the adjacent countries, placed at the disposal of the allied powers, by the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and not disposed of by other articles of the present treaty, shall pass in full sovereignty and property, under the government of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria.

Art. LII.—The principality of Isenburg is placed under the sovereignty of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and shall belong to him, under such limitations as the federative constitution of Germany shall regulate for the mediatised states.

Art. LIII.—The sovereign princes and free towns of Germany, under which denomination, for the present purpose, are comprehended their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Kings of Prussia, of Denmark, and of the Netherlands: that is to say, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia for all their possessions which anciently belonged to the German empire, the King of Denmark for the duchy of Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxembourg, established among themselves a perpetual confederation, which shall be called “the Germanic Confederation.”

Art. LIV.—The object of this confederation is the maintenance of the external and internal safety of Germany, and of the independence and inviolability of the confederated states.

Art. LV.—The members of the confederation, as such, are equal with regard to their rights; and they all equally engage to maintain the act which constitutes their union.

Art. LVI.—The affairs of the confederation shall be confided to a federative diet, in which all the members shall vote by their plenipotentiaries, either individually or collectively, in the following manner, without prejudice to their rank:—

1. Austria,	- - - - -	One Vote.
2. Prussia,	- - - - -	One —
3. Bavaria,	- - - - -	One —
4. Saxony,	- - - - -	One —
5. Hanover,	- - - - -	One —
6. Wurtemberg,	- - - - -	One —
7. Baden,	- - - - -	One —
8. Electoral Hesse,	- - - - -	One —
9. Grand Duchy of Hesse,	- - - - -	One —
10. Denmark, for Holstein,	- - - - -	One —
11. The Netherlands, for Luxembourg,	- - - - -	One —
12. Grand-Ducal and Ducal Houses of Saxony,	- - - - -	One —
13. Brunswick and Nassau,	- - - - -	One —
14. Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz,	- - - - -	One —
15. Holstein-Oldenburg, Anhalt and Schwartz-	- - - - -	One —
burg,	- - - - -	One —
16. Hohenzollern, Lichtenstein, Reuss, Schaum-	- - - - -	One —
burg-Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck,	- - - - -	One —
17. The free towns of Lubec, Frankfort, Bremen,	- - - - -	One —
and Hamburg,	- - - - -	One —

Art. LVII.—Austria shall preside at the federative diet. Each state of the confederation has the right of making propositions, and the presiding state shall bring them under deliberation within a definite time.

Art. LVIII.—Whenever fundamental laws are to be enacted, changes made in the fundamental laws of the confederation, measures adopted relative to the federative act itself, and organic institutions or other arrangements made for the common interest, the diet shall form itself into a general assembly, and in that case, the distribution of votes shall be as follows, calculated according to the respective extent of the individual votes :—

Austria shall have	- - - - -	4 Votes
Prussia	- - - - -	4 —
Saxony	- - - - -	4 —
Bavaria	- - - - -	4 —
Hanover	- - - - -	4 —
Wurtemberg	- - - - -	4 —
Baden	- - - - -	3 —
Electoral Hesse	- - - - -	3 —
Grand Duchy of Hesse	- - - - -	3 —
Holstein	- - - - -	3 —
Luxembourg	- - - - -	3 —
Brunswick	- - - - -	2 —
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	- - - - -	2 —
Nassau	- - - - -	2 —
Saxe-Weimar	- - - - -	1 —
Saxe-Gotha	- - - - -	1 —
Saxe-Cobourg	- - - - -	1 —
Saxe-Meinungen	- - - - -	1 —
Saxe-Hildburghausen	- - - - -	1 —
Mecklenburg-Strelitz	- - - - -	1 —
Holstein-Oldenburg	- - - - -	1 —
Anhalt-Dessau	- - - - -	1 —
Anhalt-Bernburg	- - - - -	1 —

Anhalt-Kothen	- - - - -	1	Vote
Schwartzburg-Sondershausen	- - - - -	1	—
Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt	- - - - -	1	—
Hohenzollern-Hechingen	- - - - -	1	—
Lichtenstein	- - - - -	1	—
Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen	- - - - -	1	—
Waldeck	- - - - -	1	—
Reuss, (Elder Branch)	- - - - -	1	—
Reuss, (Younger Branch)	- - - - -	1	—
Schaumburg-Lippe	- - - - -	1	—
The free town of Lubec	- - - - -	1	—
Frankfort	- - - - -	1	—
Bremen	- - - - -	1	—
Hamburg	- - - - -	1	—

Total 69 Votes.

The diet, in deliberating on the organic laws of the confederation, shall consider whether any collective votes ought to be granted to the ancient mediatised states of the empire.

Art. LIX.—The question, whether a subject is to be discussed by the general assembly, conformably to the principles above established, shall be decided in the ordinary assembly by a majority of votes. The same assembly shall prepare the drafts of resolutions which are to be proposed to the general assembly, and shall furnish the latter with all the necessary information, either for adopting or rejecting them.

The plurality of votes shall regulate the decisions, both in the ordinary and general assemblies, with this difference, however, that, in the ordinary assembly, an absolute majority shall be deemed sufficient, while, in the other, two-thirds of the votes shall be necessary to form the majority.

When the votes are even in the ordinary assembly, the president shall have the casting vote; but when the assembly is to deliberate on the acceptance or change of any of the fundamental laws, upon organic institutions, upon individual rights, or upon affairs of religion, the plurality of votes shall not be deemed sufficient, either in the ordinary or in the general assembly.

The diet is permanent: it may, however, when the subjects submitted to its deliberations are disposed of, adjourn to a fixed period, which shall not exceed four months.

All ulterior arrangements relative to the postponement or the despatch of urgent business, which may arise during the recess, shall be reserved for the diet, which will consider them when engaged in preparing the organic laws.

Art. LX.—With respect to the order in which the members of the confederation shall vote, it is agreed, that while the diet shall be occupied in framing organic laws, there shall be no fixed regulation; and whatever may be the order observed on such an occasion, it shall neither prejudice any of the members, nor establish a precedent for the future. After framing the organic laws, the diet will deliberate upon the manner of arranging this matter by a permanent regulation, for which purpose it will depart as little as possible from those which have been observed in the ancient diet, and more par-

ticularly according to the recess of the deputation of the empire in 1803. The order to be adopted shall in no way affect the rank and precedence of the members of the confederation, except in as far as they concern the diet.

Art. LXI.—The diet shall assemble at Francfort on the Maine. Its first meeting is fixed for the 1st of September, 1815.

Art. LXII.—The first object to be considered by the diet after its opening, shall be the framing of the fundamental laws of the confederation, and of its organic institutions, with respect to its exterior, military, and interior relations.

Art. LXIII.—The states of the confederation engage to defend not only the whole of Germany, but each individual state of the union, in case it should be attacked, and they mutually guarantee to each other such of their possessions as are comprised in this union.

When war shall be declared by the confederation, no member can open a separate negotiation with the enemy, nor make peace, nor conclude an armistice, without the consent of the other members.

The confederated states engage, in the same manner, not to make war against each other, on any pretext, nor to pursue their differences by force of arms, but to submit them to the diet, which will attempt a mediation by means of a commission. If this should not succeed, and a judicial sentence becomes necessary, recourse shall be had to a well-organized *Austregal* court (*Austregal instanz*,) to the decision of which the contending parties are to submit without appeal.

Art. LXIV.—The articles comprised under the title of *Particular Arrangements*, in the act of the Germanic confederation, as annexed to the present general treaty, both in original and in a French translation, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. LXV.—The ancient United Provinces of the Netherlands and the late Belgic Provinces, both within the limits fixed by the following article, shall form, together with the countries and territories designated in the same article, under the sovereignty of his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange Nassau, Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, the kingdom of the Netherlands, hereditary in the order of succession already established by the act of the constitution of the said united provinces.

The title and the prerogatives of the royal dignity are recognized by all the powers in the house of Orange Nassau.

Art. LXVI.—The line comprising the territories which compose the kingdom of the Netherlands, is determined in the following manner:—

It leaves the sea, and extends along the frontiers of France on the side of the Netherlands, as rectified and fixed by article three of the treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, to the Meuse; thence along the

same frontiers to the old limits of the Duchy of Luxembourg. From this point it follows the direction of the limits between that Duchy and the ancient Bishopric of Liege, till it meets (to the south of Deiffelt) the western limits of that canton, and of that of Malmedy, to the point where the latter reaches the limits between the old departments of the Ourthe and the Roer; it then follows these limits, to where they touch those of the former French canton of Eupen, in the Duchy of Limburg, and following the western limit of that canton, in a northerly direction, leaving to the right a small part of the former French canton of Aubel, joins the point of contact of the three old departments of the Ourthe, the Lower Meuse, and the Roer; parting again from this point, this line follows that which divides the two latter departments, until it reaches the Worm (a river falling into the Roer,) and goes along this river to the point where it again reaches the limit of these two departments, pursues this limit to the south of Hillensberg (the old department of the Roer,) from whence it re-ascends to the north, and leaving Hillensberg to the right, and dividing the canton of Sittard into two nearly equal parts, so that Sittard and Susteren remain on the left, it reaches the old Dutch territory; from whence, leaving this territory to the left, it goes on following its eastern frontier to the point where it touches the old Austrian principality of Gueldres, on the side of Ruremonde, and directing itself towards the most eastern point of the Dutch territory, to the north of Swalmen, continues to inclose this territory.

Lastly, setting out from the most eastern point, it joins that part of the Dutch territory in which Venloo is situated: that town and its territory being included within it. From thence to the old Dutch frontier near Mook, situated above Genep, the line follows the course of the Meuse, at such a distance from the right bank, that all the places within a thousand Rhenish yards (*Rhenlandische Ruthen*) from it shall belong, with their territories, to the kingdom of the Netherlands; it being understood, however, as to the reciprocity of this principle, that the Prussian territory shall not at any point touch the Meuse, or approach it within the distance of a thousand Rhenish yards.

From the point where the line just described reaches the ancient Dutch frontier, as far as the Rhine, this frontier shall remain essentially the same as it was in 1795, between Cleves and the United Provinces. This line shall be examined by a commission, which the governments of Prussia and the Netherlands shall name without delay, for the purpose of proceeding to the exact determination of the limits, as well of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, specified in article sixty-eight; and this commission, aided by professional persons, shall regulate every thing concerning the hydrotechnical constructions, and other similar points, in the most equitable manner, and the most conformable to the mutual interests of the Prussian states, and of those of the Netherlands. This same arrangement refers to the fixing of limits in the districts of Kyfwaerd, Lobith, and in the whole territory as far as Kekerdom.

The *enclaves* of Huissen, Malburg, Lymers, with the town of Sevenaer, and lordship of Weel, shall form a part of the kingdom of the Netherlands; and his Prussian Majesty renounces them in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs and successors.

Art. LXVII.—That part of the old Duchy of Luxembourg which is comprised in the limits specified in the following article, is likewise ceded to the Sovereign Prince of the United Provinces, now King of the Netherlands, to be possessed in perpetuity by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty. The Sovereign of the Netherlands shall add to

his titles that of Grand Duke of Luxembourg, his majesty reserving to himself the privilege of making such family arrangement between the princes his sons, relative to the succession to the Grand Duchy, as he shall think conformable to the interests of his monarchy and to his paternal intentions.

The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, serving as a compensation for the principalities of Nassau Dillenbourg, Siegen, Hadamar, and Dietz, shall form one of the states of the Germanic confederation: and the Prince, King of the Netherlands, shall enter into the system of this confederation, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, with all the prerogatives and privileges enjoyed by the other German Princes.

The town of Luxembourg, in a military point of view, shall be considered as a fortress of the confederation: the Grand Duke shall, however, retain the right of appointing the governor and military commandant of this fortress, subject to the approbation of the executive power of the confederation, and under such other conditions as it may be judged necessary to establish, in conformity with the future constitution of the said confederation.

Art. LXVIII.—The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg shall consist of all the territory situated between the kingdom of the Netherlands, as it has been designated by article sixty-six, France, the Moselle, as far as the mouth of the Sure, the course of the Sure, as far as the junction of the Our, and the course of this last river, as far as the limits of the former French canton of St. Vith, which shall not belong to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXIX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall possess in perpetuity for himself and his successors, the full and entire sovereignty of that part of the Duchy of Bouillon, which is not ceded to France by the treaty of Paris; and which, therefore, shall be united to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Disputes having arisen with respect to the said Duchy of Bouillon, the competitor who shall legally establish his right, in the manner hereafter specified, shall possess, in full property, the said part of the duchy, as it was enjoyed by the last duke, under the sovereignty of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg.

This decision shall be made by arbitration, and be without appeal. For this purpose there shall be appointed a certain number of arbitrators, one by each of the two competitors, and others, to the number of three, by the courts of Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia. They shall assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, as soon as the state of the war and other circumstances may admit of it, and their determination shall be made known within six months from their first meeting.

In the interim, his Majesty the King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg, shall hold in trust the property of the said part of the duchy of Bouillon, in order that he may restore it, together with the revenues of the provincial administration, to the competitor in whose favour the arbitrators shall decide; and his said majesty shall indemnify him for the loss of the revenues arising from the rights of sovereignty, by means of some equitable arrangement. Should the restitution fall to Prince Charles of Rohan, this property, when in his possession, shall be regulated by the laws of the substitution which constitutes his title thereto.

Art. LXX.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands renounces, in perpetuity, for himself, his heirs and successors, in favour of his Majesty the King of Prussia, the sovereign possessions which the house of Nassau Orange held in Germany, namely, the principalities of Dillenburg, Dietz, Segen, and Hadamar, with the lordships of Beilstein, such as those possessions have been definitely arranged between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the treaty concluded at the Hague on the 14th of July, 1814. His majesty also renounces the principality of Fulda, and the other districts and territories which were secured to him by the twelfth article of the principal recess of the extraordinary deputation of the empire of the 25th of February, 1803.

Art. LXXI.—The right and order of succession, established between the two branches of the house of Nassau, by the act of 1783, called *Nassauischer Erbverein* is confirmed, and transferred from the four principalities of Orange Nassau, to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Art. LXXII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, in uniting under his sovereignty the countries designated in the sixty-sixth and sixty-eighth articles, enters into all the rights, and takes upon himself all the charges and all the stipulated engagements, relative to the provinces and districts detached from France by the treaty of Peace concluded at Paris, the 30th of May, 1814.

Art. LXXIII.—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, having recognized and sanctioned, under date of the 21st of July, 1814, as the basis of the union of the Belgic Provinces with the United Provinces, the eight articles contained in the document annexed to the present treaty, the said articles shall have the same force and validity as if they were inserted, word for word, in the present instrument.

Art. LXXIV.—The integrity of the nineteen cantons, as they existed in a political body, from the signature of the convention of the 29th of December, 1813, is recognized as the basis of the Helvetic system.

Art. LXXV.—The Vallais, the territory of Geneva, and the principality of Neufchatel, are united to Switzerland, and shall form three new cantons. The valley of Dappes, having formed part of the canton of Vaud, is restored to it.

Art. LXXVI.—The bishopric of Basle, and the city and territory of Bienne, shall be united to the Helvetic confederation, and shall form part of the canton of Berne. The following districts, however, are excepted from this last arrangement :—

1. A district of about three square leagues in extent, including the

communes of Altschweiler, Schonbuch, Oberweiler, Terweiler, Ettlingen, Furstenstein, Plotten, Pfeffingen, Aesch, Bruck, Reinach, Arlesheim ; which district shall be united to the canton of Basle.

2. A small *enclave*, situated near the village of Neufchatel de Lignerès, which is at present, with respect to civil jurisdiction, dependent upon the canton of Neufchatel, and with respect to criminal jurisdiction, upon that of the bishopric of Basle, shall belong in full sovereignty to the principality of Neufchatel.

Art. LXXVII.—The inhabitants of the bishopric of Basle and those of Bienne, united to the cantons of Berne and Basle, shall enjoy, in every respect, without any distinction of religion (which shall be maintained in its present state) the same political and civil rights which are enjoyed, or may be enjoyed, by the inhabitants of the ancient parts of the said cantons ; they shall, therefore, be equally competent to become candidates for the places of representatives, and for all other appointments, according to the constitution of the cantons. Such municipal privileges as are compatible with the constitution and the general regulations of the canton of Berne, shall be preserved to the town of Bienne, and to the villages that formed part of its jurisdiction.

The sale of the national domains shall be confirmed, and the feudal rights and tithes cannot be re-established.

The respective acts of the union shall be framed conformably to the principles above declared, by commissions, composed of an equal number of deputies from each of the directing parties concerned. Those from the bishopric of Basle shall be chosen by the canton, from among the most eminent citizens of the country. The said acts shall be guaranteed by the Swiss confederation. All points upon which the parties cannot agree, shall be decided by a court of arbitration, to be named by the diet.

Art. LXXVIII.—The cession, made by the third article of the treaty of Vienna, of the 14th of October, 1809, of the lordship of Razuns, inclosed in the country of the Grisons, having expired ; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, being restored to all the rights attached to the said possession, confirms the disposition which he made of it, by a declaration, dated the 20th of March, 1815, in favour of the canton of the Grisons.

Art. LXXIX.—In order to insure the commercial and military communications of the town of Geneva with the canton of Vaud, and the rest of Switzerland ; and with a view to fulfil, in that respect, the fourth article of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, his most Christian Majesty consents so to place the line of custom-houses, that the road which leads from Geneva into Switzerland by Versoy, shall at all times, be free, and that neither the post travellers, nor the transport of merchandise, shall be interrupted by any examination of the officers of the customs, nor subjected to any duty.

It is equally understood, that the passage of Swiss troops on this road, shall not, in any manner, be obstructed.

In the additional regulations to be made on this subject, the execution of the treaties relative to the free communication between the town of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Peney, shall be assured in the manner most convenient to the inhabitants of Geneva. His most Christian Majesty also consents that the gendarmerie and militia of Geneva, after having communicated on the subject with the nearest military post of the French gendarmerie, shall pass on the high road of Meyrin, to and from the said jurisdiction, and the town of Geneva.

Art. LXXX.—His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes, that part of Savoy which is situated between the river Arve, the Rhone, the limits of that part of Savoy ceded to France, and the mountain of Salive, as far as Veiry inclusive, together with that part which lies between the high road called that of the Simplon, the Lake of Geneva, and the present territory of the canton of Geneva, from Venezas to the point where the river of Hermance crosses the said road, and from thence, following the course of that river to where it enters the Lake of Geneva, to the east of the village of Hermance (the whole of the road of the Simplon continuing to be possessed by his Majesty the King of Sardinia) in order that these countries shall be re-united to the canton of Geneva; with the reservation, however, of determining more precisely, by commissioners respectively, their limits, particularly of that part which relates to the demarkation above Veiry and on the mountain of Salive; his said majesty, renouncing for himself and his successors, in perpetuity, without exception or reservation, all rights of sovereignty, or other rights which may belong to him in the places and territories comprised within this demarcation.

His Majesty the King of Sardinia also agrees, that the communication between the canton of Geneva and the Vallais, by the road of the Simplon, shall be established, in the same manner as it has been agreed to by France, between Geneva and the canton of Vaud, by the route of Versoy. A free communication shall also be at all times granted for the Genevese troops, between the territory of Geneva and the jurisdiction of Jussy, and such facilities shall be allowed as may be necessary for proceeding by the lake to the road of the Simplon.

On the other hand, an exemption from all duties of transit shall be granted for all merchandise and goods which, coming from the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia and the free port of Genoa, shall traverse the road called the Simplon in its whole extent through the Vallais and the state of Geneva. This exemption shall, however, be confined to the transit, and shall extend neither to the tolls established for the maintenance of the road, nor to duties levied on merchandise or goods intended to be sold or consumed in the interior. The same reservation shall apply to the communication granted to the Swiss between the Vallais and the canton of Geneva; and the different governments shall, for this purpose, take such measures as, by common agreement, they shall judge necessary, either for taxation or for preventing contraband trade in their territories, respectively.

Art. LXXXI.—With a view to the establishing of reciprocal compensations, the cantons of Argovia, Vaud, Tessin, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the ancient cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Glarus, Zug, and Appenzell (*Rhode Interior*) a sum of money to be applied to purposes of public instruction, and to the expenses of general administration, but principally to the former object, in the said cantons. The quota, manner of payment, and division of this pecuniary compensation, are fixed as follows :—

The cantons of Argovia, Vaud, and St. Gall, shall furnish to the cantons of Schwitz, Unterwald, Uri, Zug, Glaris, and appenzell (*Rhode Interior*) a fund of 500,000 Swiss livres.

Each of the former cantons shall pay the interest of its quota, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, or have the option of discharging the principal either in money or funded property.

The division, either of the payment or receipt of these funds, shall be made according to the scale of contributions laid down for providing the federal expenses.

The canton of Tessin shall pay every year to the canton of Uri, a moiety of the produce of the tolls in the Levantine valley.

Art. LXXXII.—To put an end to the discussions which have arisen, with respect to the funds placed in England by the cantons of Zurich and Berne, it is determined :—

1. That the cantons of Berne and Zurich shall preserve the property of the funded capital as it existed in 1803, at the period of the dissolution of the Helvetic government, and shall receive the interest thereof from January 1st, 1815.

2. That the accumulated interest due since the year 1798, up to the year 1814, inclusive, shall be applied to the payment of the remaining capital of the national debt, known under the denomination of the Helvetic debt.

3. That the surplus of the Helvetic debt shall remain at the charge of the other cantons, those of Berne and Zurich being exonerated by the above arrangement. The quota of each of the cantons, which remain charged with this surplus, shall be calculated and paid according to the proportion fixed for the contributions destined to defray federal expenses. The countries incorporated with Switzerland since 1813 shall not be assessed on account of the old Helvetic debt.

If it shall happen that an overplus remains after discharging the above debt, that overplus shall be divided between the cantons of Berne and Zurich, in the proportion of their respective capitals.

The same regulations shall be observed with regard to those other debts the documents concerning which are deposited in the custody of the president of the diet.

Art. LXXXIII.—To conciliate disputes respecting *lauds* abolished without indemnification, an indemnity shall be given to persons who are owners of such *lauds*; and for the purpose of avoiding all further differences on this subject between the cantons of Berne and Vaud, the latter shall pay to the government of Berne the sum of 300,000 Swiss livres, which shall be shared between the Bernese claimants, proprietors of *lauds*. The payments shall be made at the rate of a fifth part each year, commencing from January 1st, 1816.

Art. LXXXIV.—The declaration of the 20th of March, addressed by the allied powers who signed the treaty of Paris, to the diet of the Swiss confederation, and accepted by the diet through the act of adhesion of May 27th, is confirmed in the whole of its tenor ; and the principles established, as also the arrangements agreed upon, in the said declaration, shall be invariably maintained.

Art. LXXXV.—The frontiers of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia shall be :—

On the side of France, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the changes effected by the treaty of Paris, of the 30th. of May, 1814.

On the side of the Helvetic Confederation, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of the change produced by the cession in favour of the canton of Geneva, as specified by the eighth article of the present act.

On the side of the states of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, such as they existed on the 1st of January, 1702 ; and the convention concluded between their Majesties the Empress Maria Theresa, and the King of Sardinia, on the 4th of October, 1751, shall be reciprocally confirmed in all its stipulations.

On the side of the states of Parma and Placentia, the frontiers, as far as concerns the ancient states of the King of Sardinia, shall continue to be the same as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

The borders of the former states of Genoa, and of the countries called Imperial Fiefs, united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, according to the following articles, shall be the same as those which, on the 1st of January, 1792, separated those countries from the states of Parma and Placentia, and from those of Tuscany and Massa.

The island of Capraja, having belonged to the ancient republic of Genoa, is included in the cession of the states of Genoa to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

Art. LXXXVI.—The state which constituted the former republic of Genoa are united in perpetuity to those of his Majesty the King of Sardinia ; to be, like the latter, possessed by him in full sovereignty and hereditary property, and to descend in the male line, in the order of primogeniture, to the two branches of his house, viz. the royal branch and the branch of Savoy Carignan.

Art. LXXXVII.—The King of Sardinia shall add to his present titles that of Duke of Genoa.

Art. LXXXVIII.—The Genoese shall enjoy all the rights and privileges, specified in the act intituled “ Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the union of the Genoese States to those of his Sardinian Majesty ;” and the said act, such as it is annexed to this general treaty, shall be considered as an integral part thereof, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present article.

Art. LXXXIX.—The countries called Imperial Fiefs, formerly united to the ancient Ligurian Republic, are definitively

united to the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, in the same manner as the rest of the Genoese states; and the inhabitants of these countries shall enjoy the same rights and privileges as those of the states of Genoa, specified in the preceding article.

Art. XC.—The right that the powers who signed the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1812, reserved to themselves by the third article of that treaty, of fortifying such points of their states as they might judge proper for their safety, is equally reserved without restriction to his Majesty the King of Sardinia.

Art. XCI. His Majesty the King of Sardinia cedes to the canton of Geneva the districts of Savoy, designated in the eightieth article above recited, according to the conditions specified in the act intituled “Cession made by his Majesty the King of Sardinia to the canton of Geneva.” This act shall be considered as an integral part of this general treaty, to which it is annexed, and shall have the same force and validity as if it were textually inserted in the present article.

Art. XCII.—The provinces of Chablais and Faucigny, and the whole of the territory of Savoy to the north of Ugine, belonging to his Majesty the King of Sardinia, shall form a part of the neutrality of Switzerland, as it is recognized and guaranteed by the powers.

Whenever, therefore, the neighbouring powers to Switzerland are in a state of open or impending hostility, the troops of his Majesty the King of Sardinia which may be in those provinces, shall retire, and may for that purpose pass through the Vallais if necessary. No other armed troops of any other power shall have the privilege of passing through or remaining in the said territories and provinces, excepting those which the Swiss confederation shall think proper to place there; it being well understood that this state of things shall not in any manner interrupt the administration of these countries, in which the civil agents of his Majesty the King of Sardinia may likewise employ the municipal guard for the preservation of good order.

Art. XCIII.—In pursuance of the renunciations agreed upon by the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814, the powers who sign the present treaty recognize his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, his heirs and successors, as legitimate sovereign of the provinces and territories which had been ceded, either wholly or in part, by the treaties of Campo Formio, of 1797; of Luneville, of 1801; of Presburg, of 1805; by the additional convention of Fontainebleau, of 1807; and by the treaty of Vienna, of 1809; the possession of which provinces and territories his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty obtained in consequence of the last war; such as Istria, (Austrian as well as heretofore Venetian) Dalmatia, the ancient Venetian isles of the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cattaro, the

city of Venice, with its waters, as well as all the other provinces and districts of the formerly Venetian States of the Terra Firma, upon the bank of the Adige, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principalities of Brixen and Trente, the county of Tyrol, the Voralberg, the Austrian Frioul, the ancient Venetian Frioul, the territory of Montefalcone, the government and town of Trieste, Carniola, Upper Carinthia, Croatia on the right of the Save, Fiume, and the Hungarian *Littorale*, and the district of Castua.

Art. XCIV.—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty shall unite to his monarchy, to be possessed by him and his successors, in full property and sovereignty :

1. Besides the portions of the Terra Firma in the Venetian states mentioned in the preceding article, the other part of those states, as well as all other territory situated between the Tessin, the Po, and the Adriatic sea.

2. The vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and of Chiavenna.

3. The territories which formerly composed the republic of Ragusa.

Art. XCV.—In consequence of the stipulations agreed upon in the preceding articles, the frontiers of the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, in Italy, shall be :—

1. On the side of the states of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1702.

2. On the side of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, the course of the Po, the line of demarcation following the *Thalweg* of the river.

3. On the side of the states of Modena, such as they were on the 1st of January, 1792.

4. On the side of the Papal states, the course of the Po, as far as the mouth of the Goro.

5. On the side of Switzerland, the ancient frontier of Lombardy, and that which separates the vallies of the Valteline, of Bormio, and Chiavenna, from the cantons of the Grisons, and the Tessino.

In those places where the *Thalweg* of the Po forms the frontier, it is agreed, that the changes which the course of the river may undergo shall not, in future, in any way affect the property of the islands therein contained.

Art. XCVI.—The general principles adopted by the congress at Vienna for the navigation of rivers, shall be applicable to that of the Po.

Commissioners shall be named by the states bordering on rivers, within three months at latest after the termination of the congress, to regulate all that concerns the execution of the present article.

Art. XCVII.—As it is indispensable to preserve to the establishment known by the name of the Mount-Napoleon at Milan, the means of fulfilling its engagements towards its creditors ; it is agreed, that the landed and other immoveable property of this establishment, in countries which formed part of the ancient kingdom of Italy, and have since passed under the government of different princes of Italy, as well as the capital belonging to the said establishment placed out at inter-

est in these different countries, shall be appropriated to the same object.

The unfunded and unliquidated debts of the Mont-Napoleon, such as those arising from the arrears of its charges, or from any other increase of the outgoings of this establishment, shall be divided between the territories which composed the late kingdom of Italy; and this division shall be regulated according to the joint bases of their population and revenue.

The sovereigns of the said countries shall appoint commissioners, within the space of three months, dating from the termination of the congress, to arrange with Austrian commissioners whatever relates to this object. This commission shall assemble at Milan.

Art. XCVIII.—His Royal Highness the Archduke Francis d'Este, his heirs and successors, shall possess, in full sovereignty, the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, such as they existed at the signature of the treaty of Campo Formio.

The Archduchess Maria Beatrice d'Este, her heirs and successors, shall possess in full sovereignty and property, the duchy of Massa, and the principality of Carrara, as well as the Imperial Fiefs in La Lunigiana.

The latter may be applied to the purpose of exchanges, or other arrangements made by common consent, and according to mutual convenience, with his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The rights of succession and reversion, established in the branches of the archducal houses of Austria, relative to the duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, and the principalities of Massa and Carrara, are preserved.

Art. XCIX.—Her Majesty the Empress Maria Louisa shall possess, in full property and sovereignty, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, with the exception of the districts lying within the states of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty on the left bank of the Po.

The reversion of these countries shall be regulated by common consent with the courts of Austria, Russia, France, Spain, England, and Prussia; due regard being had to the rights of reversion of the house of Austria, and of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, to the said countries.

Art. C.—His Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, is re-established, himself, his heirs and successors, in all the rights of sovereignty and property, in the grand duchy of Tuscany and its dependencies, which he possessed previous to the treaty of Luneville.

The stipulations of the second article of the treaty of Vienna, of the 3d of October, 1735, between the Emperor Charles VI. and the King of France, to which the other powers acceded, are fully renewed in favour of his imperial highness and his descendants, as well as the guarantees resulting from those stipulations.

There shall be likewise united to the said grand duchy, to be possessed in full property and sovereignty by the Grand Duke Ferdinand, his heirs and descendants;—

1. The state of the Presidii.

2. That part of the island of Elba, and its appurtenances, which were

under the *suzerainete* of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies before the year 1801.

3. The *suzerainete* and sovereignty of the principalities of Piombino and its dependencies.

Prince Ludovisi Buoncompagni shall retain, for himself and his legitimate successors, all the property which his family possessed in the principality of Piombino, and the island of Elba and its dependencies, previously to the occupation of those countries by the French troops in 1799, together with the mines, founderies, and salt mines.

The Prince Ludovisi shall likewise preserve his right of fishery, and enjoy an entire exemption from duties, as well for the exportation of the produce of his mines, founderies, salt mines, and domains, as for the importation of wood and other articles necessary for the working of mines: he shall be also indemnified by his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for all the revenues the family of the latter derived from the crown duties before the year 1801. In case any difficulties should arise in the valuation of this indemnity, the parties concerned shall refer the decision to the courts of Vienna and Sardinia.

4 The late Imperial Fiefs of Vernio, Montanto, and Monte Santa Maria, lying within the Tuscan states.

Art. CI.—The principality of Lucca shall be possessed in full sovereignty by her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, and her descendants in the direct male line.

The principality is erected into a duchy, and shall have a form of government founded upon the principles of that which it received in 1805.

An annuity of 500,000 francs shall be added to the revenue of the principality of Lucca, which his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, engage to pay regularly, as long as circumstances do not admit of procuring another establishment for her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, her son, and his descendants. This annuity shall be specially mortgaged upon the lordships in Bohemia, known by the name of Bavaro-Palatine; which, in case of the duchy of Lucca reverting to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, shall be freed from this charge, and shall again form a part of the private domain of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty.

Art. CII.—The duchy of Lucca shall revert to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; either in case of its becoming vacant by the death of her Majesty the Infant Maria Louisa, or of her son Don Carlos, and of their male descendants; or in case the Infant Maria Louisa, or her heirs, should obtain any other establishment, or succeed to any other branch of their dynasty.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, however, engages, should the said reversion fall to him, to cede to the Duke of Modena, as soon as he shall have entered into possession of the principality of Lucca, the following territories:—

1 The Tuscan districts of Tivizzano, Pietra Santa, and Barga.

2. The Lucca districts of Castiglione, and Galliciano, lying within the states of Modena, as well as those of Minucciano and Monte-Ignose, contiguous to the country of Massa.

Art. CIII.—The Marches, with Camerino, and their dependencies, as well as the duchy of Benevento and the principality of Ponte-Corvo, are restored to the Holy See.

The Holy See shall resume possession of the legations of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the exception of that part of Ferrara which is situated on the left bank of the Po.

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, and his successors, shall have the right of placing garrisons at Ferrara and Commachio.

The inhabitants of the countries who return under the government of the Holy See, in consequence of the stipulations of congress, shall enjoy the benefit of the sixteenth article of the treaty of Paris, of the 30th of May, 1814.

All acquisitions made by individuals in virtue of a title acknowledged as legal by the existing laws, are to be considered as good, and the arrangements necessary for the guarantee of the public debt and the payment of pensions, shall be settled by a particular convention between the courts of Rome and Vienna.

Art. CIV.—His Majesty King Ferdinand IV. for himself, his heirs and successors, is restored to the throne of Naples, and his majesty is acknowledged by the powers as king of the Two Sicilies.

Art. CV.—The powers, recognising the justice of the claims of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal and the Brazils, upon the town of Olivença, and the other territories ceded to Spain, by the treaty of Badajos, of 1801, and viewing the restitution of the same as a measure necessary to insure that perfect and constant harmony between the two kingdoms of the peninsula, the preservation of which in all parts of Europe, has been the constant object of their arrangements, formally engage to use their utmost endeavours, by amicable means, to procure the retrocession of the said territories, in favour of Portugal. And the powers declare, as far as depends upon them, that this arrangement shall take place as soon as possible.

Art. CVI.—In order to remove the difficulties which opposed the ratification on the part of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Brazils, of the treaty signed on the 30th of May, 1814, between Portugal and France; it is determined, that the stipulations contained in the tenth article of that treaty, and all those which relate to it, shall be of no effect, and that, with the consent of all the powers, the provisions contained in the following article shall be substituted for them, and which shall alone be considered as valid: with this exception, all the other clauses of the above treaty of Paris shall be maintained, and regarded as mutually binding on the two courts.

Art. CVII.—His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Brazils, wishing to give an unequivocal proof of his high consideration for his most Christian Majesty, engages to restore French Guiana to his said majesty, as far as the river Oyapock, the mouth of which is situated between the fourth and fifth degree of north lati-

tude, and which has always been considered by Portugal as the limit appointed by the treaty of Utrecht.

The period for giving up this colony shall be determined, as soon as circumstances shall permit, by a particular convention between the two courts; and they shall enter into an amicable arrangement, as soon as possible, with regard to the definitive demarcation of the limits of Portuguese and French Guiana, conformably to the precise meaning of the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht.

Art. CVIII.—The powers whose states are separated or crossed by the same navigable river, engage to regulate, by common consent, all that regards its navigation. For this purpose they will name commissioners, who shall assemble, at latest, within six months after the termination of the congress, and who shall adopt, as the bases of their proceedings, the principles established by the following articles.

Art. CIX.—The navigation of the rivers, along their whole course, referred to in the preceding article, from the point where each of them becomes navigable, to its mouth, shall be entirely free, and shall not, in respect to commerce, be prohibited to any one; it being understood, that the regulations established with regard to the police of this navigation shall be respected; as they will be framed alike for all, and as favourable as possible to the commerce of all nations.

Art. CX.—The system that shall be established both for the collection of the duties and for the maintenance of the police, shall be, as nearly as possible, the same along the whole course of the river; and shall also extend, unless particular circumstances prevent it, to those of its branches and junctions, which, in their navigable course, separate or traverse different states.

Art. CXI.—The duties on navigation shall be regulated in an uniform and settled manner, and with as little reference as possible to the different quality of the merchandise, in order that a minute examination of the cargo may be rendered unnecessary, except with a view to prevent fraud and evasion. The amount of the duties, which shall in no case exceed those now paid, shall be determined by local circumstances, which scarcely allow of a general rule in this respect. The tariff shall, however, be prepared in such a manner as to encourage commerce by facilitating navigation; for which purpose, the duties established upon the Rhine, and now in force on that river, may serve as an approximating rule for its construction.

The tariff once settled, no increase shall take place therein, except by the common consent of the states bordering on the rivers; nor shall the navigation be burthened with any other duties than those fixed in the regulation.

Art. CXII.—The offices for the collection of duties, the number of which shall be reduced as much as possible, shall

be determined upon in the above regulation, and no change shall afterwards be made, but by common consent, unless any of these states bordering on the rivers should wish to diminish the number of those which exclusively belong to the same.

Art. CXIII.—Each state bordering on the rivers is to be at the expense of keeping in good repair the towing paths which pass through its territory, and of maintaining the necessary works through the same extent in the channels of the river, in order that no obstacle may be experienced to the navigation.

The intended regulation shall determine the manner in which the states bordering on the rivers are to participate in these latter works, where the opposite banks belong to different governments.

Art. CXIV.—There shall no where be established store-house, port, or forced harbour duties. Those already existing shall be preserved for such time only as the states bordering on rivers (without regard to the local interest of the place or the country where they are established) shall find them necessary or useful to navigation and commerce in general.

Art. CXV.—The custom-houses belonging to the states bordering on rivers shall not interfere in the duties of navigation. Regulations shall be established to prevent officers of the customs, in the exercise of their functions, throwing obstacles in the way of the navigation; but care shall be taken, by means of a strict police on the bank, to preclude every attempt of the inhabitants to smuggle goods, through the medium of boatmen.

Art. CXVI.—Every thing expressed in the preceding articles shall be settled by a general arrangement, in which there shall be comprised whatever may need an ulterior determination.

The arrangement once settled, shall not be changed, but by and with the consent of all the states bordering on rivers, and they shall take care to provide for its execution with due regard to circumstances and locality.

Art. CXVII.—The particular regulations relative to the navigation of the Rhine, the Necker, the Maine, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, such as they are annexed to the present act, shall have the same force and validity as if they were textually inserted herein.

Art. CXVIII.—The treaties, conventions, declarations, regulations, and other particular acts which are annexed to the present act, viz:—

1. The treaty between Russia and Austria of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815.
2. The treaty between Russia and Prussia of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;
3. The additional treaty relative to Cracow, between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, of the 21st of April, (3d May,) 1815;

4. The treaty between Prussia and Saxony of the 18th of May, 1815 ;
 5. The declaration of the King of Saxony respecting the rights of the house of Schœnburg, of the 18th of May, 1815 ;
 6. The treaty between Prussia and Hanover, of the 29th of May, 1815 ;
 7. The convention between Prussia and the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, of the 1st of June, 1815 ;
 8. The convention between Prussia and the Duke and Prince of Nassau, of the 31st of May, 1815 ;
 9. The act concerning the Federative Constitution of Germany, of the 8th of June, 1815 ;
 10. The treaty between the King of the Netherlands, and Prussia, England, Austria, and Russia, of the 31st of May, 1815 ;
 11. The declaration of the powers on the affairs of the Helvetic Confederation of the 20th of March, and the act of Accession of the Diet, of the 28th of May, 1815 ;
 12. The protocol of the 29th of March, 1815, on the cessions made by the King of Sardinia to the Canton of Geneva ;
 13. The treaty between the King of Sardinia, Austria, England, Russia, Prussia, and France, of the 21st of May, 1815 ;
 14. The act intitled " Conditions which are to serve as the bases of the Union of the States of Genoa with those of his Sardinian Majesty ;"
 15. The declaration of the Powers on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, of the 8th of February, 1815 ;
 16. The regulations respecting the free navigation of rivers ;
 17. The regulation concerning the precedence of diplomatic agents :
- Shall be considered as integral parts of the arrangements of the congress, and shall have, throughout, the same force and validity as if they were inserted word for word in the general treaty.

Art. CXIX.—All the powers assembled in congress, as well as the princes and free towns, who have concurred in the arrangements specified, and in the acts confirmed in this general treaty, are invited to accede to it.

Art. CXX.—The French language having been exclusively employed in all the copies of the present treaty, it is declared by the powers who have concurred in this act, that the use made of that language shall not be construed into a precedent for the future ; every power, therefore, reserves to itself the adoption, in future negotiations and conventions, of the language it has heretofore employed in its diplomatic relations ; and this treaty shall not be cited as a precedent contrary to the established practice.

Art. CXXI.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged in six months, and by the court of Portugal in a year, or sooner, if possible.

A copy of this general treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the court and state of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, at Vienna, in case any of the courts of Europe shall think proper to consult the original text of this instrument.

In faith of which the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this act, and have affixed thereunto the seals of their arms.

Done at Vienna the 9th of June, in the year of our Lord 1815.

(The signatures follow in the alphabetical order of the courts.)

Austria—(L.S.) THE PRINCE DE METTERNICH.
(L.S.) THE BARON DE WESSENBERG.

Spain.

France—(L.S.) THE PRINCE DE TALLEYRAND.
(L.S.) THE DUKE DE DALBERG.
(L.S.) THE COUNT ALEXIS DE NOAILLES.

Great Britain—(L.S.) CLANCARTY.
(L.S.) CATHCART.
(L.S.) STEWART, L. G.

Portugal—(L.S.) THE COMTE DE PALMELLA.
(L.S.) ANTONIA DE SALDANHA DA GAMA.
(L.S.) D. JOAQUIM LOBO DA SILVEIRA.

Prussia—(L.S.) THE PRINCE DE HARDENBERG.
(L.S.) THE BARON DE HUMBOLDT.

Russia—(L.S.) THE PRINCE DE RASOUMOFFSKY.
(L.S.) THE COUNT DE STACKELBERG.
(L.S.) THE COUNT DE NESSELRODE.

Sweden—(L.S.) THE COUNT CHARLES AXEL DE LOWENHIELM.

Save and except the reservation made to the articles one hundred and one, one hundred and two, and one hundred and four, of the treaty.

APPENDIX.

OPERATIONS AGAINST ALGIERS.

[SUBJOINED to the English edition of this work is a relation of the proceedings of the formidable expedition fitted out by the British government in 1816, for the bombardment of Algiers. This is preserved in the present edition, but it has been thought proper to prefix to it a narrative of the operations of the American squadron, in the same quarter, in 1815. In comparing together the two accounts, the American reader will find no cause to blush for his countrymen. The expedition of Lord Exmouth was vastly more powerful than that of Commodore Decatur, but the consequences of the latter were little less important or beneficial. The American commander, it is true, did not require a formal promise to abandon Christian slavery—a promise which, like most others made under similar circumstances, will be broken as soon as an opportunity offers—but he obtained every thing that was necessary for the safety and honour of his countrymen; and it is not probable that his treaty will be soon broken. It is proper to add, that the following narrative is taken from the *Analectic Magazine*, for February, 1816.]

In the year 1795, a treaty was concluded between the United States of America, and the dey of Algiers, in which the former were put upon a footing with other nations, on condition of paying to the dey a yearly tribute of twelve thousand Algerine sequins, to be invested in naval stores. This treaty subsisted without any infringement on the part of the Algerines, until some time in the month of July, 1812, when the dey, stimulated probably by the near prospect of a war between the United States and England, which he was encouraged in the belief would annihilate the naval force of the former, and disable them from taking satisfaction, took an opportunity to violate its most important articles. He was probably further stimulated to this measure, by having little employment at that time for his cruisers, in consequence of just concluding a peace with Portugal, while at the same time he

was prevented from committing depredations upon his old enemies, the Sicilians, of whom the English had declared themselves the protectors.

The pretence of his highness for this breach of his engagements, was that the cargo of the ship *Allegany*, then just arrived, with naval stores, for the payment of the tribute stipulated in the treaty of 1795, did not contain such an assortment of articles as he had a right to expect. In consequence of this disappointment, the dey, who was subject to violent paroxysms of passion, became exceedingly outrageous, and told his minister of marine that the cargo should not be received; that the ship should immediately quit Algiers, and that colonel Lear, the American consul, should go with her, as he could not have a consul in his regency, who did not cause every article to be bought, as he ordered. Every attempt to explain, on the part of the consul, was without effect on the dey, who either was, or affected to be extremely angry. A few days afterwards he made a demand of certain arrearages of tribute, to the amount of twenty-seven thousand dollars, the claim to which was founded on the difference between the solar and lunar years, the one consisting of three hundred and sixty-five, the other of three hundred and fifty-four days, creating a difference of half a year, in the lapse of seventeen years, which had expired since the conclusion of the treaty. This was the first time the distinction between the Christian and Mahometan year had ever been brought forward by his highness, and it is certain that it was insisted upon in this instance, merely as furnishing a pretext for exacting money from the government of the United States, or, in case of a refusal, as furnishing an additional ground for a declaration of hostilities. The reasonings, remonstrances, and explanations of the consul were without effect, and he was at last given to understand, that if the money was not paid immediately, he would be sent to the *marine* in chains—the *Allegany* and her cargo confiscated; every citizen of the United States in Algiers condemned to perpetual slavery, and war forthwith declared.

After various ineffectual attempts to negotiate a mitigation of these demands, colonel Lear finally received this definitive answer to his repeated applications, by his highness's drogerman—"That he should to-morrow morning pay into the treasury, twenty-seven thousand Spanish dollars, which he (the dey) claimed as the balance of annuities due from the United States, and then depart from the regency of Algiers with his family and all the citizens of the United States." On failure of payment, the consequences, which had at first been threatened, would most assuredly be inflicted. This message hav-

ing been considered as conclusive, the consul, desirous of averting these calamities from himself, his family, as well as a number of his countrymen then in Algiers, made every effort to raise the money demanded. A merchant at Algiers at length advanced it, on receiving bills on Joseph Gavino, American consul at Gibraltar, and it was paid into the treasury before the time specified in the dey's message. Having committed the care of his property, which he was not permitted to attend to himself, to the agent-general of his Swedish majesty at Algiers, colonel Lear embarked on board the *Allegany*, with his family and about twenty others for the United States. The dey, immediately on his departure, commenced hostilities upon our commerce, and these outrages remained unrevengeed by the government of the United States, which could not send a force to the Mediterranean, in consequence of the war with Great Britain, declared in June, following these transactions.

Immediately, however, on the ratification of peace with Great Britain, the attention of congress was called to a consideration of the conduct of Algiers, and the foregoing facts being sufficiently substantiated, war was declared to exist between the United States of America, and the regency of Algiers. Preparations were immediately made to follow up this declaration, and a squadron was fitted out under the command of commodore Decatur, consisting of the *Guerriere*, *Constellation*, and *Macedonian* frigates, the *Ontario* and *Epervier* sloops of war, and the schooners *Spark*, *Spitfire*, *Torch*, and *Flambeau*. Another squadron, under commodore Bainbridge, was to follow this armament, on the arrival of which, it was understood, commodore Decatur would return to the United States in a single vessel, leaving the command of the whole combined force to commodore Bainbridge.

The force under commodore Decatur rendezvoused at New-York, from which port they sailed the 20th day of April, 1815, and arrived in the bay of Gibraltar in twenty-five days, after having previously communicated with Cadiz and Tangier. In the passage, the *Spitfire*, *Torch*, *Firefly*, and *Ontario*, separated at different times from the squadron in gales, but all joined again at Gibraltar, with the exception of the *Firefly*, which sprung her masts, and put back to New-York to refit. Having learned at Gibraltar that the Algerine squadron, which had been out into the Atlantic, had undoubtedly passed up the straits, and that information of the arrival of the American force had been sent to Algiers by persons in Gibraltar, commodore Decatur determined to proceed without delay, up the Mediterranean, in the hope of intercepting the

enemy before he could return to Algiers, or gain a neutral port.

The 17th of June, off Cape de Gatt, he fell in with and captured the Algerine frigate *Mazouda*, in a running fight of twenty-five minutes. After two broadsides the Algerines ran below. The *Guerriere* had four men wounded by musketry—the Algerines about thirty killed, according to the statement of the prisoners, who amounted to four hundred and six. In this affair the famous Algerine admiral, or rais, Hammida, who had long been the terror of this sea, was cut in two by a cannon shot.

On the 19th of June, off cape Palos, the squadron fell in with and captured an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns. The brig was chased close to the shore, where she was followed by the *Epervier*, *Spark*, *Torch*, and *Spitfire*, to whom she surrendered, after losing twenty-three men. No Americans were either killed or wounded. The captured brig, with most of the prisoners on board, was sent into Carthage, where she has since been claimed by the Spanish government under the plea of a breach of neutrality. As this affair will probably become a subject of negotiation between the United States and Spain, we decline entering into further particulars.

From cape Palos, the American squadron proceeded to Algiers, where it arrived the 28th of June. Aware that a despatch-boat had been sent from Gibraltar, to inform the regency of his arrival, and having also learned that several Tartans had gone in search of the Algerines, to communicate the news, commodore Decatur concluded that their fleet was by this time safe in some neutral port. He therefore thought it a favourable time to take advantage of the terror which his sudden and unwelcome arrival had excited, to despatch a letter from the president of the United States to the dey, in order to afford him a fair opportunity to open a negotiation. The captain of the port was immediately despatched to the *Guerriere*, on the receipt of this letter, accompanied by Mr. Norderling, the Swedish consul; and commodore Decatur, who, with Mr. Shaler, had been empowered to negotiate a treaty, proposed the basis, on which alone he could consent to enter on the affair of an adjustment. This was the absolute and unqualified relinquishment of any demand of tribute on the part of the regency, on any pretence whatever. To this he demurred. He was then asked if he knew what had become of the Algerine squadron, and replied—"By this time it is safe in some neutral port." "Not the whole of it," was the reply. He was then told of the capture of the frigate, of the brig, and of the death of Hammida. He shook his head,

and smiled with a look of incredulity, supposing it a mere attempt to operate on his fears, and thus induce an acceptance of the proposed basis. But when the lieutenant of Hammida was called in, and the minister learned the truth of these particulars, he became completely unnerved, and agreed to negotiate on the proposed basis. He premised, however, that he was not authorised to conclude a treaty, but requested the American commissioners to state the conditions they had to propose. This was done, and the captain of the port then requested a cessation of hostilities, and that the negotiation should be conducted on shore, the minister of marine having pledged himself for their security while there, and their safe return to their ships whenever they pleased. Neither of these propositions were accepted, and the captain was expressly given to understand, that not only must the negotiation be carried on in the *Guerriere*, but that hostilities would still be prosecuted against all vessels belonging to Algiers, until the treaty was signed by the dey.

The captain of the port and Mr. Norderling then went on shore, but the next day again came on board, with the information that they were commissioned by the dey to treat on the basis for which the commissioners of the United States had stipulated. A treaty was then produced, which the commissioners declared could not be varied in any material article, and that consequently, discussion was not only useless, but dangerous on their part; for if in the interim the Algerine squadron were to appear, it would most assuredly be attacked. On examining the treaty proposed, the captain of the port was extremely anxious to get the article stipulating for the restoration of the property taken by the Algerines during the war dispensed with, earnestly representing that it had been distributed into many hands, and that as it was not the present dey who declared war, it was unjust that he should answer for all its consequences. The article was, however, adhered to by the American commissioners, and after various attempts to gain a truce, as well as to gain time, it was at length settled that all hostilities should instantly cease, when a boat was seen coming off with a white flag, the Swedish consul pledging at the same time his honour, that it should not be hoisted until the dey had signed the treaty, and the prisoners were safe in the boat. The captain and Mr. Norderling then went on shore, and returned within three hours; with the treaty signed, together with all the prisoners, although the distance was more than five miles. The principal articles in this treaty were, that no tribute under any pretext or in any form whatever, should ever be required by Algiers

from the United States of America—that all Americans in slavery should be given up without ransom—that compensation should be made for American vessels captured, or property seized or detained at Algiers—that the persons and property of American citizens found on board an enemy's vessel should be sacred—that vessels of either party putting into port should be supplied with provisions at market price, and, if necessary to be repaired, should land their cargoes without paying duty—that if a vessel belonging to either party should be cast on shore, she should not be given up to plunder—or if attacked by an enemy within cannon shot of a fort, should be protected, and no enemy be permitted to follow her when she went to sea within twenty-four hours—that if any Christians whatsoever, captives in Algiers, make their escape, and take refuge on board any of the ships of war of the United States, they shall not be required back again, nor shall the consul of the United States, or commander of said ships, be required to pay any thing for said Christians. In general, the rights of Americans on the ocean and the land, were fully provided for in every instance, and it was particularly stipulated that all citizens of the United States taken in war, should be treated as prisoners of war are treated by other nations, and not as slaves, but held subject to an exchange without ransom. After concluding this treaty, so highly honourable and advantageous to this country, the commissioners gave up the captured frigate and brig, to their former owners. To this they were influenced by a consideration of the great expense it would require to put them in a condition to be sent to the United States—the impossibility of disposing of them in the Mediterranean, and by the pressing instances of the dey himself, who earnestly represented that this would be the best method of satisfying his people with the treaty just concluded, and consequently the surest guarantee for its observance on his part. The policy of the measure we think sufficiently obvious, when it is considered that the dey would most likely, in case of their refusal, have fallen a victim to the indignation of the people, and that, in all probability, his successor would have found his safety only in disowning the peace which had been made by his predecessor. There being, as we before stated, some dispute with the Spanish authorities with regard to the legality of the capture of the Algerine brig, it was stipulated on the part of the American commissioners, in order to induce the Spaniards to give her up, that the Spanish consul and a Spanish merchant, then prisoners in Algiers, should be released, and permitted to return to Spain if they pleased. According to the last advices the brig was still detained by

the Spanish government, and the ultimate disposal of this vessel will probably be settled by an amicable negociation.

Commodore Decatur despatched captain Lewis in the *Epervier*, bearing the treaty to the United States, and leaving Mr. Shaler at Algiers, as consul-general to the Barbary states, proceeded with the rest of the squadron to Tunis, with the exception of two schooners under captain Gamble, sent to convoy the Algerine vessels home from Carthagen. He was prompted to this visit, by having been informed that a misunderstanding existed between our consul and the bashaw of Tunis, into the nature of which he considered himself bound in duty to enquire. Here he was officially informed by the consul of a violation of the treaty subsisting between the United States and the bashaw, first, in permitting two prizes of an American privateer to be taken out of the harbour by a British cruiser, and secondly, in permitting a company of merchants, subjects of Tunis, to take the property of an American citizen at their own price, and much below its real value.

The truth of these allegations being thus officially verified, commodore Decatur addressed a letter to the prime minister of Tunis, demanding satisfaction for these outrages exercised or permitted by the bashaw, and a full restoration of the property thus given up or sacrificed. The bashaw, through the medium of his prime minister, acknowledged the truth of the facts, as well as the justice of the demands; but begged twelve months to pay the money. This was refused; and on receiving assurances that it would be paid forthwith, the commodore went on shore, where he received the visits of the different consuls. The brother of the prime minister of Tunis chanced to arrive with the money at this time, and seeing the British consul in conversation with commodore Decatur, threw down the bags which contained it with great indignation, at the same time addressing the consul in English, which he spoke fluently, "You see, sir, what Tunis is obliged to pay for your insolence. You must feel ashamed of the disgrace you have brought upon us. You are very good friends now, but I ask you whether you think it just first to violate our neutrality, and then to leave us to be destroyed, or pay for your aggressions." As soon as the money was paid, the bashaw prepared to despatch a minister to England, to demand the amount which he had been obliged to pay in consequence of this requisition of the American commodore.

After adjusting these differences, the squadron proceeded to Tripoli, where commodore Decatur made a similar demand for a similar violation of the treaty subsisting between the

United States and the bashaw, who had permitted two American vessels to be taken from under the guns of his castle by a British sloop of war, and refused protection to an American cruiser lying within his jurisdiction. Restitution of the full value of these vessels was demanded, and the money, amounting to twenty-five thousand dollars, paid by the bashaw into the hands of the American consul. After the conclusion of this affair, the American consular flag, which Mr. Jones, the consul, had struck, in consequence of the violation of neutrality above mentioned, was hoisted in the presence of the foreign agents, and saluted from the castle with thirty-one guns. In addition to the satisfaction thus obtained for unprovoked aggressions, the commodore had the pleasure of obtaining the release of ten captives, two Danes, and eight Neapolitans, the latter of whom he landed at Messina.

After touching at Messina and Naples, the squadron sailed for Carthagená on the 31st of August, where commodore Decatur was in expectation of meeting the relief squadron, under commodore Bainbridge. On joining that officer at Gibraltar, he relinquished his command, and sailed in the *Guerriere* for the United States, where he arrived on the 12th of November, 1815. Every thing being done previous to the arrival of the second division of the squadron under commodore Bainbridge, that gallant officer had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, as we are satisfied he always will where occasion occurs. Pursuant to his instructions he exhibited this additional force before Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, where they were somewhat surprised at the appearance of the *Independence* seventy-four, having always been persuaded that the United States were restricted by their treaties with England from building ships of that class. When colonel Lear was consul at Algiers he endeavoured to convince the ministers of the dey that such was not the case; but they always replied, "If you are permitted to build seventy-fours, let us see one of them, and we shall be satisfied." Commodore Bainbridge sailed from Gibraltar thirty-six hours before the *Guerriere*, and arrived at Boston the 15th of November.

Thus was concluded an expedition in which, though few, perhaps no opportunities occurred for a display of the hardy prowess of our sailors, the nation acquired singular honour, in humbling and chastising a race of lawless pirates, who have long been the inveterate scourges of the Christian world. Independently of the glory thus accruing to the republican name, the probable advantages arising from this sudden and unlooked-for appearance of an American squadron immediately after a war with Great Britain, we think will be mani-

fold. This circumstance will give them an idea of the power and resources of the United States altogether different from that which they before entertained; and serve to convince them of the danger of provoking their resentment under any expectation of the destruction of their navy by any power whatever. That the assurance of an immediate war with England was what principally encouraged the dey of Algiers to commence hostilities against the United States, under a conviction that our little navy would speedily be annihilated, is evident from the following fact. One of the dey's officers one morning insinuated, whether true or false we cannot say, to the British consul at Algiers, that it was his fault that they declared war. "You told us," said he, "that the American navy would be destroyed in six months by you, and now they make war upon us *with two of your own vessels they have taken from you!*"

We are aware that the states of Barbary pay little attention to the faith of treaties, and that they profess a perfect contempt for that code which is called the law of nations, which, they say, was established without their consent, and consequently is not binding on them. We know that the piratical habits of these people are almost unconquerable, and their antipathy to the Christian name inveterate. But we also know that those whom no obligations can bind, are best restrained by their apprehensions of punishment when they offend. Fear is a potent auxiliary in the attainment of justice, as well as the prevention of offence, and the recollection of a chastisement, when it does not stimulate to revenge, is generally effectual in preventing a repetition of those outrages which brought down the punishment. Without calculating, therefore, on the good faith or the good will of the Barbary states, we cannot but permit ourselves to hope and believe that the late display of our naval force in the Mediterranean, and the prompt energy of the distinguished officer who directed it, will have secured to the United States a lasting peace, unshackled by any degrading compliances on our part, and gained by an honourable exertion of force in a just cause.

Whatever may be the actual advantages resulting from the operations of the American squadron in the Mediterranean, and whether the treaty made by Commodore Decatur will be permanent or not, still is there one thing growing out of it which can never be forgot by the people of the United States. It is the recollection of having humbled these proud barbarians, that have so long been the terror of the Mediterranean, and the scourge of the Christian name. The prowess of these renowned freebooters, has long been connected with the ro-

romantic exploits of chivalry, and is associated with our earliest recollections. The Christian knight had always his fiercest encounters, his most desperate struggles with some "*paynim Moor*," and though the reputation of the knight, as well as a due regard to poetic justice, rendered it indispensable that the Christian should triumph, still his triumph was always gained with infinite difficulty. A proof of the opinion long entertained of their prowess is, that they are every where represented in the old legends, as of a gigantic stature. It is one of the errors of ignorance to make the body, rather than the mind, the criterion for heroism, and there is hardly a distinguished champion of the early ages that was not remarkable for the dimensions of his frame, because it was by this that the writers of romance endeavoured to give to their simple readers a more striking image of strength and ferocity.

Independently of the reputation which the Moorish race sustains in the works of imagination, most familiar in our childhood, they possess also strong claims to historical renown. In Spain they long maintained a splendid empire, and the glory of Pelagio, of the Cid Rodrigo, and Gonsalvo, is principally derived from the agency of these heroes in the expulsion of the Moorish kings of Cordova and Grenada. Few have forgotten the fate of Don Sebastian, king of Portugal; and none perhaps are ignorant of the discomfiture of Charles V. who, backed by half the power of Europe, and all the treasures of the new world, invaded Algiers, from whose territory he was driven after the loss of almost the whole of his army. Another example is that of Lewis XIV. who made attempts to humble the pride of these nations, but was never able to gain from them terms so advantageous as those dictated by our commissioners. Nay, even the potent fleet of Lord Nelson failed in a still more recent instance in a similar attempt, after having previously succeeded in others, that were at that time considered almost desperate, but which have since been discovered to have owed their success to the deplorable imbecility and unskilfulness of his opponents.

From the foregoing causes, as well as from the circumstance of their having long been the terror of the mariner, and the scourge of the powers bordering on and navigating the Mediterranean, has arisen that feeling of vague, but overwhelming terror, with which the world has long contemplated these renowned barbarians. This feeling was perhaps stronger in this country, previous to the Tripolitan war, than any where else, and we contemplated these poor creatures through the same exaggerated medium we once did, and in some degree still do, more than one nation across the Atlantic. To the gallant navy

which first dissolved the enchantment of British superiority, are we indebted for our emancipation from that of Algerine prowess, and for this among other benefits we are indebted to a race of admirable officers, who seemed to be conscious that whatever other men might be, they could not be more than their equals. They seem, indeed, even to have possessed that noblest species of confidence, which is not derived from any idea of what their enemies might be, but of what they themselves really were.

In contemplating what was performed by our small force, conducted as it was with characteristic promptness and energy, we are called upon to compare it with what was done by the most powerful monarchs of Europe, and the comparison is a subject of honest exultation. Perhaps to assume a superiority over these mighty potentates, who occupy so large a space in history, may be called boasting. So let it be. It is by performing such things, that nations become illustrious, and it is by speaking of them as they ought to be spoken of, that courage and enterprise meet their reward, and emulation is awakened from its slumbers. The pride of our hearts is gratified with the knowledge that while the corsairs laughed at the demands of a superior *European* fleet, carrying the descendants of De Ruyter and Van Tromp, they shrunk beneath the energy of a republican commodore, and gave up what they had never before yielded to any nation. In addition to this, both our pride and our humanity are solaced with the conviction that our ships of war, ennobled as they are by many other attributes, have by the late treaty with Algiers, become *sanctuaries*, not like the Catholic and Mahometan churches, for robbers and assassins, but for the oppressed Christian slaves of all nations.

ENGLISH EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS.

During the deliberations of the Congress at Vienna, a memorial was presented by Sir Sidney Smith to that august body, on the expediency and the means of putting an end to the piracies of the Barbary States. The time he considered as propitious for rooting out a nest of pirates, who not only oppressed the natives in their vicinity, but trepanned and bought them as slaves, to employ them in vessels fitted out as privateers for the purpose of tearing honest cultivators from their homes, and the peaceable inhabitants from the shore of Europe. This system of robbery, so revolting to humanity, operated as

a very formidable restraint on commerce, and subjected the mariners of christian states navigating the Mediterranean and the Adriatic seas, to be seized by the pirates, and carried as slaves into Africa. The government of Algiers, he represents as composed of the officers of an orta or regiment of Janizaries—a rebellious soldiery, who do not, even in appearance, acknowledge the authority of the Ottoman Porte, though that power claims from them allegiance. The head of the government, or the dey, as he is called, is always the officer most distinguished among them for cruelty, and his situation at the head of the divan or regency is held by enriching his associates, by permitting them to indulge in every sort of violence in Africa, and by carrying on a piratical warfare, on the seas, against the weaker states of Europe. The military means hitherto employed by the christian princes to hold the Barbary states in check, had been found not only inadequate to that purpose, but they had generally had the effect to strengthen and consolidate the dangerous power of these barbarians.

To overthrow a power so inimical to the well-being of society, seemed to be a *desideratum* in the policy of christian princes; and the laudable object of Sir Sidney Smith was to secure Europe for ever from the outrages of the African corsairs, and to cause governments favourable to commerce, and in peace and amity with civilized nations, to succeed to states radically and necessarily piratical ever since the days of Barbarossa.

The close study and investigation of thirty years, much of which time had been spent in an official situation, as the representative of his native country at the court of the Ottoman Porte, or in the camp and the fleets of the same power, and in close intercourse with the natives and tribes of Africa and Asia, had impressed upon the mind of Sir Sidney Smith a firm conviction of the possibility of crushing the system of robbery and outrage acted upon by the Barbary states, and induced him to make to the congress an offer to undertake the direction of the expedition for that purpose, provided the necessary means might be placed at his disposal. Animated by the recollection of his oaths of knighthood, and being anxious to excite the same ardour in other christian knights, he proposed to the nations most interested in the success of this noble enterprise, to engage themselves by a treaty to furnish their respective contingents to a military, or as it might be called, an amphibious force, which, without compromising any flag, and without being influenced by wars, or any political crisis incident to nations, should constantly guard the shores of the Mediterranean, and have confided to it the important

duty of watching, stopping, and following the pirates, both on the seas and on land. A power so constituted, and recognized and protected by all Europe, would not render commerce perfectly secure, but would eventually civilize the coasts of Africa, by prohibiting the inhabitants from continuing their piratical depredations, to the prejudice of industry and lawful commerce. The ulterior details would, he said, be easily developed, when the sovereigns should have adopted the principle, and when they should deign to grant to the memorialist that confidence and authority which might be requisite for the success of the enterprise.

To this spirited memorial, so consonant with the chivalrous mind of its author, no public answer was returned, nor any congressional proceedings adopted thereon. Early in the year 1816, instructions were, however, given to Lord Exmouth, the commander of the British squadron on the Mediterranean station, to negotiate treaties with the Barbary states, for prohibiting the making of christian slaves—and stipulating that such prisoners as might be taken in war should only be considered as prisoners of war. To these proposals the Deys at Tunis and Tripoli readily consented; but when the abolition of slavery was urged upon the Dey of Algiers, he requested that six months might be allowed him to obtain the advice and sanction of the Grand Signior on the question. After much discussion, the term of six was reduced to three months, and through the intervention of the British admiral, a treaty of peace was ultimately concluded between the Kings of Naples and Sardinia and the Dey of Algiers, by which these sovereigns stipulated to pay a ransom to the dey for the release of the Neapolitan and Sardinian slaves at that time in captivity.*

Soon after the treaties were concluded, and while Lord Exmouth was on his return to England, a dreadful massacre of the subjects of christian states took place at Bona, an African port, under the government of the Dey of Algiers. This sanguinary atrocity was committed on the day of Ascension, on which occasion seven hundred mariners, belonging to the crews of the coral fishing boats, under English and French colours, having landed at Bona to perform their devotions, a vast assemblage of Turks and Bedouins broke into the church, and sacrificed about two hundred of the christian worshippers to their insatiable fury.

The murders at Bona, which probably originated in an im-

* Letter from Lord Exmouth to the King of Naples, dated Algiers, April 6, 1816.

pulse of popular fanaticism over which the government had no control, were succeeded by acts of open piracy, sactioned by the dey, and directed against the British flag.* Roused to indignation by these enormities, and determined at length to put an end to a system which had so long harassed and scandalized civilized society, the British government determined to visit the lawless barbarians with signal and plenary punishment. For this purpose the most active preparations were set on foot, and on Sunday, the 28th of July, Lord Exmouth set sail from Plymouth for the Mediterranean, with a formidable fleet under his command.† While Lord Exmouth remained at Gibraltar, on his way to the African coast, the Dutch admiral, Capellen, with six frigates under his command, asked and obtained permission to unite his squadron with the British fleet, and this revival of an union offensive and defensive with an ancient ally, was hailed as the harbinger of success.

On the 27th of August the British fleet, with its Dutch auxiliaries, arrived before the city of Algiers, and the following documents written with the spirit of a hero, and the pen of a scholar, will serve to acquaint posterity with the nature and the result of these operations :---

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty-Office, September 15, 1816.

Captain Brisbane, of his majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, arrived at this office last night, with the following despatches from Admiral Lord Exmouth, G. C. B. addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

* Letter from P. C. Tupper, His Majesty's Consul-general at Barcelona, dated May 29, 1816.

† *List of the British Fleet despatched Against Algiers.*

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Queen Charlotte	110	Granicus	36	Cordelia	10
Impregnable	98	Hebrus	36	Jasper	10
Superb	74	Thames	32	Hecla	a bomb
Minden	74	Dover	32	Infernal	do.
Albion	73	Jaseur	18	Belzebub	do.
Leander	50	Mutine	18	Fury	do.
Glasgow	40	Heron	18	Camel	do.
Severn	40	Britomart	16	And a brig	

A company of royal sappers and miners, under Major Gossett and Captain Reid, embarked on board the Queen Charlotte and the Minden. Fireship boxes were also prepared for each of the ships from Plymouth. The rockets amounted to 3,000. All ships under his lordship's orders, had their magazines fitted on Sir W. Congreve's plan; and the whole was in every respect suitably fitted for this particular service. It was also expected that Sir Charles Penrose would join Lord Exmouth, with as many ships as could be spared from the services on the Mediterranean station.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 28, 1816.

Sir,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the King of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his majesty's government, and commanded by the vigour of our measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speak for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspecting and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona: that fleet, on its arrival in England, was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and, although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, whenever practised upon those under their protection.

Would to God that, in the attainment of this object, I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men; they have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism as would arouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them.

Their lordships will already have been informed, by his majesty's ship *Jasper*, of my proceedings up to the 14th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention by a foul wind of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the mole; from this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack, had been discovered to the dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was, on the following night greatly confirmed by the *Prometheus*, which I had despatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipmen's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gate way, and in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all eighteen persons, were seized, and confined as slaves

in the usual dungeon. The child was sent off next morning by the dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed, that about 40,000 men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c. and every-where strengthening the sea-defences.

The dey informed Captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true ; he replied, if he had such information he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between forty and fifty gun and mortar boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up or promise his personal safety ; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the Prometheus.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning, at day-break, the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of despatching a boat, under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the Dey of Algiers (of which the accompanying are copies ;) directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship. He was met near the mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours ; he then observed, two hours were quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock, when, observing my officer was returning, with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations ; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the mole, at about fifty yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms, which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two at the ships to the northward, then following. This was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the main-mast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported, as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three o'clock until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope ; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately round me was perfectly impossible ; but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects, and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-admiral Van Capellen's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at inter-

vals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the mole.

About sun-set I received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss, the Impregnable was sustaining, having then one hundred and fifty killed and wounded, and requesting I would if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had at this time sent orders to the explosion vessel, under the charge of Lieutenant Fleming and Mr Parker, by Captain Reade, of the Engineers, to bring her into the mole; but the rear-admiral having thought, she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about one hundred yards, which at length I gave in to, and Major Gossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat No. 8, although forbidden, washed by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort upon the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed: We were all hands employed warping and towing off, and, by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of the reach of shells about two in the morning, after twelve hours' incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire that all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames: which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

The sloops of war which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed that duty not only well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion.

The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery; and though thrown directly across and over us, not an accident that I know of occurred to any ship.

The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a

cheer I never heard in any part of the line ; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.

The conducting this ship to her station, by the masters of the fleet and ship, excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than twenty years.

Having thus detailed, although but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope, that the humble and devoted services of myself, and the officers and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be received by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.

If I attempted to name to their lordships the numerous officers, who, in such a conflict, had been at different periods more conspicuous than their companions, I should do injustice to many ; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet I have the honour to command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded and unlimited support. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of their own duty ; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite ; and no where was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person. My gratitude and thanks are due to all under my command, as well as to Vice-admiral Capellen, and the officers of the squadron of his Majesty the King of the Netherlands ; and I trust they will believe, that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal : from the youngest midshipman to the highest rank, all seemed animated by one soul, and of which I shall with delight bear testimony to their lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.

I have confided this despatch to Rear-admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service intrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet, from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his esteem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.

The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the return of killed and wounded, accompany this despatch ; and, I am happy to say, Captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, as also the whole of the wounded. By accounts from the shore, I understand the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, is between six and seven thousand men.

In recommending my officers and fleet to their lordships' protection and favour, I have the honour to be, &c.

EXMOUTH.

A General Abstract of the Killed and Wounded, in the Squadron under Lord Exmouth's command, in the Attack of Algiers, the 27th of August, 1816.

Total.—15 officers, 88 seamen, 19 marines, 1 marine artillery, 1 rocket troop, 4 boys, killed ; 59 officers, 459 seamen, 106 marines, 5 marine artillery, 14 sappers and miners, 4 rocket troop, 31 boys, 12 supernumeraries wounded.

Total killed and wounded.—128 killed, 690 wounded.

DUTCH SQUADRON,—*Total*.—13 killed, 52 wounded.

Flotilla, consisting of 5 gun-boats, 10 mortar-boats, launches, 8 rocket-boats, flats, 32 gun-boats, barges and yawls ; total 55 :—the whole commanded by Captain F. T. Mitchell, assisted by Lieutenant John Davies,

of the Queen Charlotte, and Lieutenant Thomas Revans, flag lieutenant to Rear-admiral Milne.

Memorandum of the Destruction in the Mole of Algiers, in the Attack of the 27th of August, 1816.

Four large frigates, of 44 guns; five large corvettes, from 24 to 30; all the gun and mortar boats, except 7; 30 destroyed; several merchant brigs and schooners; a great number of small vessels of various descriptions; all the pontoons, lighters, &c; storehouses and arsenal, with all the timber and various marine articles destroyed in part; a great many gun-carriages, mortar-beds, casks, and ships' stores of all descriptions.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 28, 1816.

Sir,—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday, in my sovereign's name; without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand, that the consul, and officers and men, may be sent off to me, conformable to ancient treaties.

(Signed)

EXMOUTH.

To his Highness the Dey of Algiers.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 30, 1816.

General Memorandum.—The commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England.

- I. The abolition, for ever, of christian slavery.
- II. The delivery to my flag, of all slaves in the dominion of the dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.
- III. To deliver also, to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year, at noon also to-morrow.
- IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he may have sustained in consequence of his confinement.
- V. The dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte.

The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, marines, royal marine artillery, royal sappers and miners, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service; and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving be offered up to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his Divine Providence, during the conflict which took place

on the 27th, between his majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

It is requested that this memorandum may be read to the ships' companies.

*To the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, marines,
royal sappers and miners, royal marine artillery,
and the royal rocket corps.*

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Sept. 1, 1816.

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that I have sent Captain Brisbane with my duplicate despatches, as I am afraid that Admiral Milne, in the *Leander*, who has charge of the originals, may experience a long voyage, the wind having set in to the westward a few hours after he sailed.

Captain Brisbane, to whom I feel greatly indebted for his exertions, and the able assistance I have received from him throughout the whole of this service, will be able to inform their lordships upon all points that I may have omitted.

Admiral Sir Charles Penrose arrived too late to take his share in the attack upon Algiers, which I lament, as much on his account as my own; his services would have been desirable in every respect.

I have the satisfaction to state, that all the slaves in the city of Algiers, and immediately in its vicinity, are embarked: as also 357,000 dollars for Naples, and 25,500 for Sardinia. The treaties will be signed to-morrow; and I hope to be able to sail in a day or two.

The *Minden* has sailed for Gibraltar to be refitted, and will proceed from thence to her ultimate destination.

The *Albion* will be refitted at Gibraltar, for the reception of Sir Charles Penrose's flag. The *Glasgow* I shall be obliged to bring home with me.

I have the honour, &c.

EXMOUTH.

To John Wilson Croker, Esq. &c. Admiralty.

In addition to the above despatches of Lord Exmouth, further particulars were received at the Admiralty Office, September 24, 1816, conveyed from his lordship by Rear-admiral Milne, K. C. B. detailing the subsequent proceedings, of which the following is the substance:—

On the 28th of August, treaties of peace were signed by the dey with his Majesty, and his Majesty the King of the Netherlands. On the same day also was signed an additional article of declaration, for the Abolition of Christian Slavery, to the following effect:—

DECLARATION

Of his Most Serene Highness Omar, Bashaw, Dey and Governor of the Warlike City and Kingdom of Algiers, made and concluded with the Right Honourable Edward Baron Exmouth, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of his Britannic Majesty's Fleet, and Commander-in-chief of his said Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed in the Mediterranean.

“In consideration of the deep interest manifested by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England for the termination of christian slavery, his Highness the Dey of Algiers, in token of his sincere desire to maintain inviolable his friendly relations with Great Britain, and to manifest his amicable disposition and high respect towards the powers of Europe, declares, that in the event of future wars with any European power, not any of the prisoners shall be consigned to slavery, but treated

with all humanity, as prisoners of war, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice in like cases ; and that at the termination of hostilities they shall be restored to their respective countries without ransom ; and the practice of condemning christian prisoners of war to slavery is hereby formally and for ever renounced."

Done in duplicate, in the Warlike City of Algiers, in the presence of Almighty God, the 28th day of August, in the year of Jesus Christ, 1816, and in the year of the Hegira, 1231, and the 6th day of the moon Shawal.

(The Dey's seal.)

(Signed)

EXMOUTH, (L. S.)
Admiral, and Commander-in-chief.

(Signed)

H. M'DOUELL, (L. S.)
By command of the admiral,

(Signed)

JOS. GRIMES, Secretary.



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